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THE DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY.



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# THE DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY,







DESTRUCTION OF THE TEA IN BOSTON HARBOUR.

**ANNALS**

OF THE

**AMERICAN REVOLUTION;**

OR A

**RECORD OF THE CAUSES AND EVENTS**

WHICH PRODUCED, AND TERMINATED IN THE ESTABLISHMENT  
AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE

**AMERICAN REPUBLIC.**

INTERSPERSED WITH NUMEROUS APPROPRIATE  
**DOCUMENTS AND ANECDOTES.**

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE

**FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTRY,**

AND SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL

**INDIAN WARS,**

WHICH HAVE AT SUCCESSIVE PERIODS AFFLICTED ITS INHABITANTS.

To which is added,

**REMARKS**

ON THE PRINCIPLES AND COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES OF THE  
**CONSTITUTION OF OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT :**

AND AN

**APPENDIX ;**

CONTAINING A

**BIOGRAPHY**

OF THE

**PRINCIPAL MILITARY OFFICERS,**

WHO WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN ACHIEVING OUR INDEPENDENCE.

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Compiled from a mass of authentic Documents, and arranged  
in chronological and historical order,

BY JEDIDIAH MORSE, D. D.

Author of the American Universal Gazetteer.

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HARTFORD :

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1824.

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## CHAPTER I.

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*General View of the Discovery and Settlement of North America, particularly of the British American Colonies, which now constitute the United States ; brought down to the present time.*

NORTH AMERICA was discovered in the reign of Henry VII. a period when the arts and sciences had made very considerable progress in Europe. Many of the first adventurers were men of genius and learning, and were careful to preserve authentic records of such of their proceedings as would be interesting to posterity. These records afford ample documents for American historians. Perhaps no people on the globe can trace the history of their origin and progress with so much precision, as the British North American Colonies, particularly those who first planted New-England. These were a peculiar people, enlightened by the best education of those times, and distinguished for their wisdom and piety.

One of their eloquent descendants\* thus characterizes them :—

The fathers of New-England “ came hither to a land, from which they were never to return. Hither they had brought, and here they were to fix, their hopes, their attachments, and their objects. Some natural tears they shed, as they left the pleasant abodes of their fathers, and some emotions they suppressed, when the white cliffs of their native country, now seen for the last time, grew dim to their sight. They were acting however upon a resolution not to be changed. With whatever stifled regrets, with whatever occasional hesitation, with whatever appalling apprehensions, which might sometimes arise with force to shake the firmest purpose, they had yet committed themselves to heaven, and the elements ; and a thousand leagues of water were interposed to separate them from the region which gave them birth. A new existence awaited them here ; and when they saw these shores, rough, cold, barbarous, and barren as they were, they beheld their country. That mixed and strong feeling, which we call love of country, and which is, in general, never extinguished in the heart of man, grasped and embraced its proper object here. Whatever constitutes *country*, except the earth and the sun, all the moral causes of affection and attachment, which operate upon the heart, they had brought with them to their new abode. Here were now their families ; their homes, and their property. Before they reached the shore, they had established the elements of a social system, and at a much earlier period had settled their forms of religious worship. At the moment of their landing, therefore, they possessed institutions of government, and institutions of religion : and friends and families, and social and religious institutions, established

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\*HON. DANIEL WEBSTER—Discourse delivered at Plymouth, on the Anniversary of the “*Landing of the Forefathers*,” Dec. 22, 1820, just two centuries after their first landing.

by consent, founded on choice and preference. How nearly do these fill up our whole idea of country ! The morning that beamed on the first night of their repose, saw the Pilgrims already established in their country. There were political institutions, and civil liberty, and religious worship. Poetry has fancied nothing, in the wanderings of heroes, so distinct and characteristic. Here was man, indeed, unprotected, and unprovided for, on the shore of a rude and fearful wilderness ; but it was politic, intelligent, and educated man. Every thing was civilized but the physical world. Institutions containing in substance all that ages had done for human government, were established in a forest. Cultivated mind was to act on uncultivated nature ; and, more than all, a government, and a country, were to commence, with the very first foundations laid under the divine light of the Christian religion. Happy auspices of a happy futurity ! Who would wish that his country's existence had otherwise begun ?—Who would desire the power of going back to the ages of fable ?—Who would wish for an origin obscured in the darkness of antiquity ? Who would wish for other emblazoning of his country's heraldry, or other ornaments of her genealogy, than to be able to say, that her first existence was with intelligence ; her first breath the inspirations of liberty ; her first principle the truth of divine religion ?”

The Editors of the Quarterly Review give the following testimony to their character :—

“ There are few states whose origin is on the whole so respectable as the American—none whose history is sullied with so few crimes. The Puritans who had fled into Holland to avoid intolerance at home, carried with them English hearts. They could not bear to think that their little community should be absorbed and lost in a foreign nation : they had forsaken their birth place and their family graves ; but they loved their country, and their mother tongue, and rather than their children should become subjects of another state, and speak another language, they exposed themselves to all the hardships and dangers of colonizing in a savage land. *No people on earth may so justly pride themselves on their ancestors as the New Englanders.*”

The inhabitants of New England, educated under its wise, civil, religious and literary institutions, whose sons, in great numbers in every generation, have spread themselves in every part of the United States, have had their full share of influence in forming and establishing our national character and government. But we return to the general design of this chapter.

The fame which Columbus had acquired by his first discoveries on this western continent, spread through Europe, and inspired many others with the spirit of enterprize. As early as 1495, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian and Sancius, obtained a commission from Henry VII. to discover and settle unknown lands and countries westward of Europe, and to annex them to the Crown.\* These adventurers ranged the Continent of North America, before Columbus discovered any part of the Continent of South America, for the Court of Spain.

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\*See Hazard's "Historical Collections," vol. i. page 9, where this grant is recited at large. It is dated A. D. 1495.



In the spring of 1496 they sailed from Bristol, England, with two ships. In this voyage, which was intended for China, in the belief that there was a north-west passage to this country, they fell in with the north side of Labrador, and coasted northerly as far as the 66th degree of N. latitude, where they were stopped by the ice, changed their course, and went S. to the 34th degree of N. latitude. They made no settlements during this voyage, but agreeably to the custom of those times, took a general possession of the country in behalf of their king.

The next year, 1497, they made a second voyage to America. His son, Sebastian, afterwards proceeded in discoveries, which his father had begun. On the 24th of June he discovered Bonavista, on the north-east side of Newfoundland. Before his return, he traversed the coast from Davis' Straits, to Cape Florida.

Sebastian Cabot, in 1502, was at Newfoundland; and on his return, carried three of the natives of that island to King Henry VII.

In the spring of 1513, John Ponce sailed from Porto Rico, northerly, and discovered the continent in N. latitude 30 deg. 8 min. He landed in April, a season when the country was covered with verdure, and in full bloom. This circumstance induced him to call the country FLORIDA, which, for many years, was the common name for the whole of North America.

In 1516, Sir Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Peet, explored the coast, as far as Brazil, in South America.

This vast extent of country, the coast of which was thus explored, remained unclaimed, and unsettled, by any European power, (except by the Spaniards in South America) for almost a century from the time of its discovery.

It was not till the year 1524, that France attempted discoveries on the American coast. Stimulated by his enterprizing neighbours, Francis I. who possessed a great and active mind, sent John Verrazano, a Florentine, to America, for the purpose of making discoveries. He traversed the coast from latitude 28 deg. to 50 deg. north. In a second voyage, sometime after, he was lost.

The next year, 1525, Stephen Gomez, the first Spaniard who came upon the American coast for discovery, sailed from Groyn, in Spain, to Cuba and Florida; thence northward to Cape Razo or Race, in latitude 46 deg. north, in search of a northern passage to the East Indies.

In 1528, Pamphilo de Narvaez, in the service of Spain, sailed from Cuba with 400 men, to conquer Florida; but he was wrecked on the coast by a tempest, and his purpose defeated.

In the spring of 1534, by the direction of Francis I. a fleet was fitted out at St. Malo's, in France, with design to make discoveries in America. The command of this fleet was given to James

Cartier.\* He arrived at Newfoundland in May of this year. Thence he sailed northerly; and on the day of the festival of St. Lawrence, he found himself in about latitude 48 deg. 30 min. north, in the midst of a broad gulf, which he named St. Lawrence. He gave the same name to the river which empties into it. In this voyage, he sailed as far north as 51 deg., expecting in vain to find a passage to China.

The next year, 1535, he sailed up the river St. Lawrence 300 leagues, to the great and swift *Fall*. He called the country New France; built a fort near the west end of the Isle of Orleans, which he called *Port de St. Croix*, in which he spent the winter, and returned in the following spring to France, carrying with him some of the natives.

On the 12th of May, 1539, Ferdinand de Soto, with 900 men, besides seamen, sailed from Cuba, having for his object the conquest of Florida. On the 30th of May he arrived at Spirito Santo, from whence he travelled northward to the Chickasaw country, in about latitude 35 deg. or 36 deg. He died, after having spent three years in this country, and was buried on the bank of the Mississippi River, May, 1542, aged 42 years. Alverdo succeeded him.

Cartier made a third voyage to Canada, in 1540, built a fort, and began a settlement, in 1541, or 1542, which he called *Charlebourg*, four leagues above Port de St. Croix. He soon after broke up the settlement, and sailed to Newfoundland.

In 1542, Francis la Roche, Lord Robewell, or Roberval, was sent to Canada, by the French king, with three ships, and 200 men, women and children. They wintered here in a fort which they had built, and returned in the spring. About the year 1550, a large number of adventurers sailed for Canada, but were never after heard of.

In 1598, the King of France commissioned the Marquis de la Roche to conquer Canada, and other countries not possessed by any Christian Prince. We do not learn, however, that la Roche ever attempted to execute his commission, or that any further attempts were made to settle Canada during this century.

In the succeeding 30 years, the passion for discovery took another direction. Adventurers from Europe were seeking a passage to India and China by the *North-East*, but were prevented from accomplishing their views by the cold and ice of those inhospitable regions. In this interval, the French of Brittany, the Spaniards of Biscay, and the Portuguese, enjoyed the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, without interruption.†

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\*In Hazard's Historical Collections, vol. i. page 19, is a commission from Francis I. to James Cartier, or Quartier, for making an establishment in Canada, dated Oct. 17, 1540. Probably this commission was given him in consequence of his former discoveries.

†Belknap.



In January, 1549, King Edward VI. granted a pension for life to Sebastian Cabot, in consideration of the important services he had rendered to the kingdom by his discoveries in America.\* Very respectable descendants of the Cabot family now live in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The Admiral of France, Chatillon, early in the year 1562, sent out a fleet under the command of John Ribalt. He arrived at Cape Francis on the coast of Florida, near which, on the first of May, he discovered and entered a river which he called May River. It is more than probable that this river is the same which we now call St. Mary's, which divides Georgia from Florida. As he coasted northward, he discovered eight other rivers, one of which he called Port Royal, and sailed up it several leagues. On one of the rivers he built a fort and called it *Charles*, in which he left a colony under the direction of Captain Albert. The severity of Albert's government excited a mutiny, in which, to the ruin of the colony, he was slain. This happened in 1564. Two years after, Chatillon sent Rene Laudonier, with three ships, to Florida. In June, he arrived at the River *May*, on which he built a fort, and, in honour to his king, Charles IX., he called it *CAROLINA*.

In August, this year, Capt. Ribalt arrived at Florida the second time, with a fleet of seven vessels, to recruit the colony, which, two years before, he had left under the direction of the unfortunate Capt. Albert.

The September following, Pedro Melandez, with six Spanish ships, pursued Ribalt up the river on which he had settled, and overpowering him in numbers, cruelly massacred him and his whole company. Melandez, in this way, having taken possession of the country, built three forts, and left them garrisoned with 1200 soldiers. Laudonier and his colony on May River, receiving information of the fate of Ribalt, took the alarm and escaped to France.

In 1567, a fleet of three ships was sent from France to Florida, under the command of Dominique de Gourges. The object of this expedition, was to dispossess the Spaniards of that part of Florida which they had cruelly and unjustifiably seized three years before.

He arrived on the coast of Florida, April, 1568, and soon after made a successful attack upon the forts. The recent cruelty of Melandez and his company excited an unjustifiable spirit of revenge, and retaliation in the breast of Gourges. He took the forts; put most of the Spaniards to the sword; and, having burned and demolished all their fortresses, returned to France. During the 50 years next after this event, the French attempted no settlements in America.

All the enterprizes to find a N. E. passage to India being frustrated, Capt. Frobisher, in 1576, was sent to renew the attempts to find

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\*Hazard's His. Coll. vol. i. page 23. Hackluyt calls this "The large pension granted by King Edward VI. to Sebastian Cabot, constituting him Grand Pilot of England."

out a N. W. passage to that country. The first land which he made on the coast, was a cape, which, in honour to the Queen, he called *Queen Elizabeth's Foreland*. In coasting northerly he discovered the Straits, which have ever since borne his name, and which are now impassible by reason of fixed ice. He prosecuted his search for a passage into the Western Ocean, till he was prevented by the ice, and then returned to England.\* The two following years he made a second and third voyage, but made no important new discoveries.

Sir Francis Drake, being on a cruise against the Spaniards in the South Sea and Pacific Ocean, landed on the Continent of America, northward of California, took possession of a harbour, and called the circumjacent country, between lat. 38 deg. and 42 deg., *New Albion*, which name it has ever since retained.

In 1579, Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth, for lands not yet possessed by any Christian Prince, provided he would take possession within six years. With this encouragement he sailed to Newfoundland, and on the first of August, 1583, anchored in Conception Bay. He took formal possession of the Continent of N. America for the Crown of England. In pursuing his discoveries, he lost one of his ships on the shoals of the Sable Isles, and on his return home, a storm overtook him, in which he was unfortunately lost, and the intended settlement was prevented.

In 1584 two patents were granted by Queen Elizabeth, one to Adrian Gilbert, (Feb. 6) the other to Sir Walter Raleigh (March 25) for lands not possessed by any Christian Prince.† By the direction of Sir Walter, two ships were fitted and sent out under the command of Philip Amidas, and Arthur Barlow, with 107 passengers. In June, 1585, they arrived on the coast, and anchored in a harbour seven leagues *west* (probably *south*) of the Roanoke.

On the 13th of July, they, in a formal manner, took possession of the country, and, in honour of their virgin queen Elizabeth, they called it *Virginia*. Till this time the country was known by the general name of *Florida*. After this VIRGINIA became a common name for all North America.

To diversify this part of our history, and to instruct and amuse our readers, we introduce here, though a digression, an extract from the history of the celebrated Captain *John Smith*, who has given us a particular account of the first interviews of this colony with the natives; of the simplicity of their manners, their kindness and hospitality, and of their religion. We give the extract in the author's own style.

“ Till the third day we saw not any of the people; then, in a little boat, three of them appeared; one of them went on shore, to whom we rowed, and he attended us without any sign of fear; after he had spoke much, though we

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\*Hazard's Historical Collection, vol. i. page 23.

†Hazard's Hist. Coll. vol. i. pages 22 and 33.



understood not a word, of his own accord he came boldly aboard us ; we gave him a shirt, a hat, wine and meat, which he liked well ; and after he had well viewed the barks and us, he went away with his own boat, and within a quarter of a mile of us, in half an hour, had loaden his boat with fishes, with which he came again to the point of land, and there divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, the other to the pinnace, and so departed.

“ The next day came divers boats, and in one of them the King’s brother, with forty or fifty men, proper people, and in their behaviour civil ; his name was Granganameo ; the King is called Winginia, the country Wingandacoa. Leaving his boats a little from our ships he came with his train to the point, where, spreading a matt, he sat down. Though we came to him well armed, he made signs to us to sit down without any shew of fear, stroking his head and breast, and also ours, to express his love. After he had made a long speech to us, we presented him with divers toys, which he kindly accepted. He was greatly regarded by his people, for none of them did sit, nor speak a word, but four, on whom only we bestowed presents ; but he took all from them, making signs that all things did belong to him. The king himself, in a conflict with another king, his next neighbour, and mortal enemy, was shot in two places through the body, and the thigh, yet recovered : whereby he lay at his chief town, six days journey from thence.

“ A day or two after, shewing them what we had, Granganameo taking most liking to a pewter dish, made a hole in it, hung it about his neck for a breast plate, for which he gave us twenty deer skins, worth twenty crowns ; and for a copper kettle fifty skins, worth fifty crowns. Much other truck we had, and after two days he came aboard, and did eat and drink with us merrily. Not long after he brought his wife and children ; they were but of mean stature, but well favoured and very bashful ; she had a long coat of leather, and about her loins a piece of the same, about her forehead a band of white corral, and so had her husband ; in her ears were bracelets of pearl hanging down to her middle, of the bignesse of great pease ; the rest of the women had pendants of copper, and the noblemen five or six in an ear ; his apparel, as his wives, only the women wear their hair long on both sides, and the men but one ; they are of colour yellow, but their hair is black, yet we saw children that had very fair chesnut coloured hair. After that these women had been here with us, there came down from all parts great store of people, with leather, corral, and divers kind of dyes, but when Granganameo was present, none durst trade, but himself, and them that wore red copper on their heads as he did. Whenever he came, he would signify by so many fires that he came with so many boats, that we might know his strength.

“ Their boats are but one great tree which is burnt in the form of a trough, with gins and fire, till it be as they would have it. For an armour (musket) he would have engaged us a bag of pearl, but we refused, as not regarding it, that we might the better learn where it grew. *He was very just of his promise, for oft we trusted him, and would come within his day to keep his word.*

“ He sent us commonly every day a brace of bucks, conies, hares and fish, sometimes mellons, walnuts, cucumbers, pease, and divers roots. This author saith, their corn groweth three times in five months ; in May they sow, in July reap, in June they sow, in August reap ; in July sow, in August reap. We put some of our pease in the ground, which in ten days were 14 inches high.

“ After this acquaintance, myself with seven more, went twenty miles into the river Occam, that runeth toward the city Skicoack, and the evening following we came to an isle called Roanoak, from the harbour where we entered 7 leagues ; at the north end were 9 houses, builded with cedar, fortified round with sharp trees, and the entrance like a turnpike. When we came towards it, the wife of Granganameo came running out to meet us, (her husband was absent) commanding her people to draw our boat ashore to prevent beating on the billows ; others she appointed to carry us on their backs aland

others to bring our oars into the house to prevent stealing. When we came into the other room (for there was five in the house) she caused us to sit down by a great fire ; and after took off our clothes and washed them, of some our stockings, and some our feet in warm water, and she herself took much pains to see all things well ordered, and to provide us victuals. After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into an inner room, where she set on the board, standing along the house somewhat like frumentie, sodden venison, and roasted fish ; in like manner mellons raw, boiled roots, and fruits of divers kinds. Their drink is commonly water boiled with ginger, sometimes with sassafras, and wholesome herbs, but whilst the grape lasteth they drink wine. More love she could not express to entertain us ; they care but only to defend themselves from the short winter, and feed on what they find natural in summer. In this feasting house was their Idol, of whom they told us incredible things. When we were at meat, two or three of her men came amongst us with their bows and arrows, which caused us to take our arms in hand. She perceiving our distrust, caused their bows and arrows to be broken, and they beaten out of the gate : but the evening approaching we returned to our boat, whereat she much grieving, brought our supper half boiled, pots and all, but when she saw us but put our boat a little off from the shore, and lie at anchor, perceiving our jealousy, she sent divers men, and 30 women to sit all night on the shore side over against us, and sent us five mats to cover us from the rain, doing all she could to persuade us to her house. Though there was no cause of doubt, we would not adventure : for on our safety depended the voyage ; but a more kind, loving people cannot be.

Some Religion they have, which although it be far from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier reformed. They believe there are many gods, which they call *Mantoac*, but of different sorts and degrees. Also, that there is one chief God, that hath been from all eternity, who, as they say, when he purposed first to make the world, made first other gods of a principal order, as instruments to be used in the creation and government to follow : and after the sun, moon, and stars, as petty gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal. First, they say, were made waters, out of which, by the gods, were made all diversity of creatures that are visible or invisible.

“For the origin of mankind, they say, a woman was made first, which, by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought forth children ; and so they had their beginning ; but how many years or ages since, they know not ; having no records, but only tradition from father to son. They think that all gods are of human shape, and therefore represent them by images in the forms of men ; which they call *Kawasowok* ; one alone is called *Kewasa* ; them they place in their temples, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many offerings. The common sort think them also gods.

“They believe the immortality of the soul, when life departing from the body, according to the good or bad works it hath done, it is carried up to the Tabernacles of the Gods, to perpetual happiness, or to Popozeesso, a great pit : which they think to be at the farthest parts of the world, where the sun sets, and there burn continually.

“To confirm this they told me of two men, that had been lately dead, and revived again ; the one happened but a few years before our coming into the country ; of a bad man, who being dead and buried, the next day the earth over him being seen to move, was taken up, who told them his soul was very near entering into Popozeesso, had not one of the Gods saved him, and gave him leave to return again, to teach his friends what they should do to avoid such torment. The other happened the same year we were there, but sixty miles from us, which they told me for news, that one being dead, and buried, and taken up as the first, shewed, that although his body had lain dead in the grave, yet his soul lived, and had travelled far in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew more sweet, fair, and delicate trees and fruits, than ever



he had seen before ; at length he came to most brave and fair houses, near which he met his Father that was dead long ago, who gave him charge to go back, to shew his friends what good there was to do, to enjoy the pleasures of that place ; which when he had done he should come again.

"What subtlety so ever be in the Weroanees, and Priests; this opinion worketh so much in the common sort, that they have great respect to their Governors : and as great care to avoid torment after death, and to enjoy bliss. Yet they have divers sorts of punishments, according to the offence, according to the greatness of the fact. And this is the sum of their religion, which I learned by having special familiarity with their priests, wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gave such credit, but through conversing with us, they were brought into great doubts of their own, and no small admiration of ours : of which many desired to learn more than we had means, for want of utterance, in their language to express.

"Most things they saw with us, as mathematical instruments, sea-compasses, the virtue of the loadstone, perspective glasses, burning glasses, clocks to go of themselves ; books, writing, guns, and such like ; so far exceeded their capacities, that they thought they were rather the works of gods than men ; or at least the gods had taught us how to make them, which loved us so much better than them ; and caused many of them to give credit to what we spake concerning our God. In all places where I came, I did my best to make his immortal glory known. And I told them, although the Bible I shewed them, contained all ; yet of itself, it was not of any such virtue as I thought they did conceive. Notwithstanding many would be glad to touch it, to kiss, and embrace it, to hold it to their breasts, and heads, and stroke all their body over with it.

"The King *Wingina* where we dwelt, would oft be with us at prayer. Twice he was exceeding sick and like to die. And doubting of any help from his priests, thinking he was in such danger for offending us and our God, sent for some of us to pray, and be a means to our God, he might live with him after death. And so did many others in the like case. One other strange accident (leaving others) will I mention before I end, which moved the whole country that either knew or heard of us, to have us in wonderful admiration.

"There was no town where they had practised any villainy against us (we leaving it unpunished, because we sought by all possible means to win them by gentleness) but within a few days after our departure, they began to die ; in some towns twenty, in some forty, in some sixty, and in one an hundred and twenty, which was very many in respect of their numbers. And this happened in no place (we could learn) where we had been, but where they had used some practice to betray us. And this disease was so strange, they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it ; nor had they known the like, time out of mind ; a thing specially observed by us, as also by themselves, in somuch that some of them who were our friends, especially *Wingina*, had observed such effects in four or five towns, that they were persuaded it was the work of God through our means ; and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would, without weapons, and not come near them. And thereupon, when they had any understanding, that any of their enemies had abused us in our journies, they would intreat us, we would be a means to our God, that they, as the others that had dealt ill with us, might die in like sort : although we shewed them their requests were ungodly ; and that our God would not subject himself to any such requests of men, but all things as he pleased came to pass : and that we to shew ourselves his true servants, ought rather to pray for the contrary : yet because the effect fell out so suddenly after, according to their desires, they thought it came to pass by our means, and would come give us thanks in their manner, that though we satisfied them not in words, yet in deeds we had fulfilled their desires.

"This marvellous accident in all the country wrought so strange opinion of us, that they could not tell whether to think us gods or men. And the rather that all the space of their sickness, there was no man of ours known to die, or much sick. They noted also we had no women, nor cared for any of theirs; some therefore thought we were not born of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many years past, and risen again from immortality. Some would prophesy there were more of our generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places. Those that were to come after us they imagined to be in the air, yet invisible and without bodies; and that they by our intreaties, for love of us, did make the people die as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

"To confirm this, their physicians to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease, would make the simple people believe, that the strings of blood they sucked out of the sick bodies, were the strings wherein the invisible bullets were tied, and cast. Some thought we shot them ourselves, from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people that had offended us, as we listed, how far soever. And others said it was the special work of God for our sakes, as we had cause in some sort to think no less, whatever some do, or may imagine to the contrary; especially some *Astrologers* by the eclipse of the sun we saw that year before our voyage, and by a *comet* which began to appear but a few days before the sickness began: but to exclude them from being the special causes of so special an accident, there are farther reasons than I think fit to present or allege.

"These their opinions I have set down, that you may see there is hope to embrace the truth, and honor, obey, fear and love us, by good dealing and government: though some of our company towards the latter end, before we came away with Sir *Francis Drake*, shewed themselves too furious, in slaying some of the people in some towns, upon causes that on our part might have been borne with more mildness; notwithstanding they justly had deserved it. The best, nevertheless, in this, as in all actions besides, is to be endeavored and hoped; and of the worst that may happen, notice to be taken with consideration; and as much as may be, eschewed; the better to allure them hereafter to civility and Christianity.

Thus you see, *how*—

"Nature herself delights herself in sundry Instruments;

"That sundry things be done to deck the earth with Ornaments;

"Nor suffers she her servants all should run one race,

"But wills the walk of every one frame in a divers pace;

"That divers ways and divers works, the world might better grace.

Written by *Thomas Heriot*, one of the voyage."\*

To return from this digression:—

In 1536, Sir Walter Raleigh sent Sir Richard Grenville to America, with seven ships. He arrived at Wococon harbour in June. Having stationed a colony of more than an hundred people at Roanoke, under the direction of Capt. Ralph Lane, and furnished them with two years provisions, he coasted north-easterly as far as Chesapeake Bay, and thence returned to England.

The colony under Capt. Lane endured extreme hardships, and must have perished, had not Sir Francis Drake fortunately returned to Virginia, and carried them to England, after having made several conquests for the queen in the West Indies and other places.

\* Smith's Hist. of Virginia, Vol. I. p. 82 to 99.



A fortnight after, Sir Richard Grenville arrived with new recruits; and although he did not find the colony which he had before left, and knew not but they had perished, he had the rashness to leave 50 men at the same place.

The year following, (1587) Sir Walter sent another company to Virginia, under Governor White, with a charter, and twelve assistants. In July he arrived at Roanoke. Not one of the second company remained. They had been suddenly attacked by 300 Indians, who destroyed the greater part of them. The remainder fled to their boats, and were never after heard of. [Smith.] Gov. White, however, determined to risk a *third* colony, and accordingly left 115 people at the old settlement, and returned to England.

This year, (Aug. 13) *Manteo* was baptized in Virginia, and called Lord of *Dessamonpeack*, in reward of his faithfulness. He was the first native Indian, who received that ordinance in that part of America. He, with Towaye, another Indian, had visited England, and returned home to Virginia with the colony. On the 18th of August, Mrs. Dare was delivered of a daughter, whom she called VIRGINIA. She was born at Roanoke, and was the first English child that was born in North America.

In the year 1590, Governor White came over to Virginia with supplies and recruits for his colony; but, to his great grief, not a man was to be found. They had all miserably famished with hunger, or were massacred by the Indians. This was the last attempt to settle a colony in this unfortunate spot, or any other part of Virginia,\* till 1602.

In 1592 Juan de Fuca, a Greek, in the service of Spain, was sent by the viceroy of Mexico, to discover a N. W. passage, by exploring the *western* side of the American continent. He discovered a strait, on the eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean, which bears his name, in the 48th deg. N. lat. and supposed it to be the long desired passage. (*Purchas.—Belknap.*)

De la Roche, in 1598, obtained from Henry IV. of France, a commission to conquer Canada, and other countries not possessed by any Christian Prince. He sailed from France with a company of *convicts* from the prisons; landed 40 on the *Isle of Sable*. Seven years after, the survivors, being 12 in number, were taken off and carried home to France; Henry pardoned them, and gave them 50 crowns each, as a recompense for their sufferings. (*Purchas.—Forster.*)

In the spring of 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold, with 32 persons, made a voyage to North Virginia, and discovered, and gave names, to Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Elizabeth's Islands, and to Dover Cliff. Elizabeth Island was the place which they fixed on

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\**Virginia* was the name of the whole country at this time.

for their first settlement. But the courage of those who were to have remained, failing, they all went on board, and returned to England. All the attempts to settle this continent, which were made by the Dutch, French and English, from its discovery to the present time, a period of 110 years, proved ineffectual. The Spaniards only, of all the European nations, had been successful. There is no account of there having been one European family, at this time, on all the vast extent of coast from Florida to Greenland.

" Martin Pring and William Brown, in 1603, were sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, with two small vessels, to make discoveries in North Virginia. They came upon the coast, which was broken with a multitude of islands, in latitude 43 deg. 30 min. north, in the present state of Maine. They coasted southward to Cape Cod Bay; thence round the Cape into a commodious harbour in 41 deg. 25 min. N. lat. where they went ashore and remained seven weeks, during which time they loaded one of their vessels with sassafras, and returned to England. Capt. Smith states, that "as they ranged the coast, at a place which they named *Whitson's Bay*, they were kindly used by the natives, who came to them in troops of from 10 to 50."

Bartholomew Gilbert, in a voyage to South Virginia, in search of the third colony that had been left there by Governor White, in 1587, having touched at several of the West India Islands, landed near Chesapeak Bay, where, in a skirmish with the Indians, he and four of his men were unfortunately slain. The rest, without any further search for the colony, returned to England.

France, being at this time in a state of tranquillity, in consequence of the edict of Nantz in favour of the Protestants, passed by Henry IV. (April 1598) and of the peace with Philip, King of Spain and Portugal, was induced to pursue her discoveries in America. Accordingly the King signed a patent\* in favour of De Mons, or Monts, (November 8, 1603) of all the country from 40th to 46th degree of north latitude, under the name of *Acadia*. The next year De Mons ranged the coast from St. Lawrence to Cape Sable, and round to Cape Cod, and began plantations at Port Royal, St. John's, and St. Croix in the Bay of Fundy.

In May, 1605, George's Island and Pentecost Harbour were discovered by Capt. George Weymouth. In May he entered a large river, in latitude 43 deg. 20 min. (variation 11 deg. 15 min. west) supposed to be the Kennebec or Penobscot. Capt. Weymouth carried with him to England five of the natives, whom he delivered to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then Governor of Plymouth.

In 1606, (April 10th) James I. by patent,† divided Virginia into two colonies. The *southern*, included all lands between the 34th and 41st degrees of north latitude. This was styled the *first colony*,

\*His. Coll. vol. i. page 45.

†Ibid. p. 50.

under the name of *South Virginia*, and was granted to the London Company. The *northern*, called the second colony, and known by the general name of *North Virginia*, included all lands between the 38th and 45th degrees north latitude, and was granted to the Plymouth Company. The territory between the 38th and 41st degrees of N. latitude, by an unaccountable mistake, it will be perceived, was included in both patents.

Each of these colonies had a council of thirteen men to govern them. To prevent disputes about territory, the colony which should last plant themselves, was prohibited from making their settlements within an hundred miles of the other.

Both the London and Plymouth companies made settlements within the limits of their respective grants: with what success will now be mentioned.

Mr. Piercy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, in the service of the London Company, went over with a colony, to Virginia, and discovered Powhattan, now James River.

In the mean time the Plymouth Company sent Capt. Henry Chalone, in a vessel of fifty-five tons, to plant a colony in North Virginia; but in his voyage he was taken by a Spanish fleet, and carried to Spain.

1607. Champlain, by order of De Mons, sailed up the river Canada, (now St. Lawrence) and fortified *Quebec*, the name of a strait in the river, which was afterwards given to the city, built on its bank.

The London Company, in the spring of this year, sent Capt. Christopher Newport, with three vessels to South Virginia. On the 26th of April he entered Chesapeak Bay, and landed, and soon after, May 13, gave to the most southern point, the name of *Cape Henry*, which it still retains. Having elected Mr. Edward Wingfield president for the year, they the next day, June 22, landed all their men, and began a settlement on James River, at a place which they called James-Town. This is the first town that was settled by the English in North America. The June following, Capt. Newport sailed for England, leaving with the president one hundred persons. Among them were Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, Capt. John Smith, Capt. John Ratcliffe, and other respectable gentlemen.

In August 22d died Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, the first projector of this settlement, and one of the council. The following winter James-Town was burnt.

During this time the Plymouth Company fitted out two ships under the command of Admiral Rawley Gilbert. They sailed for North Virginia on the 31st of May, with one hundred planters, and Capt. George Popham for their president. They arrived in August, and settled about nine or ten leagues to the southward of the mouth of the Sagadahock River, in Maine. A great part of the colony, however, disheartened by the severity of the winter, returned to England



in December, leaving their president, Capt. Popham, with only 45 men.

It was in the fall of this year that the famous Mr. Robinson, with part of his congregation, who afterwards settled at Plymouth, in New England, removed from the north of England, to Holland, to avoid the cruelties of persecution, and for the sake of enjoying "purity of worship, and liberty of conscience."

This year a small company of merchants, at Dieppe and St. Malo's founded Quebec ; or rather, the colony which they sent, built a few huts there, which did not take the form of a town until the reign of Lewis XIV.

In 1608, Sagadahock colony suffered incredible hardships, after the departure of their friends in December. In the depth of winter, which was extremely cold, their storehouse caught fire, and was consumed, with most of their provisions and lodgings. Their misfortunes were increased soon after, by the death of their president. Rawley Gilbert was appointed to succeed him.

Lord Chief Justice Popham made every exertion to keep this colony alive, by repeatedly sending them supplies. But the circumstance of his death, which happened this year, together with president Gilbert's being called to England to settle his private affairs, broke up the colony, and they all returned with him.

The unfavourable reports which these first unfortunate adventurers propagated respecting the country, prevented any further attempts to settle North Virginia, for several years after.

In 1608 the London Company sent Capt. Nelson, with two ships and one hundred and twenty persons, to James-Town ; and the year following Capt. John Smith, afterwards president, arrived on the coast of South Virginia, and by sailing up a number of rivers, discovered the interior of the country. In September Capt. Newport arrived with seventy persons, which increased the colony to two hundred souls.

Mr. Robinson and his congregation, who had settled at Amsterdam, removed this year to Leyden ; where they remained more than 11 years, till a part of them came over to New England.

The council for South Virginia, having resigned their old commission, requested, and obtained a new one ;\* in consequence of which, they appointed Sir Thomas West, Lord De la War, general of the colony ; Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant ; Sir George Somers, admiral ; Sir Thomas Dale, high marshal ; Sir Ferdinand Wainnaar, general of the horse ; and Capt. Newport, vice-admiral.

In June Sir Thomas Gates, Admiral Newport, and Sir George Somers, with seven ships, a ketch and a pinnace, having five hundred souls on board, men, women, and children, sailed from Fal-

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\*The second Charter of Virginia, bears date May 23, 1609. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 53.

mouth for South Virginia. In crossing the Bahama Gulf, on the 24th of July, the fleet was overtaken by a violent storm, and separated. Four days after, Sir George Somers ran his vessel ashore on one of the Bermuda Islands, which, from this circumstance, have been called Somers' Islands. The people on board, one hundred and fifty in number, all got safe on shore; and there remained until the following May. The remainder of the fleet arrived at Virginia in August. The colony was now increased to five hundred men. Capt. Smith, then president, a little before the arrival of the fleet, had been very badly burnt by means of some powder, which had accidentally caught fire. This unfortunate circumstance, together with the opposition he met with from those who had lately arrived, induced him to leave the colony and return to England: which he accordingly did the last of September. Francis West, his successor in office, soon followed him, and George Piercy was elected president.

The year following, (1610) the South Virginia, or London Company, sealed a patent to Lord De la War, constituting him Governor and Captain General of South Virginia. He soon after embarked for America, with Capt. Argal, and one hundred and fifty men, and three ships.

The unfortunate people, who, the year before, had been shipwrecked on the Bermuda Islands, had employed themselves during the winter and spring, under the direction of Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Admiral Newport, in building a sloop to transport themselves to the continent. They embarked for Virginia on the 10th of May, with about one hundred and fifty persons on board, leaving two of their men behind, who chose to stay, and landed at James-Town on the 23d of the same month. Finding the colony, which at the time of Capt. Smith's departure consisted of five hundred souls, now reduced to sixty, and those few in a distressed and wretched situation, they, with one voice, resolved to return to England; and for this purpose, on the 7th of June, the whole colony repaired on board their vessels, broke up the settlement, and sailed down the river on their way to their native country.

Fortunately, Lord De la War, who had embarked for James-Town, the March before, met them the day after they sailed, and persuaded them to return with him to James-Town, where they arrived and landed the 10th of June. The government of the colony, of right, devolved on Lord De la War. From this time we may date the *effectual* settlement of Virginia.

In 1611, Sir Thomas Dale reinforced the colony of South Virginia with 300 people, and Sir Thomas Gates, with 300 more, furnishing them with cattle and swine.

As early as the year 1607 and 1603, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, under a commission from King James, in the employ of the East India Company, made several voyages for the discovery of a north-

west passage to the East Indies. In 1609, upon some misunderstanding, he engaged in the Dutch service, in the prosecution of the same design, and on his return, ranged along the sea-coast of what has since been called New-England, (which three years before was granted by King James to his English subjects, the Plymouth Company) and entered Hudson's River, giving it his own name. He ascended this river in his boat as far as what has since been called Aurania, or Albany. In 1613, the Dutch West India Company, sent some persons to this river, to trade with the Indians; and as early as 1623, the Dutch had a trading house on Connecticut River. In consequence of these discoveries and settlements, the Dutch claimed all the country extending from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen, along the sea-coast, and as far back into the country as any of the rivers within those limits extend. But their claim has been disputed. This extensive country, the Dutch called *New Netherlands*, and in 1614 the States General granted a patent to sundry merchants for an exclusive trade on Hudson's River, who, the same year, built a fort on the west side, near Albany. From this time we may date the settlement of *New-York*.

Conception Bay, or the Island of Newfoundland, was settled in the year 1610, by about forty planters, under Governor John Guy, to whom King James had given a patent of incorporation.

Champlain, a Frenchman, had begun a settlement at Quebec 1608. St. Croix, Mount Mansal, and Port Royal were settled about the same time. These settlements remained undisturbed till 1613, when the Virginians, hearing that the French had settled within their limits, sent Capt. Argal to dislodge them. For this purpose he sailed to Sagadahock, took their forts at Mount Mansal, St. Croix, and Port Royal, with their vessels, ordnance, cattle and provisions, and carried them to James-Town in Virginia. Quebec was left in possession of the French.

In 1614, Capt. John Smith, with two ships, and forty-five men and boys, made a voyage to North Virginia, to make experiments upon a gold and copper mine. His orders were to fish and trade with the natives, if he should fail in his expectations with regard to the mine. To facilitate the business, he took with him *Tantum*, an Indian, perhaps one that Capt. Weymouth carried to England in 1605. In April he reached the Island Monahigan, in latitude 43° 30'. Here Capt. Smith was directed to stay and keep possession with ten men, for the purpose of making a trial of the whaling business; but being disappointed in this, he built seven boats, in which thirty-seven men made a very successful fishing voyage. In the mean time the Captain himself, with eight men only, in a small boat, coasted from Penobscot River to the Sagadahock, Acocisco, Passataquaeh, Tragabiganda, now called Cape Ann; thence to Acomac, where he skirmished with some Indians; thence to Cape Cod, where he set his Indian, *Tantum* ashore, and left him, and returned to Mo-



nahigan. In his voyage he found two French ships in the Bay of Massachusetts, who had come there six weeks before, and during that time, had been trading very advantageously with the Indians. It was conjectured that there were, at this time, three thousand Indians upon the Massachusetts islands.

In July, Capt. Smith embarked for England in one of the vessels, leaving the other under the command of Capt. Thomas Hunt, to equip for a voyage to Spain. After Capt. Smith's departure, Hunt perfidiously allured twenty Indians (one of whom was *Squanto*, afterwards so serviceable to the English) to come on board his ship at Pawtuxit, and seven more at Nausit, and carried them to the island of Malaga, where he *sold them for twenty pounds each, to be slaves for life*. This base conduct, which has fixed an indelible stigma on the character of Hunt, excited in the Indians such an inveterate hatred of the English, that, for many years after, all commercial intercourse with them was rendered extremely dangerous.

Capt. Smith arrived at London the last of August, when he drew a map of the country, and called it **NEW-ENGLAND**. From this time North Virginia assumed the name of *New-England*, and the name *Virginia* was confined to the southern colony.

Between the years 1614 and 1620, several attempts were made by the Plymouth Company to settle New-England, but from several causes they were all rendered ineffectual. During this time, however, an advantageous trade was carried on with the natives.

1615. Robert Bylot and William Baffin sailed from England in search of a north-west passage. The following year they made another voyage, and discovered the great northern bay, which bears Baffin's name.

About this time war, famine, and pestilence raged among the natives of New-England, and swept off great numbers of them. When *Thomas Dermern* arrived in New-England in 1619, he found many places, before populous, almost desolate, and the few remaining inhabitants, either sick, or but scarcely recovered.

In the year 1617, Mr. Robinson and his congregation, influenced by several weighty reasons, meditated a removal to America. Various difficulties intervened to prevent the success of their designs until the year 1620, when a part of his congregation came over and settled at Plymouth, which at this time was without a single inhabitant. At this time, and in this place, commenced the settlement of New-England.\*

In order to preserve the chronological order, in which the several colonies, now grown into independent States, were first settled, it

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\*The particulars relating to the first emigrations to this northern part of America; the progress of its settlement, the character of the first settlers, and of their institutions, &c. are given at length in the *History of New-England*, by J. Morse and E. Parish, to which the reader is referred.

will be necessary just to mention that the next year after the settlement of Plymouth, Capt. John Mason obtained of the Plymouth council a grant of a part of the present State of New-Hampshire.

Two years after, 1623, under the authority of this grant, a small colony planted themselves near the mouth of Piscataqua River. From this period we may date the settlement of NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

In 1627, a colony of Swedes and Finns came over and landed at Cape Henlopen; and afterwards purchased of the Indians the land from this Cape to the Falls of Delaware, on both sides of the river, which they called *New Swedeland Stream*, since named Delaware River. On this river they built several forts, and made settlements.

On the 19th of March, 1628, the Council for New-England sold to Sir Henry Roswell, and five others, a large tract of land lying round Massachusetts Bay. The June following, Capt. John Endicot, with his wife and company, came over and settled at Naumkeag, now called Salem.\* This was the first English settlement which was made in MASSACHUSETTS BAY. Plymouth, indeed, which is now included in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was settled eight years before, but at this time it was a separate colony, under a distinct government, and continued so, until the second charter of Massachusetts was granted by William and Mary, in 1691, by which Plymouth, the Province of Maine, and Sagadahock, were annexed to Massachusetts.

June, 13, 1633.] In the reign of Charles the first, Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, applied for, and obtained a grant of a tract of land upon Chesapeak Bay, about 140 miles long, and 130 broad. Soon after this, in consequence of the rigour of the laws of England against the Catholics, Lord Baltimore, with a number of his persecuted brethren, came over and settled it, and in honor of queen Henrietta Maria, they called it MARYLAND.

The first grant of Connecticut was made by Robert, Earl of Warwick, President of the Council of Plymouth, to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and others, March 19, 1631.† In consequence of several smaller grants made afterwards in 1635 and 1636 by the patentees, to particular persons, Mr. Fenwick made a settlement at

\* "Among others who arrived at Naumkeag, were Ralph Sprague, with his brethren Richard and William: who, with 3 or 4 more, by Governor Endicot's consent, undertook a journey through the woods above 12 miles westward, till they came to a neck of land called *Mishawum*, between Mystic and Charles Rivers, full of Indians, named *Aberginians*. Their old Sachem being dead, his eldest son, called by the English, John Sagamore, was Chief, a man of gentle and good disposition, by whose free consent, they settled here; where they found but one English house, thatched and palisaded, possessed by *Thomas Walford*, a Smith by trade." *Princes' Chron.* p. 174.

"June 1629, Mr. Thomas Graves removed from Salem to *Mishawum*, and with the Governor's consent, called it *Charlestown*. He laid the town out in two acre lots, and built the *Great House*, which afterwards became the house of Public Worship, Mr. Bright, Minister." *Ibid.* p. 183.

† Hazard's Hist. Coll. p. 312.



the mouth of Connecticut River, and called it *Saybrook*. About the same time, (1636,) a number of people from Massachusetts Bay, came and began settlements at Hartford, Weathersfield and Windsor, on Connecticut River. Thus commenced the English settlement of CONNECTICUT.

Rhode-Island was first settled by Roger Williams, who was among those who came over to Salem, Massachusetts, among the first settlers at that place, and not agreeing with some of his brethren in certain religious opinions, was, in the wrong spirit of those times, banished from the colony, and went, in 1635, with twelve others, his adherents, and settled at a place which they named *Providence*. From this beginning arose the colony of RHODE-ISLAND and PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS.

On the 20th of March, 1664, Charles the Second granted to the Duke of York, what is now called NEW-JERSEY, then a part of a large tract of country, which the Dutch emigrants had named *New-Netherland*. Some parts of New-Jersey were settled by the Dutch, as early as about 1615.

In the year 1662, Charles the Second granted to Edward, Earl of Clarendon, and seven others, almost the whole territory now comprised in the three Southern States, North and South Carolina and Georgia. Two years after, 1664, he granted a second charter, enlarging their boundaries. The proprietors, by virtue of authority vested in them by their charter, engaged the celebrated Mr. Locke to frame for them a system of laws for the government of their intended colony. Notwithstanding these preparations, no effectual settlement was made until the year 1669, (though one was attempted in 1667) when Governor Sayle came over with a colony, which he planted on a neck of land between Ashley and Cooper Rivers. Thus commenced the settlement of CAROLINA, which then included the whole territory between 29 and 36 degs. 30 min. north latitude, together with the Bahama Islands, lying between latitude 22 and 27 degs. north.

The royal charter for Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn, a distinguished member of the Society of *Friends*, on the 4th of March, 1681. The first colony came over the next year, and settled under the proprietor, who acted as Governor, from October, 1682, to August, 1684. The first assembly in the province of Pennsylvania was holden at Chester, on the 4th of December, 1682. Thus William Penn, justly celebrated as a great and good man, had the honor of laying the foundation of the present populous and respectable State of PENNSYLVANIA.

The proprietary government in Carolina, was attended with so many inconveniences, and occasioned such violent dissensions among the settlers, that the parliament of Great Britain was induced to take the province under their own immediate care. The Proprietors (except Lord Granville) accepted of 22,500l. sterling,

from the crown, for the property and jurisdiction. This agreement was ratified by act of Parliament in 1729. A clause in this act reserved to Lord Granville, his eighth share of the property, and arrears of quit-rents, which continued legally vested in his family, till the revolution in 1776. Lord Granville's share made a part of the present state of North-Carolina. About the year 1729, the extensive territory belonging to the proprietors, was divided into North and South Carolina. They remained separate royal governments, until they became independent States.

For the relief of indigent people of Great-Britain and Ireland, and for the security of Carolina, a project was formed for planting a colony between the rivers Savannah and Altamaha. Accordingly application being made to King George, the second, he issued letters patent bearing date June 9th, 1732, for legally carrying into execution the benevolent plan. In honour of the king, who greatly encouraged the plan, they called the new province **GEORGIA**. Twenty-one Trustees were appointed to conduct the affairs relating to the settlement of the province. The November following, one hundred and fifteen persons, one of whom was General Oglethorpe, embarked for Georgia, where they arrived, and landed at Yamacraw. In exploring the country, they found an elevated and pleasant spot of ground on the bank of a navigable river, upon which they marked out a town, and from the Indian name of the river which passed by it, called it Savannah. From this period we may date the settlement of **GEORGIA**.

The country, now called **KENTUCKY**, was well known to the Indian traders, many years before its settlement. They gave descriptions of it to Lewis Evans, who published his first map of it, as early as the year 1752. James Macbride, with some others, explored this country in 1754. Col. Daniel Boon visited it in 1769.

Four years after, Col. Boon and his family, with five other families, who were joined by forty men from Powell's Valley, begun the settlement of **KENTUCKY**,\* which was erected into an independent state, by act of Congress, December 6th, 1790, and received into the Union, June 1st, 1792.

The tract of country called **VERMONT**, before the late war, was claimed both by New-York and New-Hampshire. When hostilities commenced between Great Britain and her Colonies, the inhabitants, considering themselves as in a state of nature, as to civil government, and not within any legal jurisdiction, associated and formed for themselves a constitution of government. Under this constitu-

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\* This settlement was made in violation of the Treaty of 1763, at Fort Stanwix, which expressly stipulates, that this tract of country should be reserved for the western Indian nations to hunt upon, until they and the crown of England should otherwise agree. This has been one great cause of the enmity of those Indian nations to the Virginians. [Col. Morgan.]



tion, after a long controversy with New-York and New-Hampshire, they have ever since continued to exercise all the powers of an independent State. Vermont was not admitted into the Union with the other States, till March 4th, 1791; yet we may venture to date her political existence, as a separate government, from the year 1777, because, since that time, Vermont has, to all intents and purposes, been a sovereign and independent State. The first settlement within its limits was made at Bennington, as early as about 1764.

The extensive tract of country lying north-west of the Ohio River, within the limits of the United States, was erected into a separate *territorial* government by an ordinance of Congress passed the 13th of July, 1787.

About the middle of the last century, the Shawanee Indians, who lived on the Savannah River, in Georgia, removed and settled on the Cumberland River, near the present site of Nashville. They were not suffered, however, long to remain in this fine country; but were driven off by the more powerful Cherokees.

This country was included in the second charter granted by Charles II. to the proprietors of Carolina; and in a subsequent division it was made a part of North-Carolina.

Its situation was so remote from the sea-board, beyond the mountains, and inhabited by Indians, that no settlement of white people was attempted here, till near the commencement of the revolutionary war. The first settlers planted themselves on the Watauga River. Here they continued several years secluded and unnoticed by the government of North-Carolina, and under no laws but of their own enactment. Their military operations in the revolutionary war, were connected with those of the western settlers of Virginia.

The year 1776, was signalized by a formidable invasion by the Cherokees. The intention of these Indians was to depopulate the country, as far as Kanhawa, because the brave people inhabiting this territory had rejected, with a noble firmness and indignation, the proposals of Henry Stewart and Alexander Cameron, to join the British standard, and were almost unanimous in their resolution to support the measures of Congress. This invasion issued in a total defeat of the Indians. The first appearance of any persons from this district, in the public councils of North-Carolina, was in the convention that framed the constitution of that state, in 1776.

TENNESSEE became a distinct Territorial Government in 1790, and in 1796, was erected, in due form, into an independent State, making the 16th in the Union.

The whole country now embraced within the limits of Ohio, was originally included in the charters of Virginia and Connecticut. Virginia claimed all the country between the parallels of 36 deg. 30 min. and 41 deg. N. and Connecticut, that from 41 to 42.

In 1784, Virginia resigned to the Congress of the United States her whole jurisdiction north of Ohio; and her title to the soil within the

present limits of the State of Ohio, except the tract between the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers.

In 1736, Connecticut ceded her claim to the soil and jurisdiction of that part of her territory, which lies west of a meridian line, 120 miles distant from the western boundary of Pennsylvania. This meridian line passes through the middle of Sandusky Bay, near the western extremity of Lake Erie.

In 1800, she relinquished her *jurisdiction* over the part which lies east of that meridian, but retained her claim to the soil. This tract is called the *Connecticut Reserve*, or *New Connecticut*.

The first settlement made by the whites within the present limits of Ohio, was in 1788, by a party from New England, under the direction of Rufus Putnam, Esq. who made an establishment at the mouth of the Muskingum River.

For several years previous to 1795, an unhappy Indian war had checked the settlement of this territory. In August of that year, however, a treaty was holden with the hostile tribes at Greenville, and their differences amicably adjusted. From this period the increase of population and improvement has been incessant and unexampled.

All the territory of the United States north-west of the river Ohio, including the present state of Ohio, from 1787 to 1800, was embraced under one territorial government. In 1800, Ohio was detached from the rest, and placed under a separate territorial government until 1802, when it was admitted into the Union, as an independent state.

The name LOUISIANA was originally applied to the whole country west of the Mississippi, included within the limits of the present *states* of Louisiana and Missouri, and of the Arkansaw and Missouri *Territories*. Its boundaries for a long time remained a subject of much controversy.

This country was first discovered by Ferdinand de Soto, in 1541. The first French colony was planted by Mons. Iberville, of Canada, in 1699.

In 1718 and 1719, while the exclusive trade of the country was in the hands of a company, a numerous colony of labourers, collected from France, Germany, and Switzerland, and allured by the most flattering promises and expectations, were conveyed to Louisiana, and settled in a district called *Biloxi*, on the island of Orleans; the miserable fate of this colony, who perished by hundreds, for a long time ruined the reputation of Louisiana; and this enchanting country was afterwards execrated, and its very name, for a while, was a reproach. It became the receptacle of the lowest and most profligate persons in the kingdom.

In 1762, France, by a secret treaty, ceded Louisiana to Spain.

By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, of Oct. 1, 1800, confirmed by that of Madrid, on the 21st of March 1800, Spain ceded the country back to France.

In 1803, the United States purchased Louisiana from France for about the sum of 15,000,000 of dollars.



Soon after the purchase, the present State of Louisiana was separated from the rest of the territory, under the name of the *Territory of Orleans*.

In 1811, the Territory of Orleans was made a state, and admitted into the Union, under the name of LOUISIANA.

In 1812, possession was taken of West Florida, by the United States, and the part west of Pearl River was incorporated with Louisiana.

Indiana, till January 1801, formed a part of the North-Western Territory. At that period it was, together with what now constitutes the State of Illinois, erected into a territorial government, under the name of the INDIANA TERRITORY. In 1809, Illinois was separated from it. In 1816 INDIANA became an independent state, and was admitted into the Union.

In Nov. 1811, a bloody battle was fought at Tippacanoë, 100 miles from Vincennes, between the troops of the United States and the Indians; the latter, of course, were the victors.

Until within a few years this country was almost entirely in the hands of the Indians. The French, previous to 1756, had some small settlements at Vincennes, Cahokia, and Kaskaskias. But the people were few in number, detached from each other, and lived by hunting, and Indian traffic, rather than by agriculture.

Since 1803, the United States have purchased, at various times, large tracts of land in this state, from the Indians, and but small portions of their former territories now remain in their possession.

ILLINOIS was a part of the Indiana Territory, till 1809, when it was erected into a separate *territorial* government. In 1818, it was admitted into the Union on the same footing with the original states.

In 1773, Gen. Putnam, Capt. Enos, and Mr. Lyman attempted a settlement on the Lousa Chitto, in the present state of Mississippi, which failed.

In 1779, the British took possession of the Natchez country, which at this period was settling fast by emigrations from the northern states.

In 1795, when this state, with Alabama, belonged to the State of Georgia, its legislature sold to four different companies about twenty-two million acres of its lands; which were afterwards purchased principally by gentlemen in the middle and eastern states. Serious disputes followed concerning these lands, which, after long controversy, have been adjusted between the purchasers and the United States.

In 1800, the western part of Georgia, which now forms the states of Mississippi and Alabama, was erected into a *territorial* government.

By treaty, in Dec. 1801, at fort Adams, the Choctaw Indians relinquished to the United States all the land in Mississippi, between the old line of demarkation, established by the British, and the Mississippi River, bounded S. by the 31st degree of lat. and N. by the Yazoo River.

In Dec. 1817, the western part of the then Mississippi territory, was erected by act of Congress, into a state called MISSISSIPPI, and the eastern part into a *territorial* government, named ALABAMA, which, March 3d, 1819, was erected into an independent state.

The MISSOURI state embraces only a part of what was called Missouri Territory. It was erected into a state March 2d, 1821. That part of the Territory not included in the state, still bears the general name of MISSOURI TERRITORY.

All the Missouri Territory south of "A line beginning on the Mississippi River, at lat. 36 N. running thence W. to the river St. Francis; thence up the same, north, to lat. 36 deg. 30 min. thence W. to the western territorial line," was formed into a new Territory by an act of March, 1819, by the name of ARKANSAW TERRITORY.

In 1667, Lewis XIV. sent a party of soldiers to Detroit to protect the French fur-traders. The soldiers between that time and 1683, built a fort at this place, and another at Michilimackinack, and soon extended their commerce to Green Bay, west of lake Michigan, and thence to the Indians on the Mississippi. The Iroquois, however, steadily opposed their progress. The French government neglected the settlements, and they never flourished, as colonies. The war of 1756 dispossessed the French of all their North-American possessions; and, among the rest, of these settlements. They remained in a neglected state in the hands of the British, till the peace of 1783 gave them over to the United States; and a governor was appointed, in July, 1787, for all the Territory N. W. of the Ohio. In 1796, the fort of Detroit was delivered, in form, by the English to the United States, agreeably to treaty; and this fine peninsula was formed into a county, and called *Wayne*, which, in 1805, was erected into a territorial government, by the name of MICHIGAN.

In 1812, July 17, Fort Michilimackinac was surrendered to the British, and on the 16th of August following, Fort Detroit, with about 1400 troops, and remained in their hands till the peace of 1814.

Sebastian Cabot discovered the country since called Florida, in 1497. Ponce sailed along the eastern coast in 1512, and took possession of it in the name of the king of Spain. The first attempt to settle it, was made in 1524, by Luke Vasques; the second in 1528, by Pampilo de Narvaez, who had received a grant of the country from Charles V.; the third by Ferdinand de Soto, governour of Cuba, in 1539; who landed with 600 men, and 200 horses, and travelled westward; passed the second winter among the Chickasaw Indians; thence crossed the Mississippi, proceeded to Red River, where he died.\* John Ribalt, a Frenchman, took possession in 1562. Pedro Melandez, a Spaniard, broke up the French settlement in 1565; and Dominique de Gourges, a soldier of Gascony, drove away the Spaniards in 1568. The King of France disowning the acts of De

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\*Williamson's His. Coll. N. Carolina, p. 16.

Gourges, the French soon quitted the country, and the Spaniards re-occupied it.

In 1736, it was ceded to Great Britain, in exchange for the Havannah. West Florida was taken by the Spaniards, in 1781, and both countries ceded to Spain in 1783. In Feb. 1819, both the Floridas were ceded to the United States, by Spain, though a great part of W. Florida, had been claimed by the United States, under the treaty of 1803. The possession of this territory, and the extension of our western boundary to the Pacific Ocean, gives a proper shape to our country, and makes a well proportioned and beautiful map. The possession of Florida will be of incalculable advantage to the United States. The Island of Cuba is in sight from some parts of it ; it has good harbours for commerce ; a good soil, in many parts, for agriculture, and will furnish abundance of the tropical fruits and productions.

This country was erected into a *Territory*, in the usual form, in 1822.

We close the foregoing summary with the following Table.

A TABLE showing the Population of the U. States in 1790 and 1820 ; the amount of Militia by the last returns ; and the number of Revolutionary Pensioners.

STATES.	POPULATION in 1790.		POPULATION in 1820.			Returns of Militia, 1822-3.		Revolut'y. Pensioners Decr. 1823.
	F. Whites.	Slaves.	F. Whites.	F. Blacks.	Slaves.	1822-3.	Decr. 1823.	
N. Hampshire	141,097	158	243,236	786	—	28,792	—	836
Massachusetts	373,324	—	516,419	6,740	—	53,903	—	1,677
Rhode-Island	64,470	948	79,413	3,554	48	8,942	—	245
Connecticut	232,374	2,764	267,181	7,870	97	22,671	—	859
Vermont	85,298	16	234,846	903	—	23,976	—	1,000
New-York	314,145	21,321	1,332,744	29,279	10,089	125,037	—	2,948
New-Jersey	169,954	11,421	257,409	12,460	7,557	39,588	—	423
Pennsylvania	424,099	3,733	1,017,094	30,202	211	154,308	—	943
Delaware	46,310	8,887	55,282	12,958	4,509	7,453	—	27
Maryland	208,649	103,037	260,222	39,730	107,398	32,189	—	222
Virginia	442,117	292,627	603,074	36,889	425,153	94,552	—	667
N. Carolina	288,204	100,572	419,200	14,612	205,017	41,874	—	236
S. Carolina	131,181	107,091	237,440	6,826	253,475	23,230	—	111
Georgia	52,986	29,264	189,566	1,763	149,656	29,661	—	42
Kentucky	61,133	12,430	434,644	2,759	126,732	63,580	—	452
Tennessee	31,913	3,417	339,727	2,727	80,107	36,146	—	207
Ohio	—	—	576,572	4,723	—	92,326	—	661
Louisiana	—	—	73,383	10,476	69,064	10,189	—	3
Indiana	—	—	145,758	1,230	190	14,990	—	106
Mississippi	—	—	42,176	458	32,814	5,291	—	8
Illinois	—	—	53,788	457	917	2,031	—	14
Alabama	—	—	85,451	571	41,879	11,281	—	9
Maine	96,022	—	297,340	929	—	37,042	—	1,208
Missouri	—	—	55,988	347	102,222	1,773	—	7
Dist. Columbia	—	—	22,614	4,048	6,377	2,212	—	33



## CHAPTER II.

*Brief Sketch of the names and character of a number of the principal Indian Tribes, who inhabited this country, at the period of its first settlement by European Emigrants, and an account of some of the most signal subsequent Indian Wars.*

In a history of our country, which goes back to its first discovery and settlement, the reader will naturally wish and expect to find some account of its original inhabitants, of the names, location, numbers, and character of their several tribes ; and of the most interesting wars which have happened between them, and the white people, who now possess the soil, which these Aborigines once called their own. This information we give in the chapter on which we now enter.

In 1674, *Daniel Gookin*, gentleman, published "Historical Collections, of the Indian Nations who inhabited New-England, before the arrival of its first English settlers." From these Collections are made the following extracts.\*

"The principal nations of Indians, that did, or do, inhabit New-England, are five : 1. Pequots ; 2. Narragansitts ; 3. Pawkunnawkutts ; 4. Massachusetts ; and 5. Pawtucketts.†

"The *Pequots*, or *Peguods*, were a people seated in the most southerly bounds of New-England ; whose country the English of the Connecticut jurisdiction doth now, for the most part, possess. This nation were a very warlike and potent people, almost forty years since ; (1630) at which time they were in their meridian. Their chief sachem held dominion over divers petty sagamores ; as over part of Long Island, the Mohegans, and the sagamores of Quinapeake, yea over all the people that dwelt upon the Connecticut River, and over some of the most southerly inhabitants of the Nipmuck country, about Quinabaag. The principal sachem lived at, or about, Pequot, now called New-London. These Pequots, as old Indians relate, could, in former times, raise 4000 men fit for war ; and held hostility with their eastern and northern neighbours, called Narragansitts, or Nechegansitts.

"The *Narragansitts* were a great people heretofore ; and the territory of their sachem extended about 30 or 40 miles from Sekunk River, and Narragansitt Bay, including Rhode Island, and other islands in that bay, being their east and north bounds, and so running westerly and southerly unto a place called Wekapage, four or five miles to the eastward of Pawcutuk River, which was reckoned

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\* See Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. i. p. 147.



for their south and west border, and the easternmost limits of the Pequots. This sachem held dominion over divers petty governors; as part of Long Island, Block Island, Cawesitt, Niantick, and others, and had tribute from some of the Nipmuck Indians, that lived remote from the sea. The chief seat of this sachem was about Narragansitt Bay, and Cannonicut Island. The Narragansitts were reckoned, in former times, able to arm for war, more than 5000 men, as ancient Indians say. All agree that they were a great people, and oftentimes waged war with the Pawkunnawkutts and Massachusetts, as well as with the Pequots. The jurisdiction of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, and part of Connecticut people, possess their country. These Indians are now but few comparatively: all that people cannot make above one thousand able men.

"The *Pawkunnawkutts* were a great people heretofore. They lived to the east, and north-east of the Narragansitts; and their chief sachem held dominion over divers petty sagamores; on the island of Nantuckett, Martha's Vineyard, and others near them, and over some of the Nipmucks. Their country, for the most part, falls within the jurisdiction of New Plymouth Colony. This people were a potent nation in former times; and could raise, as the most credible and ancient Indians affirm, about 3000 men. They held war with the Narragansitts; and often joined with the Massachusetts, as friends and confederates against the Narragansitts. This nation, a very great number of them, were swept away by an epidemical and unwonted sickness, of 1612 and 1613, about seven or eight years before the English first arrived in those parts, to settle the colony of New Plymouth. Thereby divine providence made way for the quiet and peaceable settlement of the English in the depopulated territory of those nations. What this disease was, that so generally and mortally swept away, not only these, but other Indians, their neighbours, I cannot well learn. Doubtless it was some pestilential disease. I have discoursed with some old Indians, that were then youths; who say that the bodies of the sick all over were exceeding yellow, describing it by a yellow garment they showed me, both before they died, and afterward.

"The *Massachusetts*, being the next great people northward, inhabited principally about that place in Massachusetts Bay, where the body of the English now dwell. These were a numerous and great people. Their chief sachem held dominion over many other petty governors; as those of Weechagaskas, Neponsitt, Punkapaog, Nonantem, Nashaway, some of the Nipmuck people, as far as Pokomtacucke, as the old men of Massachusetts affirmed. This people could, in former times, arm for war, about 3000 men, as the old Indians declare. They were in hostility very often with the Narragansitts; but held amity, for the most part, with the Pawkunnawkutts, who lived on the south border, and with the Pawtucketts, who inhabited on their north and north-east limits. In 1612 and 1613, these people were also sorely smitten by the hand of God, with the

same disease before mentioned ; which destroyed the most of them, and made room for the English people of Massachusetts Colony, which people this country, and the next, called Pawtucket. There are not of this people left at this day above three hundred men, besides women and children.

"*Pawtucket* is the fifth and last sachemship of Indians. Their country lyeth north, and north-east from the Massachusetts, whose dominion reacheth so far as the English jurisdiction, or colony of the Massachusetts, doth now extend, and had under them several other smaller sagamores ; as the Pennakooks, Agawames, Naamkuks, Pascatawayes, Accomintas, and others. They were also a considerable people heretofore, about 3000 men ; and held amity with the people of Massachusetts. But these also were almost totally destroyed by the great sickness before mentioned ; so that at this day, they are not above 250 men, besides women and children. This country is now inhabited by the English under the government of Massachusetts."

The Aboriginal tribes, who inhabited the territory, now comprised in the State of Maine, were the following, furnished to the Compiler for his Report to the President of the United States, on Indian affairs,\* by the Hon. W. D. Williamson.

Probable original  
numbers about  
the year 1616.

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|--------|---|
| 1,000. | { 1. The Newichwannucks, on the Piscataqua.   |
|        | { 2. The Ossippee tribes, on the river of the same name, emptying into, and forming, the Saco.  |
| 400.   | 3. The Pigwackets, whose principal town, a resting place, was the present Fryburgh, above the Ossippee.   |
| 500.   | 4. The Amariscoggins, at the head of Casco Bay : These Indians, as far east as the Kennebec, were generally called by the <i>generic</i> name of " <i>Abenaguies</i> ."   |
| 600.   | 5. The Norridgewock tribe, whose ancient town, or headquarters, was the present town of Norridgewock, thirty miles above Hallowell, on the Kennebec. Of all the tribes above-mentioned, a few only, say twenty souls of the latter, remain.   |
| 800.   | 6. The Pemaquids. This was a powerful tribe, probably at the head of the <i>Tarrateens</i> , till the great and mortal sickness among the natives along the whole coast, from the Penobscot to Narraganset, A. D. 1617. The seat of the Pemaquids was at Bristol, in the county of Lincoln, fifteen miles east of Bath. |
| 1,300. | 7. The Penobscots, {  |
| 600.   | 8. The Passamaquoddies, { These two tribes resided on the   |
|        | <i>River and Bay</i> which bear their   |
|        | respective names, in the eastern part of Maine, where   |
| 5,000. | small remnants of both tribes remain.   |

The probable numbers of natives in the territory, constituting the present State of Maine, two centuries ago, was 5 or 6000 souls.

The inland tribes, according to Mr. Gookin, "however distinguished among themselves, were generally denominated *Mahas*, or

Mohawks," those particularly who lived between the Hudson and St. Lawrence Rivers, in the northern part of the present State of New-York, between lat. 42 and 44 deg. N. on the great Lakes, and south, as far as Chesapeak Bay, the above named historian states, lived a numerous race of Indians, whom he supposes to be the same as those called by Capt. Smith, in his history of Virginia, *Masawomeks*. Report stated that these Indians understood the languages of the New-England Indians.

The primitive inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, were the Delawares, once ranking among the most respectable and powerful nations on this continent.

The Iroquois Indians, embracing under this general name, the Mohawks, or Mahas, after expelling the *Hurons*, and exterminating the *Eries*, who inhabited the country bordering on the great Lakes, which now bear their names, events which happened about the years 1650 to 1660, took possession of this vast Territory, and retained it for more than a century after. Their hunting country, which they once occupied, is now embraced in the State of Ohio, and while in their possession was called *Canahague*.

The *hereditary* country of the Iroquois was between Lake Champlain and the Iroquois, now called St. Lawrence River.

Without naming more of the nations, who originally inhabited this country, I proceed to give a summary account of some of the principal and most interesting of their wars with each other, and with the French and English settlers.

#### 1. THE PEQUOT WAR.

This is a dismal section of our history. The time has been, when pious Christians had so lost sight of their Saviour's precepts and examples as to engage in unnecessary war. Excepting this war of extermination, which lasted but a few days, our forefathers lived about fifty years in peace with the Indians; and had they as Christians duly considered the importance of peace, the preciousness of human life, and that war partakes of the spirit of murder, and had they taken suitable care to dispense perfect justice to their red brethren, to soothe, to satisfy, and instruct them, probably this, and most of the subsequent wars with them, might have been prevented. Prudence and good sense may persuade these people, and preserve their friendship. "The differences we have had with them have generally been more owing to *us* than to them."\* Did not truth and impartiality forbid, we could wish this declaration erased from the volume. The reader may, however, gain some benefit; he may learn how dreadful is a spirit of war; he may learn how far good men, while ignorant and under the influence of an erroneous conscience,



may fall short of that temper which is required in the gospel. While you shudder at the narrative of blood and murder, you may with new fervour pray the God of peace, to hasten the day, when "nations shall learn war no more," when Jesus shall reign a thousand years of peace.

In 1634, the Indians murdered Capt. Stone and Capt. Norton, with six others, in a bark sailing up Connecticut River. The next year they killed part of a crew, who had been shipwrecked on Long Island. In the year 1636, at Block Island, they killed Mr. Oldham. To obtain satisfaction for these injuries, the governour and council of Massachusetts sent ninety men, who sailed under the command of Captains Endicott, Underhill and Turner. They had commission to put to death the men of Block Island, but to spare the women and children, to make them prisoners, and take possession of the Island. Then they were to visit the Pequots, and demand the murderers of Capt. Stone, and the other English; and a thousand fathoms of wampum for damages, and some of their children for hostages. Force was to be employed, if they refused. They arrived in September at Block Island; the wind being north-east, and a high surf, it was difficult landing. About 40 Indians gave a shot from their bows, and fled. The island was covered with bushes, but had no good timber. They traversed it for two days, burned two villages of wigwams, and some corn, of which there was about 200 acres, and then retired.

Thence they directed their course for Connecticut River; where they took twenty men, and two shallops, to assist them, and returned to Pequot River, (now the Thames) "landing in much danger, the shore being high, ragged rocks." Three hundred natives were soon assembled, who trifled with the demand of Endicott, encouraging him, yet delaying to observe his demand, when he assured them he had come for the purpose of fighting. They immediately withdrew; when they had proceeded beyond musket shot, he pursued them; two of them were killed, and others wounded; the English burned their wigwams, and returned. The next day they went on shore the west side of the river, burned their wigwams, spoiled their canoes, and returned to Narraganset, and thence to Boston.

After the troops left Pequot River, the twenty men of Saybrook lay wind bound, when they undertook to fetch away the Indians' corn. Having carried one load, and supplied themselves a second time, the Indians assaulted them; they returned the fire, which was continued most of the afternoon. One of the English was wounded. Two days after, five men at Saybrook were attacked in the field, one was taken prisoner, the others fled, one having five arrows in him. A fortnight after, three men in the same neighbourhood were fowling, two of whom were taken prisoners.

October 21, Miantonomo, the sachem of Narraganset, came to Boston with two sons of Canonicus, another sachem, "and twenty sanops." Twenty musketeers met him at Roxbury. The sachems declared, that they had always loved the English, and desired firm



peace with them ; that they would continue the war with the Pequots and their confederates, till they were subdued, and desired that we would do so ; that they would deliver our enemies to us or kill them ; and desiring that if any of theirs should kill our cattle, that we would not kill them, but cause them to make satisfaction. This was the substance of the treaty established. They were also to return fugitive servants, to furnish guides for our troops when they marched against the Pequots, and they were not to approach our plantations during the war, without some Englishman or known Indian.

About this time the governor of Plymouth wrote to Massachusetts, that *they* had occasioned a war by *provoking* the Pequots, casting a reflection on the late expedition. It was replied, that they could not safely pursue them without a guide, that they went not to make war, but to obtain justice, that they had killed thirteen men, and burned sixty wigwams, which was sufficient satisfaction for four or five, whom they had murdered. About the middle of October, a bark coming down Connecticut River, one Tilly, the master, went on shore to kill fowls, and was taken prisoner. They cut off his hands and feet, after which he lived three days. At the same time, they killed another man in a canoe.

The next spring the colony of Connecticut declared their dislike of the Pequot expedition, expressing their hope, that Massachusetts would continue the war, and offered assistance. Capt. Underhill, with twenty men, was sent to Saybrook to defend it against the Dutch and Indians. In May, the Indians at Weathersfield killed six men, and three women, and took two maids prisoners, and killed twenty cows.\*

The Indians becoming more daring, and the danger increasing, it was universally resolved to make a vigorous effort to repel the evil. Their success in flying from the English at Groton, had greatly encouraged them. They boasted of this at Saybrook fort, that they had deluded the English, that their God " was all one flye," that " the Englishman was all one squaw."

Massachusetts raised one hundred and sixty men,† beside forty‡ previously sent to Narraganset ; Mr. Stoughton was the commander, and Mr. Wilson, of Boston, their chaplain, " to sound the silver trumpet of the gospel before them." These two were designated by lot, with public invocation of God. Connecticut raised ninety men, under the command of Capt. Mason. Captain Underhill joined the expedition with nineteen of the garrison. Uncas, the sachem of the Mohegans, lent his assistance.

On their way to the Pequot country, from Saybrook they sent out a party of Indians, who met seven Pequots, of whom they killed five and took one ; him they tortured, and set all their heads on the fort ;

\*Winthrop.

†Mather.

— ‡Winthrop.

so contagious are malignant passions. This was done, because they had tortured some of our men taken captive.

The army sailed from Connecticut River, passed Pequot, or the Thames, and entered the Narraganset or Mistick. They were joined by five hundred Narraganset Indians ; but as the army marched to the intended scene of action, these daring sons of war fell in the rear or fled. So terrible was the name of Sassacus, who was in one of the two forts where the Pequots had assembled, and which the English designed immediately to assault : " Sassacus," they said, " was all one a God, nobody could kill him." The army silently moved by the light of the moon toward the nearest fort. Wequash, their guide and spy, brought them word, that the Pequots in the fort were all asleep. Seeing the English vessels pass them in the course of the day, supposing they had returned home in terror, they had sung and danced with joy till midnight, and were now buried in deep sleep. Captain Mason approached the east side and Underhill the west side of the fort ; a dog barked ; the centinel awoke : he cried, *Wannux, Wannux*, i. e. English, English ; the troops soon entered the fort, which consisted of trees set in the ground, two winding passages being left open ; a dreadful carnage followed. Instantly the guns of the English were directed to the floors of the wigwams, which were covered with their sleeping inhabitants. Terrible was the consternation to be roused from their dreams by the blaze and thunder of the English musketry ; if they came forth, the English swords waited to pierce them ; if they reached the pallisadoes, and attempted to climb over, the fatal balls brought them down ; their combustible dwellings, crowded together, were soon in flames ; many of them roasted and burned to death, rather than venture out ; others fled back to their burning houses, and were consumed, to escape the English swords.\* The English endeavoured to save the women and children alive ; which the men observing, in anguish and dying terror, cried, *I Squaw, I Squaw*, in hopes of finding mercy ; but their hour was come. Their dwellings being wrapped in fire, the army retired and surrounded the fort : to escape was impossible ; like a herd of deer they fell before the deadly weapons of the English. The earth was soon drenched in their blood and covered with their bodies. In a few minutes, five or six hundred of them lay gasping in their blood, or silent in death. The darkness of the forest, the blaze of the dwellings, the rivulets of blood, the ghastly looks of the dead, the groans of the dying, the shrieks of the women and children, the yells of the friendly savages, presented a scene of sublimity and horror indescribably dreadful.

The same morning, May 20, 1637, their pinnaces arrived with provisions in Pequot harbour to relieve their necessities. They were in the country of their enemies ; the mighty Sassacus and his garri-

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\*Trumbull.



CAPT. MASON'S ENGAGEMENT WITH THE INDIANS.







son were near, ready to fall upon them; they were parched with thirst, and fainting with hunger. But they directed their march for Pequot harbour, which they considered six miles distant. On the way they were assailed by three hundred savages, furious as bears bereaved of their whelps. Being repelled with courage, they retired; when they found their slaughtered friends at the fort, their grief and madness were indescrivable; they stamped the ground; they tore their hair; they roared and howled like wolves of the forest.

The Massachusetts troops, under Captain Stoughton, did not arrive till the latter part of June. By the assistance of the Narragansets, they surrounded a swamp and took eighty captives; thirty of them were men, all of whom, excepting two sachems, they killed. Those who had escaped from the Connecticut forces retired to the fort of Sassacus; they upbraided him with their misfortunes; they separated; they were scattered over the country. All the other tribes exulted in their fall, attacked and killed them wherever they found them, or sent them to the English as prisoners, or having killed them, sent their heads and limbs.

Captain Stoughton and his company pursued a party beyond Connecticut River, but not finding them, he returned to Pequot River, where he heard of a hundred; he marched, found and killed twenty-two men, took two sachems and a number of women and children, thirty of whom were given to the Narragansets, forty-eight were sent to Boston, who were placed in different families.

A few days after, Capt. Stoughton being joined by Capt. Mason and troops of Connecticut, sailed for New-Haven with eighty men. They killed six Indians, and took two. At a head of land east of New-Haven, now Guilford, they beheaded two sachems, and called the place Sachem's Head, which name it still retains. A Pequot prisoner had his life given him on condition of his finding Sassacus; he found him, and brought the intelligence to the English; but Sassacus suspecting the mischief, with Mononotto, another famous chief, fled to the Mohawks. In a swamp, three miles west of Fairfield, eighty of their men and two hundred women and children had concealed themselves. Capt. Stoughton by information from a Pequot spy, whom he had employed, discovered them; Lieutenant Davenport and two or three others endeavouring to enter, were badly wounded. A fire was kept up for several hours, when the Indians desired a parley and offered to yield. They came forth in small numbers, during the afternoon, in which time two hundred women and children had resigned themselves, with the sachem of the place; but night coming on, the men would not come out, and declared they would fight; accordingly, a constant firing was kept up all night. Toward morning, it being very dark, the Pequots crept silently out of the swamp and fled. So terminated the Pequot war, and Pequot nation. Sassacus, with twenty or thirty attendants, had fled to the Mohawks, who treacherously violating all the laws of hospitality, slew them, being hired as it was supposed by the

Narragansets. A part of the skin and hair of Sassacus they sent to Massachusetts. So vanish the tribes of men in sad succession. In the course of a few months one of the most formidable nations, then in New-England, was swept away; eight or nine hundred of them had been killed; many were fugitives in the forests, and a remnant, to save themselves from cruel deaths by their own countrymen, submitted to the English. Capt. Stoughton, on his way home, landed once more at Block Island, had an interview with the natives, who submitted themselves tributaries to the English.

In August, the troops returned to Boston, having lost but two of their number, both of whom died with sickness. A thanksgiving was observed through the colonies on account of their complete victory over their enemies.

The day previous to the dreadful storming of the fort at Mistick, had been kept as a day of fasting and prayer. This or some other circumstances attending that bloody scene, wonderfully impressed the mind of *Wequash*, the guide of the English, with the power of the Englishman's God. He went about the colony of Connecticut with bitter lamentations, that he did not know Jesus Christ, the Englishman's God. The good people faithfully instructed him concerning the religion of the gospel; after which he made a most serious profession; he forsook his savage vices, went up and down the country preaching Christ to his benighted countrymen; he bore a thousand abuses from them, and finally submitted to death for his religion.

## 2. WAR BETWEEN THE MAQUAS OR MOHAWKS, AND THE NEW-ENGLAND INDIANS.

"The Maquas or Mohawks live near unto certain lakes, about fifty miles from fort Oranje, now called fort Albany, upon a branch of Hudson's river. The place they live at, is reported to be a fertile and pleasant country. It lies between the French that live upon Canada, and the English and Dutch that live upon Hudson's River. Those Indians are greatly addicted to war, spoil, and rapine. They heretofore lived in towns, or forts, not far one from another; but were all in confederacy with each other. Their manner was to kill and spoil their neighbour Indians far and near; and with the beavers and other furs, thus taken by violence, to barter heretofore with the Dutch upon Hudson's river, now with the English that possess that country, for those necessaries they wanted, especially for guns, powder, and shot, and other weapons for war. They took their spoil principally from the Indians of Canada, and the rivers and lakes thereunto belonging; which Indians are an industrious and peaceable people, exercising themselves much in hunting beaver, otters, and other furs, which those watery regions are plentifully stored with. These Indians traffic with the French, living at Quebec and other places upon that river. But these warlike Mohawks would attack and plunder them, as they returned home from their huntings; and also

for sundry years used hostility against the French upon that river, spoiling and taking prisoners many of them. These doings of the Mohawks greatly obstructed their trade with the Indians; and hereby the French were much provoked and incensed against the Mohawks; but wanting sufficient strength to deal with them, about the year 1646 and 1647, the French did, by their agent, Monsieur Marie, a person of orders, and most probably a Jesuit, apply themselves with earnest solicitations, unto the government of Massachusetts, for assistance to subdue the Mohawks, offering great pay for such succour; but the English were not willing to engage themselves in that affair, forasmuch as the Mohawks had never done any injury to the English, and in policy and reason were like to be a good bulwark between the English and French, in case a time should come of hostility between these two nations. For these and other reasons M. Marie returned without succour. Since which time, An. 1663, or 1664, the French having received a considerable supply from France, with a new governour, and seven or eight hundred soldiers, this new governour, by his lieutenant and other commanders, with about six or seven hundred soldiers, did march against the Mohawks in the dead of winter, when the rivers and lakes were covered with a firm ice, upon which they travelled the most direct way. In truth they passed through very much difficulty by reason of the cold season, digging into the snow upon the edges of the rivers and lakes, to make their lodgings in the night, and carrying their victuals, and arms, and snow shoes at their back; (I have spoken with some Frenchmen, that were soldiers in this exploit, who related the story) and by this difficult and hazardous attempt, at such a season as was never expected by their enemies, they fell upon the Mohawks at unawares; and thereby made an ample conquest of them, and freed themselves from their former rapine and insolencies; and ever since have held them under a kind of subjection. Yet this victory was not so absolute, but many of the Indians escaped with their lives, but lost all they had, for the French took the spoil, and burnt their three forts or towns; but afterwards those that escaped, which were far the greater number of men, made treaties of peace with the French, and their country was restored to them, where they yet live, but paying some tribute to the French.

“The Mohawks for several years, had been in hostility with our neighbour Indians; as the Massachusetts, Pawtucketts, Pennakooks, Kennebecks, Pokomtakukes,\* Quabaugs, all the Nipmuck Indians, and Nashaway, or Weshakim Indians. And in truth, they were in time of war, so great a terror to all the Indians before named, though ours were far more in number than they, that the appearance of four or five Mohawks in the woods would frighten them from their habitations, and cornfields, and induce many of them to get together

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\* Living at Deerfield.



in forts ; by which means they were brought to such straits and poverty, that had it not been for relief they had from the English, in compensation for labour, doubtless many of them had suffered famine. For they were driven from their planting fields through fear, and from their fishing and hunting places ; yea they durst not go into the woods, to seek roots and nuts to sustain their lives. But this good effect the war had upon some of them, namely, to turn them from idleness ; for now necessity forced them to labour with the English in hoeing, reaping, picking hops, cutting wood, making hay, and making stone fences, and like necessary employments, whereby they got victuals and clothes.

“The Mohawks had great advantages over our poor Indian neighbours ; for they are inured to war and hostility ; ours, not inured to it. Besides, the manner of the Mohawks in their attempt, gives them much advantage, and puts ours to terror. The Mohawks’ manner is, in the spring of the year, to march forth in parties several ways, under a captain, and not above fifty in a troop. And when they come near the place that they design to spoil, they take up some secret place in the woods for their general rendezvous. Leaving some of their company there, they divide themselves into small parties, three, or four, or five in a company ; and then go and seek for prey. These small parties repair near to the Indian habitations, and lie in ambushments by the path sides, in some secure places ; and when they see passengers come, they fire upon them with guns ; and such as they kill or wound, they seize on and pillage, and strip their bodies ; and then with their knives, take off the skin and hair of the scalp of their head, as large as a satin or leather cap ; and so leaving them for dead, they pursue the rest, and take such as they can prisoners, and serve them in the same kind ; excepting at sometime, if they take a pretty youth or girl that they fancy, they save them alive : and thus they do, as often as they meet any Indians. They always carefully preserve the scalps of the head, drying the inside with hot ashes ; and so carry them home as trophies of their valour, for which they are rewarded.

“And now I am speaking of their cruel and murderous practices, I shall here mention a true and rare story of the recovery of an Indian maid, from whose head the Mohawks had stript the scalp in the manner before mentioned, and broken her skull, and left her for dead ; and afterward she was found, recovered, and is alive at this day. The story is thus.

“In the year 1670, a party of Mohawks, being looking after their prey, met with some Indians in the woods, belonging to Naamkeek, or Wamesit, upon the north side of Merrimack River, not far from some English houses ; where, falling upon these Indians, that were travelling in a path, they killed some, and took others, whom they also killed ; and among the rest, a young maid of about fourteen years old was taken, and the scalp of her head taken off, and her skull broken, and left for dead with others. Some of the Indians escaping, came to their fellows ; and with a party of men, they went forth to bring off



the dead bodies, where they found this maid with life in her. So they brought her home, and got Lieutenant Tomas Henschman, a good man, and one that hath inspection over them by my order, to use means for her recovery ; and though he had little hope thereof, yet he took the best care he could about it ; and as soon as conveniently he could, sent the girl to an ancient and skilful woman living at Woburn, about ten miles distant, called Goodwife Brooks, to get her to use her best endeavours to recover the maid ; which, by the blessing of God, she did, though she were about two years or more in curing her. I was at Goodwife Brooks' house in May, 1673, when she was in cure ; and she showed me a piece or two of the skull, that she had taken out. And in May last, 1674, the second day, I being among the Indians at Pawtucket, to keep court, and Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Richard Daniel, and others, with me, I saw the maid alive and in health ; and looked upon her head, which was whole, except a little spot as big as a sixpence might cover, and the maid fat and lusty : but there was no hair come again upon the head, where the scalp was flayed off. This cure, as some skilful in chirurgery apprehend, is extraordinary and wonderful ; and hence the glory and praise is to be ascribed to God, that worketh wonders without number.

“Before I leave this discourse of the Mohawks, I shall give you a short narrative of five armed Mohawks, that were apprehended and imprisoned in Cambridge, in September, 1665, as I remember.

“There were five Mohawks, all stout and lusty young men, and well armed, that came into one John Taylor's house, in Cambridge, in the afternoon. They were seen to come out of a swamp, not far from the house. The people of the house, which I think were only two women and a lad then at home, seeing them so armed ; for they had every one of them a firelock gun, a pistol, an helved hatchet, a long knife hanging about their necks, and every one had his pack, or knapsack, well furnished with powder and bullets, and other necessities ; and also the people perceived that their speech was different from our neighbour Indians ; for these Mohawks speak hollow and through the throat more than our Indians ; and their language is understood but by very few of our neighbour Indians :—I say, the people of the house suspected them, sent privily to them that had authority, a little distance in the town, to give order and direction in this matter. Hereupon a constable with a party of men came to the house, and seized them without any resistance. Some think they were willing to be apprehended, that they may better see and observe the English manner of living. The constable was ordered to carry them to prison, and secure them there, until such time as they might be examined ; which was done, and they were all put in irons, and their arms and things taken from them and secured. The English had heard much, but never saw any of those Mohawks until now. They differ nothing from the other Indians, only in their speech. At their being imprisoned and their being loaden with irons, they did not appear daunted or dejected ; but, as the manner of those Indians is, they sang night and day, when they were awake.

“Within a day or two after, they were removed with a guard, from Cambridge to Boston prison, at which time the court sat ; before whom they were examined at several times, upon divers interrogations, too long to insert. The sum of their answer was, that they came not hither, with an intent to do the least wrong to the English, but to avenge themselves of the Indians, their enemies. They were told, it was inhumanity, and more like wolves than men, to travel and wander so far from home, merely to kill and destroy men, women, and children,—for they could get no riches of our Indians, who were very poor,—and to do this in a secret, skulking manner, lying in ambushment, thickets, and swamps, by the way side, and so killing people in a base and ignoble manner : whereas, if they were men of courage, valour, and nobleness

of spirit, they would fight with their enemies openly and in a plain field, which our Indians would gladly accept, and engage with them, and make an end of the cruel war, one way or other ; but thus to be destroyed gradually, in such a manner, was altogether inhuman and barbarous. To these things they answered shortly : It was their trade of life : they were bred up by their ancestors, to act in this manner towards their enemies.

“The Indians, our neighbours, flocked into Boston, in great numbers, not only to see those Mohawks, but earnestly to solicit the court, not to let them escape, but to put them to death, or at least, to deliver the Mohawks to them to be put to death. For, said they, these Mohawks are unto us, as wolves are to your sheep. They secretly seize upon us and our children, wherever they meet us, and destroy us. Now, if we had taken five wolves alive, and should let them go again, and not destroy them, you Englishmen would be greatly offended with us for such an act : and surely, said they, the lives of men are of more worth than beasts.

“These kind of arguments and solicitations of our neighbour Indians, put the court upon serious thoughts, how to manage this affair, as became wise and Christian men. For as, on the one hand, the Mohawks had never done any wrong to the English ; and that we should begin a breach with them, in taking away these men’s lives, we well knew the temper and spirit of that people was so cruel, and bloody, and revengeful, that they might, and probably would, in a secret and sculking way, destroy many of our people, so that none could be safe in their goings out and comings in : on the other hand, it was considered, that our neighbour Indians would be offended, that we did not gratify their desires. But of these two evils the court chose to avoid the former ; forasmuch as we had more ties and obligations upon our neighbours, both of Christianity, and sobriety, and commerce, than upon the others ; and hence did endeavour at present, and might have opportunity hereafter, to quiet and compose their minds, declaring unto them ; First, that it was not becoming the prudence or honour of so great a people as the English were, nor suitable to the Christian profession, to begin a war with a people that had not killed or slain any Englishmen. Secondly, for the English to espouse the Indians’ quarrel, the cause whereof we knew not, or which party were the aggressors, was not lawful for the English to do. Thirdly, to take away the lives of five men, that were now in our power by their own voluntary coming into one of our towns, and had not done us any wrong, personally considered, it would be great injustice.

“These and some other reasons were given to our neighbour Indians ; who, though not satisfied at the present, yet were quiet. The result of the court in this matter was, to dismiss these five Mohawks, with a letter from the court sent by them to their chief sachems, of this import : That although the English had seized five of their men, that came armed into one of the English houses, and had examined them ; yet we had released them, and secured them from the Indians, and conducted them in safety out of our borders, and have returned all their arms and things unto them, and given them coats ; and have sent this letter by them to their chief sachem, to forbid any of that people, for the future, to kill and destroy any of the Indians under our protection, that lived about forty miles from us on every side : which they might distinguish from other Indians, by their short hair, and wearing English fashioned apparel. Secondly, they were required not to come armed into any of our towns. But if any of them were sent, and came upon any business to us, they were to repair to the magistrate, and get the first Englishman they met withal, to conduct them to whom they were to declare their errand. With this letter, and a convoy of horse to conduct them into the woods, clear of the Indians, their enemies, they were dismissed, and we heard no more of them since.”

“In the summer, 1669. the war having now continued between the Mohawks and our Indians, about six years, divers Indians, our

neighbours, united their forces together, and made an army of about six or seven hundred men ; and marched into the Mohawks' country, to take revenge of them. This enterprise was contrived and undertaken without the privity, and contrary to the advice, of their English friends. Mr. Eliot and myself, in particular, dissuaded them, and gave them several reasons against it, but they would not hear us : but the praying Indians were so cautioned by our advice, that not above five of them went ; and all of them were killed but one. The chiefest general in this expedition, was the principal sachem of Massachusetts, named Josiah, alias Chekatabutt, a wise and stout man of middle age, but a very vitious person. He had considerable knowledge in the Christian religion ; and sometime, when he was younger, seemed to profess it for a time ;—for he was bred up by his uncle, Kuchamakin, who was the first sachem, and his people to whom Mr. Eliot preached, as we shall afterwards declare ;—and was a catechised Indian, and kept the sabbath several years ; but after turned apostate, and for several years last past, separated from the praying Indians, and was but a back friend to religion. This man, as I said, was the chief ; but there were divers other sagamores and stout men that assisted.

“ Their march unto the Mohawks' forts was about two hundred miles : and the Indians are ill accommodated for such an undertaking, having no other carriages for their arms, ammunition, and victuals, but their backs : and they are slow in their marches, when they are in a body ; for they are fain to provide food, as they travel, by hunting, fishing, and gathering roots : and if, in their march, they are to pass any Indian towns or plantations ; which they will go out of their way to visit and find quarters in, rather than pass them ; at such places they will stay several days, until they devour all they can get ; boasting, vapouring, and prating of their valour. Hereby their designs are known, and their enemies better prepared ; and their provisions, especially their ammunition, wasted ; for they are, when they have opportunity, much addicted to vapour, and shoot away their powder in the air.

“ This Indian army at last came to the Mohawks', or Maquas' nearest fort ; which their enemies had by this time well strengthened, fortified, and furnished with men and victuals, to endure a longer siege than they knew the other could make. The Massachusetts, or sea coast army, set down before the fort, besieging it some days ; they within and those without, firing at each other, without any considerable loss, except the expenses of powder and shot. Once a stout party of the Mohawks sallied out upon the besiegers ; and they fought stoutly on both sides, and several men were slain on both sides. At length, when the besieged saw cause, they retired again into their hold.

“ After some days, the army lying in this posture, their provision being exhausted, and their munition well spent, and some of their people sick, and that they saw the impossibility to get the hold by



assault, they broke up the siege, and retreated homewards about twenty or thirty miles. Shortly after they were gone, a strong party of the Mohawks issued forth to pursue them ; and fetching a compass, got before them,—for the army marched slowly, many being sick, and the best, not very strong,—and placed themselves in ambushment at a pass opportune for their purpose, where were thick swamps on each side their way. Here the Mohawks lodged themselves very near to them, as was most advantageous to their design ; and then the Mohawks fired upon them, and killed and wounded many at the first firings. Our Indians did what they could for their defence, and to offend the enemies : and many of the principal men fought valiantly, especially their general before named, and several others : yea almost all their stoutest leaders and sagamores, that accompanied him, pursued the Mohawks into the thickets ; and under such great disadvantage, most of these valiant men lost their lives, and the general also. About fifty of their chief men, they confess, were slain in this fight ; but I suppose, more ; but how many the Mohawks lost, is not known. At last, night coming on, the Mohawks contenting themselves with this victory, retreated ; and the remainder of the army hastened, as fast as they could, homeward.

“ This was the last and most fatal battle, fought between the Mohawks and our Indians ; who returned home ashamed, with lamentations and mourning for the loss of most of their chief men. Then were they effectually convinced of their folly, in attempting this design contrary to the counsel of their best friend.

“ It was two years and more after this battle, before a peace was made between our Indians and the Mohawks. But little or no action was done of either side : only both parties kept in fear of each other ; our Indians retiring close under the wings of the English ; the Mohawks, not over forward to invade ; for I apprehend, that in these wars they felt damage, and lost many men, and were willing to be quieter than formerly they were. In the year 1671, as I take it, by the mediation of one Captain Salisbury, commander in chief at fort Albany, and other English and Dutch living there, being solicited thereunto by some of the English magistrates of the English colonies, there was a peace concluded between the Mohawks and our Indians ; who have been much frightened, scattered, impoverished, and discouraged by this war ; but now are quiet, and are returned to their plantations, some whereof during this war were deserted ; and the Indians of several places gathered together in forts, to their great suffering and inconveniences.

“ To sum up all concerning these Mohawks,—you may see in the foregoing discourse, that they are a stout, yet cruel people ; much addicted to bloodshed and cruelty ; very prone to vex and spoil the peaceable Indians. Therefore it were a most desirable thing, to put forth our utmost endeavours to civilize, and convert these Indians to the knowledge of the gospel ; which is the only means to turn this curse into a blessing. Then those gracious promises will be fulfilled



to this people, that are mentioned in Isaiah xi. 6—9 ; in Is. lxxv. 25 ; and again in Is. xxxv. 4—9. These and abundance of other gracious promises shall be fulfilled to these poor Indians, when they receive the gospel in truth and power ; which the Lord grant for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.”\*

### 3. PHILIP'S WAR.

This war began in Plymouth Colony,† about the year 1675, and spread through Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and the Province of Maine, in extent about 300 miles. In the compass of one year, the numerous tribes of Indians within the limits of New-England, with few exceptions, were drawn into this war, against the colonies. Some doubted whether the English would not be exterminated, so formidable was the combination against them. It was a season of general and deep distress.

This was the first hostile attack from the natives, which had been really alarming to the country. In 1637, the troops of Massachusetts and Connecticut had destroyed the Pequots. In 1643, there were some disturbances with the Narragansets ; but matters were settled without shedding blood. In 1646, a plot was formed by Sequesson, a sachem near New-Haven, to assassinate the magistrates of that colony ; but he effected nothing. In 1647, there were some transient difficulties with the Narragansets and Mohegans. The next year, the Narragansets hired the Mohawks to assist them against the Mohegans, but were detected. The following year, some persons were murdered by the Indians at New-Haven and Long Island.

In the year 1653, the public mind was agitated, a general panic seized the country, from an apprehension that there was a conspiracy of the Indians through the country to cut off the English. These rumours and terrors of the day appeared, afterward, to have had no just foundation.

In 1657, Alexander, the son of Massasoit, invited the Narragansets to join with him in revolting from the English. Gen Winslow went with only ten men, and brought him to Plymouth, where, though he was treated very civilly, his vexation and madness threw him into a fever, of which he died. His brother Philip succeeded him, and renewed his covenant with the English in 1662 ; yet, in 1671, he commenced hostilities against the English, but was soon subdued, and promised never to begin war again, before he had made complaint himself to Plymouth colony. Except these slight difficulties, for almost forty years the English had enjoyed peace with the Indians.

Early in the year 1675, John Sausaman, an Indian whom the English had employed as a missionary to instruct his brethren, in-

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\*Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 160 to 168.

†The Head Quarters of Philip were at Mount Hope, now Bristol, R. Island.

formed the governor of Plymouth, that Philip, with several other tribes, was plotting the destruction of the English. Soon after this, Sausaman was found murdered ; three Indians were arrested, tried, convicted, and hung for the murder. Philip, now more offended, sent away his women, armed his men, and robbed several houses in the vicinity of his own dwelling.

June 24, 1675, the colony observed, as a day of humiliation and prayer. As the people of Swansey were returning from public worship, the Indians, lying in ambush, fired a volley, killed one man and wounded another. Two men, who went for a surgeon, were shot ; and at the same time, in another part of the town, six other persons were killed. Immediately a company of horse and foot marched from Boston, and another company of foot from Plymouth, and arrived the 28th near Philip's seat ; twelve men the same evening reconnoitered his camp, were fired upon, one was killed, and one wounded ; the next morning a resolute assault was made, when the savages fled, leaving their camp and their country to the conquerors.

The troops of Massachusetts then marched into the country of the Narragansets, to renew the treaty with them, sword in hand, and engage them not to join in the war with Philip. This they effected, and returned home. Philip fled to the Nipmuck Indians, in Worcester county, who were persuaded to assist him. August 2, captains Wheeler and Hutchinson went into that country to renew a treaty with them, according to an appointment ; but the Nipmucks, instead of attending the treaty, from an ambush fired on them, killed eight men, and mortally wounded Captain Hutchinson. The rest fled to Quaboag, where all the inhabitants had collected in one house.

Immediately they were surrounded by a host of enemies, Nipmucks, and Philip, with the men who had fled with him. They soon burned every house in the place, except the one in which the people and soldiers were collected. Here they directed their whole force ; upon this cottage they poured a storm of musket balls for two days ; countless numbers pierced through the walls, yet only one person was killed ;\* with long poles they thrust against it brands and rags dipped in brimstone ; they shot arrows of fire ; they loaded a cart with flax and tow, and with long poles fastened together, they pushed it against the house. Destruction seemed inevitable. The house was kindling, the surrounding savages stood ready to destroy the first that opened the door to escape. In this awful moment of terror, God sent a "mighty" shower of rain, which extinguished the kindling flames. August 4, Major Willard came to their relief, and raised the siege, destroying many of the enemy.

The Indians went to Deerfield and burned most of the houses ; the next day they were at Northfield, where they killed eight men ;

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\*Fisk, Hubbard, Mather.

Capt. Beers went, with thirty-six men, to bring off the inhabitants ; on his march he was assaulted by the enemy, himself and twenty of his men were killed. Sept. 18, Capt. Lathrop, with a number of teams and eighty young men, the flower of Essex county, went to bring a quantity of grain from Deerfield ; on their return they stopped to gather grapes at Muddy Brook ; when, instantly, 7 or 800 Indians rushed upon them, and dreadful was the slaughter ; confined among the trees, resistance was almost in vain ; 70 sons of New-England fell and were buried in one grave ; never had the country seen such a bloody hour. Captain Mosely, hearing the report of the guns, flew to the scene of action, with a few men, renewed the conflict, killed ninety-six of the enemy, and wounded forty, losing only two of his own men.

The enemy soon after burnt 32 houses in Springfield. The general court, then sitting in Boston, appointed a committee, who, with the ministers of the vicinity, might suggest what were the sins, which brought these heavy judgments, and what laws could be enacted for the prevention of those sins. Their report was received October 19, and measures were taken to carry the design into effect. The same day, at Hatfield, the New-England troops obtained a decisive victory over the enemy. Seven or eight hundred of them assaulted the town, but were repulsed in such a vigorous manner, that they fled in every direction ; numbers of them were drowned in attempting to cross the river ; others reached the Narraganset country before they rested. The English, on this important day, lost but one man. Those in Narraganset retired to a small piece of dry land, in a great swamp, seven miles west of the south ferry that goes over to Newport. Here they collected stores, and built the strongest fort they ever had in this country. A circle of pallisadoes was surrounded by a fence of trees, a rod in thickness. The entrance was on a long tree over the water, that only one person could pass at a time. This was guarded in such a manner that every attempt to enter would have been fatal. By the help of Peter, an Indian prisoner, but now a necessary guide, one vulnerable spot was discovered ; at one corner the fort was not raised more than 4 or 5 feet in height, but here a block-house was erected, so that a torrent of balls might be poured into this gap.

Gen. Winslow, with 1500 men from Massachusetts, and 300 from Connecticut, with 160 Indians, having arrived near the place about 1 o'clock, after travelling 18 miles without refreshment or rest, discovered a party of the enemy, upon whom they instantly poured a shower of balls ; the Indians returned the fire and fled into the fort. The English pursued, and without waiting to reconnoitre, or even to form, rushed into the fort after them ; but so terrible was the fire from the enemy, they were obliged to retire. The whole army then made a united onset ; hardly were they able to maintain their ground ; some of their bravest captains fell. In this awful crisis, while the scale of victory hung doubtful, some of the Connecticut men, who



were in the rear on the opposite side, where was a narrow place destitute of pallisadoes, leaped over the fence of trees, and fell on the rear of the enemy. This decided the contest. They were soon totally routed.

As they fled, their wigwams were set on fire. Instantly 600 of their dwellings were in a blaze. Awful was the moment to the poor Indians. Not only were they flying from their last hope of safety, and from their burning houses ; but their corn, their provisions, and even many of their aged parents and helpless children, perished in the terrible conflagration. They could behold the fire, they could hear the last cries of their expiring families ; but could afford them no relief. Seven hundred of their warriors they had left dead on the field of battle ; 300 more afterward died of their wounds.\* They had been driven from their country, and from their pleasant firesides : now their last hopes were torn from them ; their cup of sufferings was full.

Sad was the day of victory to the English. Six brave captains fell before their eyes ; 80 men were killed or fatally wounded ; 150 were wounded who recovered. Twenty fell in the fort, 10 or 12 died the same day, on their march back to their camp, which they reached about midnight ; it was cold and stormy, and the snow deep ; several died the next morning, so that this day, December 20, they buried 34 in one grave. By the 22d, 40 were dead, and by the end of January, 20 more. Of the 300 from Connecticut, 80 were killed or wounded. Of their 5 captains, 3 were killed, and 1 so wounded, that he never recovered. In the fort they had taken a large number of prisoners, about 300 warriors, and as many women and children. It was supposed that 4000 Indians were in the fort when the assault was made.

The Indians never recovered the loss of this day. The destruction of their provisions in the fort was the occasion of great distresses in the course of the winter. But a thaw in January, gave them some relief, when a party fell on Mendon, and laid it in ashes. In February, they received some recruits from Canada, when they burned Lancaster, and took forty captives, among whom was Mrs. Rowlandson, the minister's wife, he being on a journey to Boston to obtain soldiers for their defence. Marlborough, Sudbury and Chelmsford soon felt the terror of their arms. February 21, they penetrated as far as Medfield, burned half the town, and killed about 20 of the inhabitants ; in four days they were in Weymouth, on the sea shore, and in the same month, they dared to enter Plymouth, and to destroy 2 families. Had they been so disposed 50 years before, instead of 2 families they might easily have destroyed the whole colony. In March they were in Warwick, and burned the town. They were pursued by Capt. Pierce, with 50 English and 20 Indian

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\*Hubbard.



soldiers, but he was overpowered by numbers, himself and 49 of the English, with 8 of the Indians, being slain, after they had killed 140 of the enemy. The same day, Marlborough was in flames, and several people were killed at Springfield.

While detached parties were thus carrying terror through the towns in the oldest settlements of the colony, others were ravaging further west. In March, 1676, Northampton was assaulted, 5 persons killed, and 5 houses burned. They soon attacked Sudbury, and burned Groton; exclaiming to the garrison, "we have burned your meeting-house; what will you do for a house of prayer?"

In some of these skirmishes, the Christian Indians were very helpful, and displayed great presence of mind. In the action in which Capt. Pierce was killed, one of them fled and concealed himself behind a rock, but observing that he was discovered, and that an enemy lay ready to fire on him the moment he should move, he took a stick and gently raised his hat in sight; the other instantly fired a ball through it; when, dropping his hat, he rose and shot his adversary. At the same time, another Indian saved himself and the only Englishman, who was saved, by running after him with his hatchet, as if he intended to kill him. Another rescued himself by this stratagem. He besmeared his face with wet gunpowder, by which the enemy mistook him for one of their own party, who were painted black.

Wandering parties of the enemy still continued their depredations. The 28th of March, they burned 40 houses in Rehoboth, and the next day 30 in the town of Providence. In April they did mischief in Sudbury and Andover. At Sudbury about a dozen persons were killed; and Captain Wadsworth, going to their assistance, was suddenly assaulted by 500 of the enemy, when he, Capt. Brukebank, and more than 50 of their men, were slain. Five or six of this company were made prisoners, who were scourged, tortured and killed in the most cruel manner.

This was a most distressing time in New-England. The war had been raging almost a year; the towns all over the country had been in a constant state of alarm and terror; the enemy appearing in different and distant places at the same moment. The season of planting was at hand; to neglect this service would produce a famine; to call home their troops would be only to invite the enemy to destroy them. Parties must be sent out, garrisons must be manned; the labours of the field must be performed. In this crisis a spirit of prayer was remarkably conspicuous through the country. Fervent supplications were offered by the churches of New-England.

About this time their Powah told the Indians *nothing more could be done*; a spirit of dissention and discouragement seized them; they had been driven from their best planting ground the year before, and from their most considerable fishing places; hunger and sickness followed, which was very mortal. In their difficulties they acted without system or energy. To complete their miseries, the Mohawks fell

upon them with incredible fury. They were now routed in every part of the country. Troops from Connecticut, which colony had been preserved from their cruelties, took and killed above 60 at one time, and 44 at another. Capt. Denison commanded one of these parties. Among his captives was the terrible Nanunttenoo, son of Miantonimoh. A Pequot first arrested him; a young Englishman soon came up and asked him some questions; his reply was, "You too much child; no understand matters of war. Let your captain come; him I will answer." When he was told that he was to be put to death, "he said he liked it well, that he should die before his heart was soft, or he had said any thing unworthy of himself." They were repulsed from Bridgewater, a town which lost not a man in this war. Near Medfield and Plymouth their parties were put to flight; another party above Northampton, on Connecticut River, was vanquished, and 100 of them killed. Immediately after, Capt. Turner with a party killed 300 of them, himself and 30 of his men being slain on the field of battle. They were driven from Hadley, Hatfield, and Rehoboth. June 29, 1676, was a day of public thanksgiving through the colony to bless God for the comfortable prospect, that their troubles were drawing to a close.

About this time, the Mohawks fell upon Philip, and killed 50 of his men. The occasion of their hostilities was singular, and tends to develope the character of Philip, who was a deep politician, with a heart glowing with love of his country, and burning with indignation against the prosperous strangers, who were extending themselves over the inheritance of his fathers.

Philip, after his flight from Mount Hope, had visited the Mohawks; and to rouse their vengeance against the English to make a common cause of the war, had murdered several of their people from time to time, and persuaded them it was the English. But in one instance, not effectually executing his business, the bruised Indian revived, returned home, and accused Philip as the murderer. Thus Philip himself was the means of turning the fury of the Mohawks from the English against himself and his people. The despairing monarch fled to his former dwelling, a most unfortunate, unhappy man, deserted by his allies, assaulted by a powerful neighbour, on whose help he had depended; his own people discouraged and scattered, suffering and dying, strangers triumphing in his distresses, and seizing his possessions. Had his father possessed his foresight and courage, perhaps his posterity might long have enlivened the palace at Mount Hope.

About this time the churches in Plymouth colony set apart a day to renew their covenant with God and one another. The next day Major Bradford, with the Plymouth forces, after escaping an ambush, obtained a victory without losing a man. July 21, the Connecticut troops, in Narraganset, took and killed 180 of the enemy, without the loss of a man. In the Plymouth colony, 200 submitted to the English; and a party, assaulting Taunton, was repulsed without any



loss. At this time Capt. Church distinguished himself; in one week, with a small party of 18 English and 22 Indians, he fought four battles, killed and took 79 of the enemy, without losing one of his own men. July 25, from Dedham and Medfield 36 Englishmen and 90 christian Indians took 50 prisoners, without any loss of their own party. Two days after, Sagamore John, with 180 Nipmucks, submitted to the English. Four days after this, a company from Bridgewater fell upon a company of Indians, who snapped their guns, but all missed fire; they fled, excepting 10, who were killed, and 5 made prisoners. The 1st of August, Capt. Church took 23 more; the next day he arrived at Philip's head-quarters, where he took and killed 130 more; Philip fled, leaving his family. Capt. Church pursued, and found him in a swamp; attempting to fly, an Indian shot him through the heart. His head was sent to Plymouth, where it arrived on the day they had devoted to solemn thanksgiving. So fell one of the most valiant captains of the New World; and so will the arts of civilized men always triumph over the simple savage. In a few weeks Capt. Church subdued several hundred more.

The same success attended the colony at the eastward. In September, 400 Indians were made prisoners at *Quochecho*; one half being found accessories in the war, were sold; the other half were set at liberty. Peace soon followed. One of their warriors, taken prisoner, observed; "You could never have subdued us, but, (striking his breast,) the Englishman's God makes us afraid here."

Never has New-England seen so dismal a period as the war with Philip. About 600 men, the flower of her strength, had fallen in battle, or been murdered by the natives. A great part of the inhabitants were in mourning. There were few families who had not lost some near relative. In Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode-Island, 12 or 13 towns had been utterly destroyed, and others greatly damaged. About 600 buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, had been burned; a large debt had been contracted, and vast quantities of goods, cattle, and other property had been destroyed. About every eleventh family had been burned out, and an eleventh part of the militia throughout New-England had been slain in the war.\* So costly is the inheritance we have received from our valiant forefathers. The land we sow has been stained with their blood.

In this war, which threatened the existence of New-England, Mr. Benjamin Church was a distinguished commander, and his memory deserves the notice of posterity. He was born in Duxbury in 1639. His father, Joseph Church, with two brothers were among the early settlers of Plymouth colony. In 1674, Benjamin removed to Seco-net, now Little Compton, the first English settler in the place. Being in the neighbourhood of Philip, his influence was of vast impor-

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\* Trumbull.



tance in counteracting the designs of that cunning foe, at the commencement of hostilities. Philip sent 6 men to Awashonks, squaw-sachem of Seconet, to engage her in the intended war. According to the custom of the savages, when any matter of great importance is to be decided, she called her subjects to a great dance, and invited Mr. Church to attend. He found several hundred Indians assembled, and Awashonks herself in "foaming sweat" leading the dance. She immediately sat down, called her nobles around her, ordered Mr. Church to be invited into her presence, and, after compliments were past, informed him of the message received from Philip. Mr. Church repelled the charge that the English meditated war, and made a favourable impression on her and most of her people. Though the agents of Philip were very daring, and Little Eyes, one of her council, joined with them, she desired Mr. Church to visit the Plymouth government on her behalf. Promising to see her soon, he set off, and at Pocasset, now Tiverton, he met Peter Nunnuit, husband of the Queen of Pocasset, who told him that Philip had held a dance of several weeks, that the young men from all parts of the country were eager for war, and Philip had promised them that the next Lord's day, when the English would be at public worship, they might kill their cattle and plunder their houses. The next morning Church was in Plymouth, and the governor ordered the captains to march with the greater part of their companies, and rendezvous at Taunton. Church, with a detachment of English and friendly Indians, was in front. On the Sabbath the Indians began their depredations, and soon proceeded to indulge their thirst for Englishmen's blood.

At Swanzey they killed 10 persons, beheading, dismembering and mangling them in a most horrid manner. The garrison of the place was roused; a party of horse pursued the enemy, but fell into an ambush; a chief officer was wounded, and the troop fled. Church hallooed, and stormed, and told them it was a shame to leave a man wounded among the enemy. Two returned with him, but before they reached the man, he fell lifeless from his horse. While the two men bore him away, Church pursued his horse, going off to the enemy. Having taken it, he called to his company to come and renew their pursuit. The enemy soon saluted him with a volley; yet providentially every shot missed him; though one of his company across the river was wounded. The troops marched down upon the Neck. At Kekamuit they took down the heads of eight Englishmen, raised upon poles according to the savage custom. They soon found that Philip had crossed the river, with all his people, to Pocasset. A council of war determined to build a fort. Church was much disgusted at the business of "building a fort for nothing, to cover the army from nobody," being impatient to cross the river and kill Philip. This he declared was the surest way of maintaining Mount Hope. He was more restless, because he had promised the Queen of Seconet to visit her. At length Capt. Fuller received orders to cross the river with 6 file of men, and to take Capt. Church as second. The

same day they passed to Rhode-Island, and in the night crossed to the Pocasset shore. Concealing themselves in two parties, one of them, "being troubled with the epidemical plague of loving tobacco," kindled a fire to smoke it, by which the enemy discovered them and fled. Church had ordered their breakfast from the island, but the man employed forgot his duty, and "their only provisions were a few cakes of rusk," which Church had in his pocket, divided among them. He then, at his own request, took a part of the men, and went in search of the enemy. They proceeded towards Seconet, and passed down Punkatees neck. By the side of a wood, they were saluted by a volley of 50 or 60 guns; yet not a man was hurt. Retreating to a field, they were surprised by observing a hill above them apparently moving, being covered with Indians, running in a circuit to surround them. In fair view, on Rhode-Island, were collected a company of horse and foot. Church ordered his men to strip off their coats, that their brethren on the island might recognize them by their white shirts; he ordered three guns to be distinctly fired, in hopes they would come to his relief. A part of his men he ordered to take a wall; but before they reached it, the enemy, concealed on the other side, assailed them with a shower of bullets. All now endeavoured to shelter themselves behind a small bank, and a piece of fence, where they were attacked from every rock, stump, tree or fence within sight. A stone house, which overlooked them, the enemy seized, which seemed to threaten their last hope; but, piling up stones before them, they maintained the contest. A boat arriving from Rhode-Island was kept at a distance by the incessant fire of the Indians. Church desired them to send their canoe, and take him and his men on board; but his arguments were weak, compared with the whizzing of the bullets. Some of the men began to cry out "For God's sake, come and take us off; our ammunition is spent." Lest the enemy should hear and learn their weakness, Church fiercely ordered the boat to send the canoe, or be gone, or he would fire upon them. Away went the boat; the Indians renewing the battle with increasing fury. Some of the English were discouraged and spoke of saving themselves by flight. Their captain convinced them that this was impossible, and encouraged them to persevere. "I have," says he "observed so much of the remarkable and wonderful providence of God in so far preserving you, that I am encouraged to believe, with much confidence, that God will yet preserve you, that not a hair of your head shall fall to the ground; be patient; be courageous; be prudently saving of your ammunition; and I doubt not you will yet come off well." His little army were roused, and determined to take their lot with him.

As one of them was setting a flat stone before him, it was struck by a ball, which greatly alarmed the fellow. Capt. Church turned this to his advantage. "Observe," said he, "how God directs the bullets; the enemy could not hit you when in the same place; yet they could hit the stone as soon as it was raised." While they

were fighting for their lives, the woods trembling with the roar of the musketry, the shouts and yells of the savages, and a dismal night coming on, a sloop was descried coming down the river, near Gold Island. Golding, the captain, came to an anchor; though his sails, colours and stern were instantly filled with bullet holes. Church was the last that went in the canoe; but recollecting that he had left his hat and cutlass at a well, he declared the enemy should not have them. Having brought off those things, as he went on board two bullets struck the canoe; another lodged in a stake opposite to his breast, and a fourth "grazed the hair of his head." So closed an action of 6 hours, 20 men, fainting with hunger, against 300 ferocious savages. A deliverance, of which the captain always spoke in the most devout and grateful manner. The next day they returned to Mount Hope; whence Mr. Church went to Rhode-Island for provisions, and learned from an Indian where were the headquarters of Weetamore, squaw sachem of Pocasset. On his return, a party was sent to attack the Queen; but, after marching 2 miles, the commanding officer was discouraged, and declared, that if he knew he should destroy all the enemy by the loss of one man, he would not make the attempt. Church was vexed, offered to lead the way, and *hazard the brunt*, to no purpose, tartly adding: "Pray sir, lead your company to yonder wind-mill on Rhode-Island; there will be no danger of being killed, and we shall have less trouble to supply them with provisions." Still the officer would return; and, after receiving more men, was transported to Fall River in Free-town, to visit Weetamore. Capt. Church and Capt. Hunter, an Indian and one more, were sent on discovery. They soon came upon three of the enemy. Hunter wounded one, which he found was his kinsman. The captive desired favour might be shown to his squaw, but asked none for himself, "excepting the liberty of taking a whiff of tobacco." While he was taking his "whiff," his kinsman dispatched him with one blow. So is man the prey of man; the victim of selfishness and cruelty. Neighbours and brothers destroy each other. Such are the bitter fruits of sin. The quarters of Weetamore were soon discovered; she and her people fled, and ours returned to Mount Hope.

Soon after, a great part of Dartmouth was covered with desolation; but Capt. Eels and Earl took 160 prisoners, promising them good treatment; yet, in spite of them and Capt. Church, who all argued and plead and begged, those in higher office carried them to Plymouth, and transported them out of the country. About this time Philip fled to the Nipmucks, in Worcester county.

Capt. Church attended Gen. Winslow as a volunteer in the Narraganset expedition, waxed valiant in fight, rushed into the fort, was badly wounded by two balls, and though unable to stand, refused to be carried off, till the enemy were driven from their shelter. In vain he exerted his influence to prevent the fort, the dwellings and the stores from being set on fire. Had he succeeded, the wounded



might have been comfortably lodged, and many lives preserved. In three months his wounds were so far healed, that he accompanied Gen. Winslow into the Nipmuck country, though so lame that he needed the assistance of two men to mount his horse.

Soon after his return, he removed his family from Duxbury to Rhode-Island, for their greater security, intending to engage in agricultural labour; but he no sooner took a tool in his hand, than he cut off one finger, and badly wounded another. He pleasantly said, he thought he was wrong in leaving the war, and would return to war again. Accordingly, he went to Plymouth, agreed with the government, and returned to raise men. Passing Seconet Point, he spoke with some Indians on the rocks, and appointed an interview with Awashonks, and some of her principal men. At Rhode-Island he requested a *permit* to hold the treaty. They told him he was mad, that the rogues would certainly kill him. At length they consented he should go, and take only two friendly Indians with him; but they would give him no written permit. Buying a roll of tobacco and a bottle of rum, he visited his family, who were almost overwhelmed with apprehensions of danger; yet he obtained their consent, and, committing his wife, his babes and himself to the divine protection, he proceeded on his embassy. Landing at Seconet, he was kindly received by the queen and a few attendants, according to previous appointment. But walking from the water to find a convenient place to sit down, a great body of Indians, who had been concealed in the tall grass, rose up and surrounded them, armed with hatchets, guns, and spears; their faces painted, and hair trimmed in style of war. The sight was terrible, and doubtless our gentleman was surprised; yet he retained his presence of mind, and calmly said to the queen, "When people treat of peace, they lay aside their arms." Perceiving that the savages looked surly, he added, "they might only carry their guns at a small distance for formality." Thus he managed them, by showing neither fear nor jealousy. Laying aside their guns, they sat down. He then affably drank, and circulated his rum and tobacco. They soon engaged "that they would submit to the government of Plymouth, and serve them in what they were able, if their lives might be spared, and none of them transported out of the country." They were soon ordered to Sandwich, where Church visited them, after going to Plymouth for liberty of employing them as soldiers. Arriving at Sandwich, he and his attendants were conducted to a shelter, open on one side, where Awashonks and her chiefs soon paid him a visit, and the multitude made the air ring with their shouts. Near the open side of the shelter, a huge pile of dry pine was soon raised, which, after supper, was set on fire. The Indians gathered round. Awashonks, with her oldest people, kneeling down, formed the first circle, next to the fire. All the stout men, standing up, made the next; the rabble surrounded them in another circle. The chief warrior then stepped between the circles and the fire with a spear in one hand, and a hatchet in the other, dancing round, and

fighting the fire. Calling over the tribes of Indians, who were hostile to the English, at the mention of each tribe, he would draw out and fight a new firebrand. Finishing the fight with the brand, he would bow and thank it. So he proceeded, naming and fighting all the tribes and nations. Sticking down his weapons, he retired, and a second performed the same dance, fighting with new fury. When half a dozen chiefs had thus acted their parts, the captain of the guard told Mr. Church, they had been making soldiers for him, that this was "all one swearing them." Having in this manner engaged all the stout men, Awashonks and her captains came to Mr. Church, and said, "Now we are all engaged to fight for the English. You may call forth all, or any part of us, at any time, as you have occasion to fight the enemy." They then presented him with a fine firelock. He accepted their offer, took a number of their men, and the next morning before light, marched for Plymouth, where, July 24, 1676, he received a commission and reinforcement to fight the enemy. In the night he marched into the woods, and before day was at Middleborough. He soon discovered and took a large party of Indians. The compensation of the troops was half the prisoners and arms taken; the Indian soldiers had the loose plunder. The same week, near Munponset pond, he took another large party.

He soon became the favourite of the public, and the government gave him authority to raise or dismiss troops at his pleasure, to commission officers, to pardon his captives, Philip and a few notorious murderers excepted, and to march where he pleased in New-England. He soon took Little Eyes and his party, who had revolted from Awashonks, when she joined the English. Some of the Indians reminded him that this was the rogue that threatened to kill him at the dance before the war, and intimated that this was a good time to be revenged. Church told them, that christians did not seek revenge. He treated Little Eyes kindly, who expressed much gratitude.

Soon after, while pursuing the enemy, they found their track separated. The English agreed to pursue one; the Indians the other, though they at first objected, saying they should not feel *safe* without *him*. The English had not marched far before they saw across a swamp a company of Indians gathering whortleberries. Church ordered 2 men, who had horses, to ride with him, and the soldiers to follow. The three men rushed through the swamp, and were soon among the enemy. A squaw, who had been a neighbour of Church, and kindly treated by him, ran toward him, lifting up both hands, and crying "Church, Church, Church." He bid her tell the Indians, if they would resign themselves to him, they should not be killed. Many resigned themselves, but some fled. Part of these he overtook, and ordered back. They drove their prisoners together, but could hear nothing of their own company. Returning, they found them where they had been left. The swamp being difficult to be penetrated, and not hearing of Church and the two men, they said they supposed them killed, and were at a loss what to do. When they met

their Indian friends at Cushnet, (now Rochester,) the place appointed, they found that each party had killed 3, and taken 63 prisoners. This equality of success surprised and delighted them.

Astonishing was the skill of Capt. Church in managing the savages. From his prisoners he would select any number he needed, telling them he took a fancy to them, that they should be his soldiers, and not sold out of the country. If they looked surly and muttered, he would clap them on the back and say, "come, come; this signifies nothing; my best soldiers were as sullen as you are. Be with me one day, and you will love me and feel happy." He was never disappointed; they always became affectionate and cheerful, and would pilot him to any place of Indians, though their own parents were among them. Indians still hovering about Taunton, and Bridgewater, he marched and took 173. Among the prisoners were the wife and son of Philip. The chieftain himself narrowly escaped. These incessant marches, sleeping on the ground, and wading through rivers, enfeebled his strength; he therefore returned to Plymouth, disbanded most of his men, intending to rest awhile. But news soon came that the enemy were in Dartmouth. Again he was successful; among his prisoners was Barrow, a noted warrior. Church told him that such had been his barbarities and murders, he must not expect mercy, but prepare to die. Barrow replied, "Your sentence is just; I am ashamed to live any longer; I ask no favour, only to smoke before execution." When he had taken a few whiffs, he said, *I am ready*. An Indian killed him with a hatchet. Again Church would have returned to his family; but the government were solicitous to continue him in service, till Philip should be subdued. He yielded; and in August marched with his company to Pocasset. Not hearing of the enemy, he went over to Rhode-Island. Taking half a dozen of his men, he rode to his family, eight miles from the landing. As he entered the door, his wife, overwhelmed with surprise and joy, fainted. By the time she was a little revived, two horsemen rode up full speed with tidings, that King Philip was at Mount Hope. Church thanked the messengers, told them he hoped to have the rogue's head before the next morning, took leave of his wife, mounted his horse, which had not been unsaddled, and returned to his company. By the time they had crossed the ferry, half the night was gone. He proceeded to place his men in ambushes all round the swamp. Having charged them not to move till daylight, that they might distinguish Philip, taking Major Sanford by the hand, he said, "I have Sir, so placed them that it is scarcely possible that Philip should escape." That moment a bullet whistled over their heads; a volley followed. Philip instantly started with his powder horn and gun, running directly to an ambush, where stood a white man and an Indian. The Englishman's gun missed fire; the Indian shot him through the heart. Philip fell on his face in the water and mud. From the swamp a terrific voice resounded "*Tootosh. Tootosh.*" It was Anawon,



Philip's chief captain, calling to his men to stand and fight on. He and a great part of his company escaped. About 130 were taken and killed. In the morning the little army met, and the fall of their mighty enemy was proclaimed, at which they gave three huzzas. His body was drawn to the upland, having no covering but his small clothes and stockings. Capt. Church observed, that as he had caused many an Englishman to lie unburied, therefore not a bone of him should be buried. He then ordered an Indian to behead and quarter him. The Indian taking his hatchet, thus addressed Philip: "You have been one very great man. You have made many a man afraid of you. But so big as you be, I will chop you in pieces."

Capt. Church now visited his family, and returned to Plymouth. Tidings soon came that Anawon was spreading terror in Rehoboth and Swanzey. Again the government applied to Capt. Church. As soon as it was known that he had engaged, men were not wanting, who declared they would go with him while there was an Indian in the woods. So important are men in a community, who possess the public confidence. It being the latter part of the week, he went to Rhode-Island with his company to keep the sabbath, and be near the scene of action on Monday morning. This Christian commander, with his company, sacredly observed the duties of the sabbath. The God of the sabbath gave him remarkable success. But his pious design at this time was interrupted. On the morning of Lord's day, a post was sent him that the enemy were passing from Prudence Island to Pappasquash neck, on the west side of Bristol. He immediately marched; but when he and 15 or 16 Indians had crossed the ferry to the main, the wind and waves were so boisterous that the canoe could not cross again. With this handful of tawney troops he proceeded, and that night took 10 prisoners. His lieutenant having arrived, the next day he took several more prisoners, one white man and five Indians being with him. Among them were a man and woman directly from Anawon. They informed him that this famous chieftain, who had made so many mothers childless, was in Squannaconk swamp, in the southeast part of Rehoboth, with 50 or 60 of Philip's best soldiers. The moment was important. He took counsel. He asked the prisoner from Anawon, whether he could reach him that night. The Indian replied, if he travelled "stoutly" he might "by sunset." He inquired of his Indians whether they would go with him. They said they were always ready to obey him, but added, "Anawon is a great warrior; he was a valiant soldier of Woosamequin, the father of Philip. He has been Philip's chief captain during the war. He is a cunning man, of great resolution. He has declared he would never be taken alive by the English. His men are daring fellows, some of Philip's best soldiers. We fear he cannot be taken by so few. It will be a great pity, after the great things you have done, captain, now to throw away your life." Church replied, that he believed Anawon was a subtle and valiant warrior, but he had long sought him in vain; that he

was unwilling to lose this opportunity ; that his lieutenant and men were at a distance, and that he had no doubt but the same God, who had so often protected, would still assist them. They replied, *We will go.* Church then asked his white man what he thought. "Sir," said he, "I am never afraid to go any where, when *you* are with me." Having sent a captive to his lieutenant, with orders to conduct his prisoners to Taunton, and meet him the next morning on the Rehoboth road, he asked the old Indian from Anawon, if he would be his pilot. He consented, and they moved on. Just at sunset, the old man, who went before, sat down. He said that Anawon at that time sent out his scouts to see if the coast was clear. At dark they returned ; at which time he rose to proceed. Church asked him if he would take a gun and fight for him. In a most affecting manner he bowed very low and said, "I pray you not to impose such a thing on me, as to fight my old friend Capt. Anawon. But I will go with you and help you, and as you have given me my life, I will lay hands on any man, who shall offer to hurt you." They soon heard a noise, when Church, and two Indians, crawling forward to the edge of a precipice, saw the enemy in full view before them. They were in three companies. Anawon, his son, and several chiefs, had cut down a tree under the rocks, and against it set up a row of bushes to form a shelter. Great fires were burning without, pots and kettles were boiling, and spits turning loaded with meat. Their arms stood near, covered with a mat. Returning to his company, Capt. Church ordered his pilot and daughter, as they would be received without notice, to descend first, with their baskets on their backs. He and his friends followed in their shadow, letting themselves down by the bushes in the cracks of the rocks. Church, with his hatchet in his hand, first reached the arms at the feet of Anawon. The old chieftain, starting up on end, cried out, *Hawah*, and in despair fell back silent. Church sent his Indians to the other companies to inform them their chief was a prisoner, and warn them to submit. They obeyed. "What have you for supper ?" said Church to Anawon ; "I am come to sup with you." Anawon ordered his women to provide supper, and asked Church whether he would have cow beef or horse beef. He replied that cow beef would be the most pleasant. Supper was soon ready ; after which, as he had not slept for two days and a night, Church told his men if they would let him sleep two hours, they should rest the whole night after. But his situation was too interesting for sleep ; his men, however, he soon perceived were all in a sound slumber. He and Anawon were the only persons awake in all the camps. So does elevation of character and a sense of responsibility, fill the heart with anxious care. While the Indian chief recollected the deeds of his valour in the service of three kings, and exulted in the destruction of villages, the sighs of his prisoners, and the blood of a thousand battles, the chains of his own captivity sunk deep into his soul ; the fall of his prince, the ruin of his country, the utter extinction of his tribe, filled his heart with the

agony of horror and desperation. For an hour the two captains lay looking at each other, when Anawon arose, and walked off, as Church supposed for some necessary purpose ; but, soon finding him out of sight and hearing, he began to be alarmed, took all the arms to him, crowded himself under young Anawon, so that the father must have endangered his son in attempting to kill him. But the old man soon returned, and falling on his knees said, "Great captain, you have killed King Philip, and conquered his country. I believe that I and my company are the last, who war against the English ; so I suppose the war is ended by your means. These things, therefore, are yours. They are the royalties of king Philip, with which he adorned himself when he sat in state. I think myself happy in presenting them to Capt. Church, who has so fairly won them." Then opening the pack, he pulled out a belt, nine inches broad, curiously wrought with black and white wampum, in various figures of flowers, birds, and beasts ; also another wrought in the same manner, worn on the head of the warrior, hanging down his back, from which two flags waved behind him. A third, with a star on the end, hung round his neck down to his breast. These and two horns of glazed powder, and a red cloth blanket, constituted the royal dress of king Philip. They spent the night in free conversation. Anawon gave a narrative of his mighty successes in former wars, when he fought under Woosamaquin. In the morning they marched to Taunton. Church and Anawon, with half a dozen friendly Indians, went to Rhode-Island, while the troops and other prisoners were sent to Plymouth, where Church soon followed them. News soon came that Tispaquin, with his company, was doing mischief near Sippican, now Rochester. He was a celebrated Powah, or conjurer. The Indians said bullets would not kill him. Church pursued, and soon took a number of prisoners, who belonged to him. Leaving two squaws, he directed them to tell their chief, on his return, that Capt. Church had carried his wife and children to Plymouth, and if he would follow them, he should be his soldier, intending to employ him against the Indians at the eastward. The chief and his company soon resigned themselves to the people of Plymouth. Church was then at Boston, and on his return was extremely afflicted to find that Tispaquin and Anawon were beheaded.

The next January, Capt. Church ranged the woods, and took several straggling parties. This closed the Indian wars of the ancient colony of Plymouth. Several tribes continued friendly. They have always been treated kindly, supplied with missionaries and schoolmasters, and, though dwindled to remnants, they continue to this day.

Peace being restored to his country, Capt. Church settled at Bristol. Afterwards he removed to Fall-River, (now Freetown) and thence removed to Seconet, (Little Compton.) In each of these places he acquired a good estate. But in 1689, the Indians at the eastward commenced hostilities. Church received a major's com-



mission, and with 250 men, landed at Casco, and soon obtained a victory near the town. He ranged the woods far and wide, visited the garrisons at Black Point, Spurwink, Blue Point and Kennebec, put suitable officers in those places, and returned home. The next year, in September, with 350 men, he drove the enemy from Androscoggin and Maquait. In 1692, Major Church accompanied Gov. Phips to Pemaquid, where the Governor, with two companies, erected a fort, while Major Church went to Penobscot, drove off the savages, and took considerable plunder of corn and fur. Returning to the Governor, they sailed to the Kennebec. The Governor proceeded to Boston, but sent Major Church up the river, who soon gained a victory, and pursued the enemy to Teconit Falls, took the fort there, destroyed great quantities of their corn, returned to Pemaquid, and thence home. So distinguished were his talents, that he had no competitor. In 1696, the Governor again applied to him, and he sailed to Penobscot, exploring the islands, and ascending the river; thence he proceeded to Nova-Scotia. The French and Indians fled from their settlements, and he brought away a rich booty of warlike stores and provisions.

The last military adventure of our Christian hero was in 1704, when, having received a colonel's commission, and the command of ten companies, he sailed for the eastward. At Green Island he took a few prisoners. At Penobscot he took or killed every Indian and Frenchman, that could be found. Among the captives was a daughter of Casteen, whom they kindly treated, though her father had been such a bloody foe of New-England. Thence they proceeded, and drove the French and Indians from Passamaquoddy. Sailing across the bay, they took Menas, a town in Nova-Scotia. On his return, Col. Church touched at various places on the main and the islands, and found that the enemy were all gone. He was informed that the French priests had told the Indians, it was impossible for them to live in the same country with the English, and advised them to remove to the Mississippi, promising to go and live and die with them. According to this advice of the French, who had excited them to quarrel, and were the occasion of their ruin and our sufferings, the Indians left their homes, their provisions and their country, to the victorious English.

Col. Church was a man of good stature, well proportioned, hardy and active. He possessed a correct judgment, remarkable presence of mind, and dignity of manners. His generous, affable, and obliging temper secured the love and esteem of his acquaintance. He was a serious and devout member of the church in Bristol. He daily worshipped God in his family, read and expounded the scriptures. He sanctified the sabbath, and regularly attended the ordinances of the gospel. The morning before his death he rode two miles to condole with his only sister, mourning the death of her only son. After a pious conversation, he bid her farewell in a most affecting manner, telling her he should never see her again, till he

met her in heaven. On his return, his horse fell, a blood vessel broke, he was taken up speechless, and in twelve hours expired, in the 78th year of his age. His memory is held in grateful remembrance, and his posterity are respectable.

In 1702, war was declared against France and Spain. During this ten years war the provinces of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire were made to feel the whole strength and fury of the French and Indians.

"On the 28th of February, 1703, a party of three hundred French and Indians, commanded by Hertel De Rouville, surprised the town of Deerfield, on Connecticut River, slew about forty persons, burned the town, and took nearly a hundred captives. More than twenty of the captives, unable to keep pace with the enemy, were killed before they reached Canada. Mr. Williams, minister of the town, was seized by the enemy as he rose from his bed, and in that cold season, kept standing in his shirt only, the space of an hour. During which time his house was plundered, two of his children and a negro woman murdered. His wife and five other children were suffered to put on their clothes, and then he was allowed to dress and prepare for a long and sorrowful march. The enemy having plundered and burned the town, made an hasty retreat, fearing that they should be overtaken by a superior force. Mrs. Williams was hardly recovered from her lying-in, and was in a feeble state. On the second day she acquainted Mr. Williams that she could not keep pace with the enemy any farther. He knew what would be the consequence. Words cannot express his wishes to be with and assist her ! But no leave could be obtained. He was carried from her, and her savage master soon plunged his hatchet in her head.\*

"There were suspicions, that the Indians on the eastern frontiers were plotting new mischiefs against the colonies. Governor Dudley therefore, with commissioners from two of the colonies, held a conference at Casco, with delegates from the tribes of the Norridgewock, Penobscot, Pigwacket, Penakook, and Amariscoggin Indians. They assured the Governor, that, "As high as the sun is above the earth, so far distant was their design of making the least breach of the peace." As an expression of their sincerity they presented a belt of wampum. Both parties gave the strongest assurances of their peaceable and friendly purposes. The Indians declared the union "firm as the mountains, and" that it "should continue as long as the sun and moon."

"Notwithstanding, on the 10th of August, a body of five hundred French and Indians, dividing into several parties, attacked all the settlements, from Casco to Wells ; killed and took a hundred and thirty people, burning and destroying all before them.† Soon after a number more were killed at Hampton village. The whole country,

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\*Hutch. vol. ii. p. 136, 139.

†Bellknap's Hist. p. 330, 331.

from Deerfield to Casco, was kept in continual alarm and terror by small parties of the enemy. The women and children were obliged to retire into garrisons, the men to go armed to their labours, and constantly to post sentinels in their fields. Troops of horse were posted, and large scouting parties, employed on the frontiers. Expeditions were undertaken to beat up the head quarters of the enemy, and to desolate their country. But when they were hunted in one place, they fled to another. Sometimes while the troops were seeking them in this quarter, they would be plundering and burning in another. The country was interspersed with such extensive groves, hideous swamps, and fastnesses, that notwithstanding the utmost vigilance and exertions, both of the soldiers and inhabitants, they would penetrate undiscovered far into the country, do the mischief they designed, and make their escape.

“Col. Church, the next year, was dispatched with about six hundred men, on an expedition into the eastern country. He destroyed the towns of Minas, Chignecto, and some other settlements on the eastern rivers. He also did considerable damage to the enemy at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy.

“Afterwards several winter campaigns were undertaken, and troops marched up the rivers to the principal towns and forts of the eastern Indians, but they found their towns and forts abandoned, and the enemy, for greater security, drawn off to Canada. No very considerable blow could therefore be given them. It was computed, that every Indian killed or taken, during the war, cost the country a thousand pounds.

“Such were the distresses of the country in these times, that they are not easily described or conceived. While large quotas of their best men were in service abroad, the rest were harassed by the enemy, subjected to continual service in garrisons and scouts at home. The inhabitants could till no lands, but such as were within call of their forts and garrisoned houses. They lay down and rose up in fear, and procured their bread at the continual hazard of their lives.

“Little idea can be formed of what is to be endured in a war with savages in America. In Europe the country is cultivated and inhabited, roads are made, hospitals and magazines are prepared. If troops are conquered and taken, it is only an exchange of masters. They expect kind treatment from a civilized and generous enemy. But in a war with savages in America, every thing is the reverse, every thing is terrible. Here troops hold their marches through groves, thickets, and defiles, through a vast and dreary wilderness, where there are neither hospitals, magazines, or refreshments, for the supply of the well, nor relief or conveniences for the sick or wounded. The face of the country, the nature of the service, the face and manner of the enemy are terrible. Their wild and horrible yells, their unusual appearances and manner of attack, are so alarming, that they have often thrown the best regular troops into the utmost



confusion. Their extreme art in first discovering, waylaying, and surprising their enemy, the suddenness and violence of their attacks, and their merciless cruelty, all conspire to make them truly a most terrible enemy. Victories over them, often are not decisive, while defeats involve the vanquished in total ruin. The least misfortune to be expected, in general, is simple death. If in the rude campaigns of America, there be less dignity, there is something more adventurous, more interesting to the heart, and more amusing to the imagination, than in the more grand events of regular war. In them all the powers of courage and address are called forth into execution, and all the firmness of body and mind is put to the severest trial.

“An Indian war forms a truly critical and dangerous service. It requires a firm body of the best regular troops, with a large proportion of the best marksmen, to compose a light infantry. It requires a commander of the firmest and coolest mind, full of precaution, and rich in expedients; and who with the glance of his eye, can catch every advantage and opportunity.”

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## CHAPTER III.

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Conduct of the British Government toward her American Colonies, which ultimately caused the Revolutionary War.

### SECTION I.

#### ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The *germ* of the Revolution, which issued in the establishment of the Independence of the British American Colonies, appeared at the very *origin* of their settlements. The component parts of this *germ*, were selfishness, “*political* and *mercantile*” jealousy, ignorance of the state of the Colonies, and of the policy with which they should have been treated, and consequently bad laws and measures adopted by Parliament, for their regulation. This *germ*, in all its branches, grew with the growth of the Colonies, till it became the immediate *cause* of the eight years War, which terminated in our Independence, and gave us a rank among the nations of the earth. The intelligent and indefatigable *Robert Walsh, Esq.* in his “*Appeal, —containing an Historical Outline of the merits and wrongs of the Colonies, &c.*”—has given the most satisfactory evidence of the truth of the facts above stated, in the documents which he has laboriously collected and furnished from several authors of authority on the subject. We give these documents, so far as they are pertinent to the design of this work, accompanied with the remarks of Mr. W.

“We have the following testimony in Hume’s Appendix to his account of the reign of James I. ‘What chiefly renders the reign of James memorable, is the commencement of the English colonies in America; colonies established on the noblest footing that has been known in any age or nation.’

“‘Speculative reasoners, during that age, raised many objections to the planting those remote colonies; and foretold, that, after draining their mother country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America.’

“In the excellent article on the British colonies, of Postlethwayt’s Universal Dictionary of Trade, there is a more particular statement to the same effect.

“‘It is certain that from the very time Sir Walter Raleigh, the father of our English colonies, and his associates, first projected these establishments, there have been persons who have found an interest in misrepresenting or lessening the value of them. When the intention of improving these distant countries, and the advantages that were hoped for thereby, were first set forth, there were some who treated them not only as chimerical, but as dangerous: They not only insinuated the uncertainty of the success, but the depopulating the nation. These, and other objections, flowing either from a narrowness of understanding or of heart, have been disproved by experience,’ &c. &c.

“‘The difficulties which will always attend such kind of settlements at the beginning, proved a new cause of clamour; many malignant suggestions were made about sacrificing so many Englishmen to the obstinate desire of settling colonies in countries, which produced very little advantage. But, as these difficulties were gradually surmounted, those complaints vanished. No sooner were those lamentations over, than others arose in their stead; when it could no longer be said that the colonies were useless, it was alleged that they were not useful enough to their mother country; that while we were loaded with taxes they were absolutely free; that the planters lived like princes, while the inhabitants of England laboured hard for a tolerable subsistence. This produced customs and impositions on plantation commodities,’ &c. &c.

“Within little more than a generation after the commencement of the plantations, the royal government anxiously began those formal inquiries into their population and manufactures; which were so often renewed until the period of our revolt, and of which the results, as to manufactures, served to place the jealousy that provoked them in a ludicrous and pitiable light. In the reign of Charles I. commissioners were deputed to ascertain the growth and dispositions of New-England. And we find her agent in London, in the time of Cromwell, informing one of his constituents, that, even then, there were not wanting many in England, to whom her privileges were matter of envy, and who eagerly watched every opportunity of abridging her political liberties and faculties of trade. Besides emissaries of the description just mentioned, the ministry of Charles II. despatched spies to watch over the conduct and views of the royal governors in America. From the same motive, printing presses were denied to the plantations. We are told by Chalmers, that “no printing press was allowed in Virginia;” that “in New-Eng-

land and New-York there were assuredly none *permitted*," and that "the other provinces probably were not more fortunate."\* When Andros was appointed by James II. captain-general of all the northern colonies, he was instructed "to allow of no printing press." In an official report of Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, dated 20th June, 1671, there is the following characteristic passage;—"I thank God we have no free schools, nor any printing; and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government; God keep us from both." Accordingly, every effort was made to shut out the pestilent tree of knowledge. On the appointment of Lord Effingham to the government of Virginia, in 1683, he was ordered, agreeably to the prayer of Sir William Berkley, "to allow no person to use a printing press on any occasion whatever."

"The erect port, and firm tone, of the legislature of the infant Massachusetts, not only filled the cabinet of Charles II. with alarm for the metropolitan sovereignty, but actually overawed them, so as to prevent the measures of repression which would otherwise have been pursued; and to maintain the province in the license of action necessary for its prosperity. Curious and remarkable evidence on these heads is extant in the Memoirs of Evelyn, who was one of the council of Charles II. His language deserves to be quoted.

" 'The 6th of May, 1670, I went to council, where was produced a most exact and ample information of the state of Jamaica, and of the *best expedients as to New-England*, on which there was a long debate; but at length 'twas concluded that, if any, it should be only a *conciliating* paper at first, or civil letter, till we had better information of the present face of things, *since we understood they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence on the crown.*'—Vol. i. p. 415.

" 'The first thing we did at our next meeting, was to settle the form of a circular letter to the governors of all his Majesty's plantations and territories in the West Indies and Islands thereof, to give them notice to whom they should apply themselves on all occasions, and to render us an account of their present state and government, *but what we most insisted upon was, to know the condition of New-England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were*, there were great debates in what style to write to them; for the condition of that colony was such, that they were able to contest with all other plantations about them, and *there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation.*'—Ibid.

" 'The matter in debate in council on the 3d of August, 1671, was, whether we should send a deputy to New-England, requiring them of the Massachusetts, to restore such to their limits and respective possessions as had petitioned the council; this to be the open commission only, *but in truth with secret instructions to informe the council of the condition of those colonies, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his Majesty, and declare for themselves as independent of the crowne*, which we are told, and which of late years

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\* Political Annals of the United Colonies, chap. 15.



made them refractory. Coll. Middleton being called in, assur'd us they might be curb'd by a few of his Majesty's first rate fregats, to spoil their trade with the Islands; but tho' my Lord President was not satisfied, the rest were, and we did resolve to advise his Majesty to send commissioners with a formal commission for adjusting boundaries, &c. with some other instructions.'—p. 417.

"We deliberated in council, on the 12th of January, 1672, on some fit person to go as commissioner to inspect their actions in New-England, and from time to time report how that people stood affected.'—p. 423.

"When the real amount of the "riches and strength, and the power to resist," mentioned in these extracts, is traced in the returns made from New-England at the era in question, it is difficult to think of the apprehensions of the British court, with any degree of seriousness.

"The fisheries, shipping, and foreign West India trade of the colonies had scarcely become perceptible, before the British merchants and West India planters caught and sounded the alarm. As soon as the colonists, in the progress of wealth and population, undertook to manufacture, for their own consumption, a few articles of the first necessity, such as hats, paper, &c. a clamour was raised by the manufacturers in England, and the power of the British government was exerted to remove the cause of the complaint. The Discourse on Trade, of Sir Josiah Child, a work published in 1670, but written in 1665, and long considered as of the highest authority, expresses, in the passages which I am about to quote, the prevailing opinions of the day.

"Certainly it is the interest of England to discountenance and abate the number of planters at Newfoundland, for if they should increase, it would in a few years happen to us, in relation to that country, as it has to the fishery at New-England, which many years since was managed by English ships from the western ports; but as plantations there increased, it fell to the sole employment of people settled there, and nothing of that trade left the poor old Englishmen, but the liberty of carrying now and then, by courtesy or purchase, a ship load of fish to Bilboa, when their own New-English shipping are better employed, or not at leisure to do it."

"New-England is the most prejudicial plantation to this kingdom.—I am now to write of a people, whose frugality, industry and temperance, and the happiness of whose laws and institutions, promise to them long life, with a wonderful increase of people, riches and power; and although no men ought to envy that virtue and wisdom in others, which themselves either can or will not practise, but rather to commend and admire it; yet I think it is the duty of every good man primarily to respect the welfare of his native country; and therefore, though I may offend some whom I would not willingly displease, I cannot omit, in the progress of this discourse, to take notice of some particulars, wherein Old England suffers diminution by the growth of the colonies settled in New-England."

"Of all the American plantations, his majesty has none so apt for the building of shipping as New-England, nor any comparably so qualified for the breeding of seamen, not only by reason of the natural industry of that people, but principally by reason of their cod and mackerel fisheries; and in my poor opinion, there is nothing more prejudicial, and in prospect more dangerous to any mother kingdom, than the increase of shipping in her colonies, plantations, or provinces,' &c.—Chap. 10.

"Illustrations of the spirit testified in these extracts from Child, may be collected from the work of Joshua Gee, "On the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain," published at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and also held in great estimation. The following passages are from his thirty-first chapter.

"'But before I proceed to show the great advantage those additional materials would be to carry on the aforesaid manufactures, I think proper to take notice of an objection made by some gentlemen, which is, that if we encourage the plantations, they will grow rich, and set up for themselves, and cast off the English government.'

"'I have considered those objections abundance of times, the oftener I think of them, the less ground I see for such doubts and jealousies.'

"'It must be allowed, New-England has shewn *an uncommon stiffness*. We think, however, all judicious men, when they come to examine thoroughly into their fears, will see they are groundless; and that as it seems impossible for the other colonies to join in any such design, so nothing could be more against their own interest: For if New-England should ever attempt to be independent of this kingdom, the stopping their supplying the sugar islands, and coasting and fishing trade, would drive them to the utmost difficulties to subsist as aforesaid; and of consequence the part they have in that trade would fall into hands of other colonies, which would greatly increase their riches. But if some turbulent spirited men should ever be capable of raising any defection, a small squadron of light frigates would entirely cut off their trade, and if that did not do, the government would be forced, contrary to their practice, to do what other nations do of choice, viz. place standing forces among them to keep them in order, and oblige them to raise money to pay them. We do not mention this with any apprehension that ever they will give occasion, but to shew the consequences that must naturally follow.'

"'Some persons who endeavour to represent this colony in the worst light, would persuade us they would put themselves under a foreign power, rather than not gratify their resentments,' &c.

"'Now as people have been filled with fears, that the colonies, if encouraged to raise rough materials, would set up for themselves; a little regulation would remove all those jealousies out of the way, as aforesaid,' &c.

"'It is to be hoped this method would allay the heat that some people have shewn (without reason) for destroying the iron works in the plantations, and pulling down all their forges; *taking away in a violent manner, their estates and properties, preventing the husbandmen from getting their plough-shares, carts, or other utensils mended*; destroying the manufacture of ship building, by depriving them of the liberty of making bolts, spikes, or other things proper for carrying on that work; by which article, returns are made for purchasing woollen manufactures, which is of more than ten times the profit that is brought into the kingdom by the exports of iron manufactures.'

"'The present age is so far unacquainted with the cause of the increase of our riches, that they rather interrupt than encourage it, and instead of enlarging, lay hold of some small trifling things, which they think may touch their private interest, rather than promote the general good; and if they think any commodity from the plantations interferes with something we have at home, some hasty step is taken to prevent it; so that for the sake of saving a penny, we often deprive ourselves of things of a thousand times the value.'

"The report made in 1731, at the command of the British Parliament, by the Board of Trade and Plantations, concerning the "trades carried on, and manufactures set up, in the colonies," betrays much disquietude, and recommends that, "some expedient be fallen



upon to direct the thoughts of the colonists from undertakings of this kind ; so much the rather, because these manufactures in process of time, may be carried on in a greater degree, unless an early stop be put to their progress." The report carefully notes that in New-England "by a paper mill set up three years ago, they make to the value of 200*l. sg. yearly.*" The measures adopted by the parliament in 1732 and 1733, were symptomatic of the morbid sensibility common to all classes of politicians as well as traders. By the act "for the better securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America," the interests of New-England were sacrificed to those of the sugar planters.

"The petition of Rhode-Island and Providence, against the sugar colony bill, occasioned a debate in the House of Commons in 1733, some parts of which deserve to be copied as interesting in a double point of view.

"Sir John Barnard moved for leave to bring up the petition.—"

"Sir Wm. Yonge said, I must take notice of one thing which I have observed in the petition. They therein tell us, that as to the bill now depending before us, they apprehend it to be against their charter. This, I must say, is something very extraordinary ; and in my opinion, looks very like aiming at an independence, and disclaiming the authority and jurisdiction of this House, as if this House had not a power to tax them, or to make any laws for the regulating the affairs of their colonies ; therefore if there were no other reason for our not receiving the petition, on this single account I should be against it."

"Mr. Winnington—I hope the petitioners have no charter which debars this House from taxing them as well as any other subjects of this nation. I am sure they can have no such charter."

"Sir John Barnard alleged that the language of the petitioners was "that they humbly conceive, that the bill now depending, if passed into a law, would be highly prejudicial to their charter." It may be that this House has sometimes refused to receive petitions from some parts of Britain, against duties to be laid on ; but this can be no reason why the petition I have now in my hand should be rejected. The people in every part of Britain have a representative in this House, who is to take care of their particular interest—and they may, by means of their representative in this House, offer what reasons they think proper against any duties to be laid on. But the people who are the present petitioners, have no particular representatives in this House, therefore, they have no other way of applying or offering their reasons to this House, but in the way of being heard at the bar of the House, by their agent here in England. Therefore, the case of this petition is an exception."

"The question being put for bringing up the petition, passed in the negative."—(*Parliamentary History.*)

"The trade of the northern colonies with the foreign West India Islands, would have been totally prohibited, according to the prayer of the sugar planters, had not the parliament apprehended distant consequences, of a nature incompatible with the general British policy as to France.\* The spirit of the legislation under review, is

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\*See Account of the European Settlements in America, vol. ii. p. 179. Moreover, according to the same authority, "The northern colonies declared, that if they were



strikingly exemplified in the law of 1732, to prevent the 'exportation of hats out of the plantations in America, and to restrain the number of apprentices taken by the hat makers, in the said plantations, &c.' So also, in the act of 1750, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the erection of any slitting-mill, plating-forge, or furnace for making steel, &c. Heavy complaints were made in Great Britain, that the people of New-England "not satisfied with carrying out their own produce, had become carriers for the other colonies." The injustice of the restraints imposed or solicited, may be understood from the circumstance that New-England had no staple to exchange for the **British manufactures.**

"These restraints,—those relating to manufactures, at least, were as unnecessary, as vexatious and unjust. Our experience since the separation, has demonstrated the extravagance of the apprehensions of the mother country, when referred to New-England at the beginning the last century. The selfishness must have been extreme, the jealousy exquisite, which generated the phantoms of an independent empire and rival manufactures in that quarter, at so early a period. The opinions of Adam Smith, concerning the British legislation generally, in the case of the American colonies, carry with them an authority not to be resisted, and belong especially to an exposition, such as the one in which I am engaged.

"The policy of Europe has very little to boast of, either in the original establishment, or so far as concerns their internal government, in the subsequent prosperity of the colonies of America."

"Folly and injustice seem to have been the principles which presided over, and directed the first project of establishing those colonies; the folly of hunting after gold and silver mines, and the injustice of coveting the possession of a country whose harmless natives, far from having ever injured the people of Europe, had received the first adventurers with every mark of kindness and hospitality."

"The adventurers, indeed, who formed some of the latter establishments, joined to the chimerical project of finding gold and silver mines, other motives more reasonable and more laudable; but even these motives do very little honour to the policy of Europe."

"The English Puritans, restrained at home, fled for freedom to America; and established there the four governments of New-England. The English Catholics *treated with much greater injustice*, established that of Maryland; the Quakers, that of Pennsylvania, &c. &c."

"The government of England contributed scarce any thing towards effectuating the establishment of some of its most important colonies in North America."

"When those establishments were effectuated, and had become so considerable as to attract the attention of the mother country, the first regulations which she made with regard to them had always in view to keep to herself the monopoly of their commerce; to confine their market, and to enlarge her own

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deprived of so great a branch of their trade, it must necessitate them to the establishment of manufactures. For, if they were cut off from their foreign trade, they never could purchase in England the many things for the use or the ornament of life, which they have from thence, &c."

at their expense, and consequently rather to damp and discourage, than to quicken and forward the course of their prosperity. In the different ways in which this monopoly has been exercised, consists one of the most essential differences in the policy of the different European nations with regard to their colonies. *The best of them all, that of England, is only somewhat less illiberal and oppressive than that of any of the rest.*

“England purchased, by some of her subjects who felt uneasy at home, a great estate in a distant country. The price indeed was very small, and instead of thirty years purchase, the ordinary price of land in the present times, it amounted to little more than the expense of the different equipments which made the first discovery, reconnoitered the coast, and took a fictitious possession of the country. The land was good and of great extent, and the cultivators having plenty of good ground to work upon, and being for some time at liberty to sell their produce where they pleased, became, in the course of little more than thirty or forty years, (between 1620 and 1660) so numerous and thriving a people, that the shop-keepers and other traders of England, wished to secure to themselves the monopoly of their custom. Without pretending, therefore, that they had paid any part, either of the original purchase money, or of the subsequent expense of improvement, they petitioned the parliament that the cultivators of America might, for the future, be confined to their shop; first, for buying all the goods which they wanted from Europe; and, secondly, for selling all such parts of their own produce as those traders *might find it convenient to buy*, for they did not find it convenient to buy every part of it. Some parts of it imported into England might have interfered with some of the trades which they themselves carried on at home. Those particular parts of it, therefore, they were willing that the colonists should sell where they could; *the farther off the better*; and, upon that account, proposed that their market should be confined to the countries south of Cape Finisterre. A clause in the famous act of navigation established this truly shop-keeper proposal into a law.”

“The maintenance of this monopoly has hitherto been the principal, or more properly, perhaps, the sole end and purpose of the dominion which Great Britain assumes over her colonies. It is the principal badge of their dependency, and it is the sole fruit which has hitherto been gathered from that dependency. Whatever expense Great Britain has hitherto laid out in maintaining this dependency, has really been laid out *in order to support this monopoly.*”

“While Great Britain encourages in America the manufactures of pig and bar iron, by exempting them from duties, to which the like commodities are subject, when imported from any other country, she imposes an absolute prohibition upon the erection of steel-furnaces and slit-mills in any of her American plantations. She will not suffer her colonies to work in those more refined manufactures even of their own consumption; but insists upon their purchasing of her merchants and manufacturers all goods of this kind, which they have occasion for.”

“She prohibits the exportation from one province to another by water, and even the carriage by land on horseback or in a cart, of hats, of wools and woollen goods, of the produce of America; a regulation which effectually prevents the establishment of any manufacture of such commodities for distant sale, and confines the industry of her colonists in this way to such coarse and household manufactures, as a private family generally makes for its own use, or for that of some of its neighbours in the same province.”

“To prohibit a great people, however, from making all that they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind. Though they had not been prohibited from establishing such manufactures, yet in their present state of improvement, a regard to their own interest would, probably, have prevented them from doing so. In their present state of improvement, those prohibitions,



perhaps, without cramping their industry, or restraining it from any employment to which it would have gone of its own accord, are only *impertinent badges of slavery* imposed upon them, without any sufficient reason, *by the groundless jealousy of the merchants and manufacturers of the mother country.*

“Of the greater part of the regulations concerning the colony trade, the merchants who carry it on, it must be observed, have been the principal advisers. We must not wonder, therefore, if, in the greater part of them, their interest has been more considered than either that of the colonies or that of the mother country. In their exclusive privilege of supplying the colonies with all the goods which they wanted from Europe, and of purchasing all such parts of their surplus produce as could not interfere with any of the trades which they themselves carried on at home, the interest of the colonies was sacrificed to the interests of those merchants.”

“As the plantations advanced in numbers, strength, wealth, and manufactures, they awakened a still more lively distrust, and jealous vigilance, in the mother country. In 1715, a bill was brought into the House of Commons to abolish all the charter governments; against which tyrannical project, the agent of Massachusetts, Dummer, published an elaborate and masterly pamphlet. One of the sections of his “Defence of the New-England Charters,” is headed thus,—“The objection that the charter colonies will grow great and formidable, answered:”—and the author details, with much anxiety, the circumstances which, in his opinion, established the probability of the reverse. He begins his argument with stating, “There is one thing I have heard often urged against the colonies, and indeed, it is what one meets from people of all conditions and qualities. ’Tis said, that their increasing numbers and wealth, joined to their great distance from Great Britain, will give them an opportunity, in the course of some years, to throw off their dependence on the nation, and declare themselves a free state, if not curbed in time. I have often wondered to hear some great men profess their belief of the feasibility of this, &c.” In 1740, the House of Commons voted, upon the complaint preferred by the general court of Massachusetts, against Governor Belcher, for denying to them the disposal of the public monies,—“That the complaint, contained in the New-England memorial and petition, was frivolous and groundless; an high insult upon his majesty’s government, and tending to shake off the dependency of the said colony upon this kingdom, to which, by law and right, they are and ought to be subject.” When the general court ventured to censure one of their agents, Mr. Dunbar, for giving evidence before Parliament on the bill for the better securing the trade of the sugar colonies, the House of Commons voted, *nem. con.*—“That the presuming to call any person to account, or pass a censure upon him; for evidence given by such person before that House, was *an audacious proceeding*, and an high violation of the privileges of that House.”

“To lessen the danger, or obviate new hazards, for her sovereignty and monopoly, England embraced the policy, of confining the settlements in North America as much as possible to the sea coast. The



great points of preventing the French power from being immoveably established at their back, and over the whole vast interior; of securing the Atlantic provinces not only from this evil, but from their cruel scourge—the Indians; of opening the fruitful and beautiful countries beyond the Appalachian mountains to English cultivation and empire, were all postponed to views, of which it is difficult to say whether they were more selfish or short sighted. The plan of a colony on the Ohio, for salutary and noble purposes, was conceived in America in the middle of the last century, submitted fruitlessly to the British government in 1768, and offered anew by Dr. Franklin, in 1770, with the engagement on the part of the projectors, to be at the whole expense of establishing and maintaining the civil administration of the country to be settled. A few extracts from the two Reports\* of the Board of Trade and Plantations, on the subject, to the Lords of the privy council, will explain the favourite system in relation to the plantations.

“ And first with regard to the policy, we take leave to remind your lordships of that principle which was adopted by this Board, and approved and confirmed by his majesty, immediately after the treaty of Paris, viz. the confining the western extent of settlements to such a distance from the sea coast, as that those settlements should lie *within the reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom*, upon which the strength and riches of it depend; and also of the exercise of that authority and jurisdiction, which was conceived to be necessary for the preservation of the colonies, in a due subordination to, and dependence upon, the mother country; and these we apprehend to have been *two capital objects of his majesty's proclamation* of the 7th of October, 1763, by which his majesty declares it to be his royal will and pleasure, to reserve, under his sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the Indians, all the lands not included within the three new governments, the limits of which are described therein, as also all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which shall fall into the sea from the west and north-west, and by which all persons are forbid to make any purchases or settlements whatever, or to take possession of any of the lands above reserved, without special license for that purpose.”

“ The same principles of policy, in reference to settlements at so great a distance from the sea coast as to be out of the reach of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom, continue to exist in their full force and spirit; and *though various propositions for erecting new colonies in the interior parts of America have been, in consequence of this extension of the boundary line, submitted to the consideration of government*, (particularly in that part of the country wherein are situated the lands now prayed for, with a view to that object,) yet the dangers and disadvantages of complying with such proposals have been so obvious, as to defeat every attempt made for carrying them into execution.”

“ The commander in chief of his majesty's forces in North America, wrote in 1769, to Lord Hillsborough, who presided over the colonial department;—

“ As to increasing the settlements to respectable provinces, and to colonization in general terms in the remote countries, I conceive it altogether incon-

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\*Fourth vol. Franklin's Works, article Ohio Settlement.

sistent with sound policy. I do not apprehend the inhabitants could have any commodities to barter for manufactures, except skins and furs, which will naturally decrease as the country increases in people, and the deserts are cultivated; so that in the course of a few years, necessity would force them to provide manufactures of some kind for themselves; and when all connexion upheld by commerce with the mother country shall cease, it may be expected that an independency in her government will soon follow. The laying open new tracts of fertile country in moderate climates might lessen the present supply of the commodities of America, for it is the passion of every man to be a landholder, and the people have a natural disposition to rove in search of good land, however distant.

“The Royal governor of Georgia, is quoted with great deference by the Lords of Trade, as having written to them thus :

“ ‘ This matter, my lords, of granting large bodies of land in the back parts of any of his majesty’s northern colonies, appears to me in a very serious and alarming light ; and I humbly conceive, may be attended with the greatest and worst of consequences ; for, my lords, if a vast territory be granted to any set of gentlemen, who really mean to people it, and actually do so, it must draw and carry out a great number of people from Great Britain ; and I apprehend, they will soon become a kind of separate and independent people, who will set up for themselves ; that they will soon have manufactures of their own, &c. : in process of time, they will become formidable enough to oppose his majesty’s authority, &c.’ ”

“Mr. Mills, in his “History of British India,” uses this emphatic language. ‘If it were possible for the English government to learn wisdom by experience, which governments rarely do, it might at last see, with regret, some of the effects of that illiberal, cowardly, and short-sighted policy, under which it has taken the most solicitous precautions to prevent the settlement of Englishmen ; trembling, forsooth, lest Englishmen, if allowed to settle in India, should detest and cast off its yoke !’ ”

“ ‘ It is wonderful to see how the English government, every now and then, voluntarily places itself in the station of a government existing in opposition to the people, a government which hates, because it dreads the people, and is hated by them in its turn. Its deportment with regard to the residence of the Englishmen in India, speaks these unfavourable sentiments with a force which language could not easily possess.’ ”

“I am myself unable devise a juster, or stronger commentary upon the policy towards the North American colonies, than is furnished in the following general observation of the Edinburgh critics, in allusion to the case of India. ‘We cannot conceive any thing more discreditable to a government, than to place itself in opposition to a measure, conducive, and almost essential to the prosperity of a great empire, merely because it would be attended with a chance, at some distant period, of a curtailment of the extent of its dominions.’ ”

“We ought not to forget the eloquent condemnation of the pretension of 1814, pronounced by Sir James Mackintosh, in the House

of Commons, a condemnation equally due to his majesty's proclamation of the 7th October, 1763, and to the system of the Lords of Trade. 'The western frontier of North American cultivation is the part of the globe in which civilization is making the most rapid and extensive conquests on the wilderness. It is the point where the race of man is the most progressive. To forbid the purchase of land from the savages, is to arrest the progress of mankind.—More barbarous than the Norman tyrants, who afforested great tracts of arable land for their sport, ministers attempted to stipulate that a territory quite as great as the British Islands, should be doomed to an eternal desert. They laboured to prevent millions of freemen and Christians from coming into existence. To perpetuate the English authority in two provinces, a large part of North America was for ever to be a wilderness. The American negociators, by their resistance to so insolent and extravagant a demand, maintained the common cause of civilized men.'\*

"Emigration to the colonies proved, from the outset, a subject of alarm for the mother country: Her apprehension from it was twofold; of her own depopulation, and the translation and decline of her manufactures.

"Precautions were taken against two great an efflux from the kingdom to America, even in the time of James I, and were renewed on several occasions in that of his successor. The circumstance is noticed by Hume in the following terms:—'The Puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, and laid there the foundations of a government, which possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they found themselves deprived in their native country. But their enemies unwilling that they should any where enjoy ease and contentment, and dreading, perhaps, the dangerous consequences of so disaffected a colony, prevailed with the king to issue a proclamation, debarring these devotees access even into those inhospitable deserts.'

"In 1637, a proclamation was issued by Charles I, 'to restrain the disorderly transporting of his majesty's subjects to the colonies without leave;' and in 1638, another, 'commanding owners and masters of vessels, that they do not fit out any with passengers and provisions to New-England, without license from the Commissioners of Plantations.' One incident of the operation of this interdict has attracted the notice of all the historians, and is thus strikingly told by Robertson.

"The number of the emigrants to America drew the attention of government, and appeared so formidable, that a proclamation was issued, prohibiting masters of ships from carrying passengers to New-England, without special permission. On many occasions this injunction was eluded or disregarded. Fatally for the king, it operated with full effect in one instance. Sir Arthur Haslerig, John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell, and some other persons, whose principles and views coincided with theirs, impatient to enjoy those civil and

\* Speech on the Treaty with America—April, 1815.



religious liberties, which they struggled in vain to obtain in Great Britain, hired some ships to carry them and their attendants to New-England. By order of council, an embargo was laid on these when on the point of sailing; and Charles, far from suspecting that the future revolutions in his kingdoms were to be excited and directed by persons in such an humble sphere of life, forcibly detained the men destined to overturn his throne, and to terminate his days by a violent death.\*

“The reduction of the fortress of Louisbourg, in 1745, by the colonial troops,—the twenty-five thousand soldiers whom the colonies furnished and maintained in the war of 1755,—the four hundred privateers fitted out in their ports during the same period, to cruise against French property,—the large sums which they advanced, beyond their fair proportion, to the military chest,—the considerable aids in men and provisions, which they sent to the West Indies,—the important, principal share which they had in the overthrow of the French power in North America, and in the consequent, unexampled glory and aggrandizement of England,—these splendid efforts and services, extorted annual thanks from the British parliament, and encomiums from the ministry: But they awakened no real gratitude, and won no solid marks of favour. The old jealousy was irritated; and a keener cupidity excited, by such supposed evidences of power and wealth: The design so long formed of discharging upon the colonies a part of the load of taxation under which Britain groaned, and of fastening a military yoke upon their necks, was only confirmed and ripened, by their generous and excessive exertions for the triumph of the mother country over her great rival. This effect was quickly visible in the stamp-act of 1765; and the scheme of subjugation, though intermitted for a moment, was soon made evident by the revival of that act, and the train of desperate attempts upon the liberties and spirit of the colonies, which the Declaration of Independence has engraven on the memory of every American.

“The views and dispositions of the British ministry, from the year 1763, until the sword was drawn, and during the struggle, are so well known, as scarcely to call for illustration from history. It is alike notorious and confessed, that the majority of the British nation partook in them, and finally consented to the recognition of American independence, not from any change of feelings, but from momentary exhaustion and discouragement. As the determination of the colonies to resort to arms, became apparent, and after the rapture was complete, the jealousy of dominion and monopoly, and the dread of future rivalry, heightened into rage, and no longer restrained by immediate interest, were vented in every variety of passionate and resentful expression. ‘I must maintain,’ said a ministerial leader in the House of Lords, in the debate of the 26th October, 1775, on the king’s speech, ‘that it would have been better that America had never been known, than that a great consolidated empire should exist independent of Great Britain.’”\*

\* Walsh’s Appeal, p. 4—21.

## SECTION II.

EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED BETWEEN 1751 AND 1763, THE PERIOD  
OF THE FRENCH WAR.

THOUGH not in strict chronological order we begin with—

## THE ALBANY PLAN OF UNION.

Of this Plan, often referred to, but little is generally known.—The following authentic account of it, is abridged from the Works of Dr. Franklin, who was its principal Author.

This Congress, for reasons which will appear in the sequel, was called by the crown, and may be considered as the *germ* of that larger congress called by the freemen of our country, which twenty-five years after, declared *thirteen united colonies, to be free, independent and United States*. Had the Albany Plan been approved by the crown, we might still have been *colonies* to Great Britain.

## ALBANY PAPERS.

Containing, I. Reasons and Motives on which the PLAN OF UNION for the COLONIES was formed;—II. Reasons against Partial Unions;—III. The Plan of Union drawn by B. F. and unanimously agreed to by the Commissioners from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Bay, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania,\* met in Congress at Albany, in July, 1754, to consider of the best Means of defending the King's Dominions in America, &c. a war being then apprehended;† with the Reasons or Motives for the Plan.

I. *Reasons and Motives on which the Plan of Union was formed.*

The commissioners from a number of the northern colonies being met at *Albany*, and considering the difficulties that have always attended the most necessary general measures for the common defence, or for the annoyance of the enemy, when they were to be carried through the several particular assemblies of all the colonies;

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\* This plan was intended for *all* the colonies; but, commissioners from some of them not attending, their consent to it was not, in this respect, universally expressed. Governor Pownall, however, says, 'That he had an opportunity of conversing with, and knowing the sentiments of the commissioners' 'appointed by their respective provinces, to attend this congress, to which they were called by the crown;' 'of learning from their experience and judgment, the actual state of the *American* business and interest; and of hearing amongst them, the grounds and reasons of that *American* Union, which they then had under deliberation, and transmitted the plan of to *England*;' and, he adds, in another place, 'that the sentiments of our colonies were collected in an authentic manner on this subject in the plan proposed by Dr. *Franklin*, and unanimously agreed to in congress.'

† Dr. Franklin, Governor Hutchinson, and Governor Pownall were members of this Congress.

some assemblies being before at variance with their governors or councils, and the several branches of the government not on terms of doing business with each other; others taking the opportunity, when their concurrence is wanted, to push for favourite laws, powers, or points that they think could not at other times be obtained, and so *creating* disputes and quarrels; one assembly waiting to see what another will do, being afraid of doing more than its share, or desirous of doing less; or refusing to do any thing, because its country is not at present so much exposed as others, or because another will reap more immediate advantage; from one or other of which causes, the assemblies of six (out of seven) colonies applied to, had granted no assistance to *Virginia*, when lately invaded by the *French*, though purposely convened, and the importance of the occasion earnestly urged upon them: considering moreover, that one principal encouragement to the *French*, in invading and insulting the British American dominions, was their knowledge of our disunited state, and of our weakness arising from such want of union; and that from hence different colonies were, at different times, extremely harassed, and put to great expence both of blood and treasure, who would have remained in peace, if the enemy had had cause to fear the drawing on themselves the resentment and power of the whole; the said commissioners, considering also the present incroachments of the *French*, and the mischievous consequences that may be expected from them, if not opposed with our force, came to an unanimous resolution,—*That an union of the colonies is absolutely necessary for their preservation.*

The manner of forming and establishing this union was the next point. When it was considered that the colonies were seldom all in equal danger at the same time, or equally near the danger, or equally sensible of it; that some of them had particular interests to manage, with which an union might interfere; and that they were extremely jealous of each other;—it was thought impracticable to obtain a joint agreement of all the colonies to an union, in which the expence and burthen of defending any of them should be divided among them all; and if ever acts of assembly in all the colonies could be obtained for that purpose, yet as any colony, on the least dissatisfaction, might repeal its own act and thereby withdraw itself from the union, it would not be a stable one, or such as could be depended on: for if only one colony should, on any disgust withdraw itself, others might think it unjust and unequal that they, by continuing in the union, should be at the expence of defending a colony which refused to bear its proportionable part, and would therefore one after another withdraw, till the whole crumbled into its original parts.—Therefore the commissioners came to another previous resolution, viz. *That it was necessary the union should be established by act of Parliament.*

They then proceeded to sketch out a *plan of union*, which they did in a plain and concise manner, just sufficient to shew their senti-



ments of the kind of union that would best suit the circumstances of the colonies, be most agreeable to the people, and most effectually promote his Majesty's service and the general interest of the British empire.—This was respectfully sent to the assemblies of the several colonies for their consideration, and to receive such alterations and improvements as they should think fit and necessary ; after which it was proposed to be transmitted to *England* to be perfected, and the establishment of it there humbly solicited.

This was as much as the commissioners could do.

## II. *Reasons against partial Unions.*

Some of the Commissioners proposed to “form the colonies into two or three distinct unions;” but this proposal was overruled for reasons which are given at large under this head in the original, but which are omitted here, as not important to our purpose.

III. Plan of a proposed Union of the several colonies of Massachusetts's Bay, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina for their mutual defence and security, and for extending the British settlements in North America.

It is proposed—That humble application be made for an act of Parliament of *Great Britain*, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in *America*, including all the said colonies, within and under which government each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by the said act, as hereafter follows.

## *President General, and Grand Council.*

That the said general government be administered by a President General to be appointed and supported by the crown ; and a Grand Council to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies met in their respective assemblies.

## *Election of Members.*

Members for the grand council, shall be chosen in the following proportion, that is to say,

<i>Massachusetts's Bay</i>	7	<i>Pennsylvania</i>	6
<i>New-Hampshire</i>	2	<i>Maryland</i>	4
<i>Connecticut</i>	5	<i>Virginia</i>	7
<i>Rhode-Island</i>	2	<i>North Carolina</i>	4
<i>New-York</i>	4	<i>South Carolina</i>	4
<i>New-Jerseys</i>	3		
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			48

## *Place of First Meeting.*

Who shall meet for the first time at the city of *Philadelphia* in *Pennsylvania*, being called by the President General as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment,

*New Election.*

That there shall be a new election of the members of the Grand Council every three years ; and on the death or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of the assembly of the colony he represented.

*Proportion of Members after the first three years.*

That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each colony to the general treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each colony shall from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion (yet so as that the number to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven, nor less than two.)

*Meetings of the Grand Council, and Call.*

That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the President General on any emergency ; he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole.

*Continuance.*

That the Grand Council have power to choose their speaker ; and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time ; without their own consent or the special command of the crown.

*Member's Allowance.*

That the members of the Grand Council shall be allowed for their service ten shillings sterling *per diem*, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting ; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

*Assent of President General and his Duty.*

That the assent of the President General be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council ; and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

*Power of President General and Grand Council. Treaties of Peace and War.*

That the President General, with the advice of the Grand Council, hold or direct all *Indian* treaties in which the general interest of the colonies may be concerned ; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations.

*Indian Trade.*

That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade.

*Indian Purchases.*

That they make all purchases from Indians for the crown, of lands not now

within the bounds of particular colonies or that shall not be within their bounds when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions.

### *New Settlements.*

That they make new settlements on such purchases by granting lands in the King's name, reserving a quit-rent to the crown for the use of the general treasury.

### *Laws to govern them.*

That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments.

### *Raise Soldiers and equip Vessels, &c.*

That they raise and pay soldiers and build forts for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony without the consent of the legislature.

### *Power to make Laws, lay Duties, &c.*

That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imports, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just, (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies,) and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burthens.

### *General Treasurer and Particular Treasurer.*

That they may appoint a General Treasurer and Particular Treasurer in each government when necessary; and from time to time may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury; or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient.

### *Money how to issue.*

Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the President General and Grand Council; except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the President General is previously empowered by an act to draw for such sums.

### *Accounts.*

That the general Accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several assemblies.

### *Quorum.*

That a quorum of the Grand Council empowered to act with the President General, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies.



*Laws to be transmitted.*

That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of *England*, and shall be transmitted to the King in council for approbation as soon as may be after their passing ; and if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force.

*Death of the President General.*

That in case of the death of the President General, the speaker of the Grand Council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue till the King's pleasure be known.

*Officers how appointed.*

That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the President General ; but the approbation of the Grand Council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions. And all civil officers are to be nominated by the Grand Council, and to receive the President General's approbation before they officiate.

*Vacancies how supplied.*

But in case of vacancy by death, or removal of any officer civil or military under this constitution, the governor of the province in which such vacancy happens, may appoint till the pleasure of the President General and Grand Council can be known.

*Each Colony may defend itself on emergency, &c.*

" That the particular military as well as civil establishments in each colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding ; and that on sudden emergencies any colony may defend itself and lay the accounts of expence thence arising before the President General and general council, who may allow and order payment of the same as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable.

The foregoing Plan of Union was sent home to the Government, for approbation. It was, however, rejected, and another submitted by the English Minister, proposing that " the governors of all the colonies, attended by one or two members of their respective councils, should assemble, and concert measures for the defence of the whole, erect forts where they judged proper, and raise what troops they thought necessary, with power to draw on the treasury here for the sums that should be wanted, and the treasury to be reimbursed by a tax laid on the colonies by act of Parliament."

This new plan being communicated by Governor Shirley to Dr. Franklin, who was then in Boston, the Dr. in several letters states his objections to it, which are supposed to have had a principal influence against its adoption, by the colonies ; for after this correspondence we hear no more of it.

A letter of Dr. Franklin to Gov. Shirley, written at this time, "on the subject of uniting the colonies more intimately with Great Britain, by allowing them Representatives in Parliament," deserves a place in this work.

BOSTON, DEC. 22, 1754.

Sir,

Since the conversation your Excellency was pleased to honour me with, on the subject of *uniting the colonies* more intimately with Great Britain, by allowing them *representatives in Parliament*, I have something further considered that matter ; and am of opinion, that such an union would be very acceptable to the colonies ; provided they had a reasonable number of representatives allowed them ; and that all the old acts of Parliament restraining the trade or cramping the manufactures of the colonies, be at the same time repealed, and the *British* subjects *on this side the water*, put, in those respects, on the same footing with those in *Great Britain*, till the new Parliament, representing the whole, shall think it for the interest of the whole to re-enact some or all of them : it is not that I imagine so many representatives will be allowed the colonies, as to have any great weight by their numbers ; but I think there might be sufficient, to occasion those laws to be better and more impartially considered, and perhaps to overcome the interest of a petty corporation, or of any particular set of artificers or traders in *England*, who heretofore seem, in some instances, to have been more regarded than all the colonies, or than was consistent with the general interest, or best national good. I think too that the government of the colonies, by a Parliament, in which they are fairly represented, would be vastly more agreeable to the people, than the method lately attempted to be introduced by royal instruction ; as well as more agreeable to the nature of an *English* constitution, and to *English* liberty ; and that such laws as now seem to bear hard on the colonies, would (when judged by such a Parliament for the best interest of the whole) be more cheerfully submitted to, and more easily executed.

I should hope too, that by such an union, the people of Great Britain, and the people of the colonies, would learn to consider themselves, as not belonging to different communities with different interests, but to one community with one interest ; which I imagine would contribute to strengthen the whole, and greatly lessen the danger of future separations.

It is, I suppose, agreed to be the general interest of any state, that its people be numerous and rich ; men enow to fight in its defence, and enow to pay sufficient taxes to defray the charge ; for these circumstances tend to the security of the state, and its protection from foreign power. But it seems not of so much importance whether the fighting be done by John or Thomas, or the tax paid by William or Charles. The iron manufacture employs and enriches *British* subjects, but is it of any importance to the state,

whether the manufacturer lives at Birmingham or Sheffield, or both ; since they are still within its bounds, and their wealth and persons still at its command ? Could the *Goodwin Sands* be laid dry by banks, and land equal to a large country thereby gained to England, and presently filled with English inhabitants ; would it be right to deprive such inhabitants of the common privileges enjoyed by other Englishmen, the right of vending their produce in the same ports, or of making their own shoes ; because a merchant or a shoemaker, living on the old land, might fancy it more for his advantage to trade or make shoes for them ? Would this be right, even if the land were gained at the expense of the state ? And would it not seem less right if the charge and labour of gaining the additional territory to Britain had been borne by the settlers themselves ? And would not the hardship appear yet greater, if the people of the new country should be allowed no representatives in Parliament enacting such impositions ? Now I look on the *colonies* as so many countries gained to *Great Britain* ; and more advantageous to it, than if they had been gained out of the sea around our coasts, and joined to its land ; for being in different climates, they afford greater variety of produce, and materials for more manufactures ; and being separated by the ocean, they increase much more its shipping and seamen : and, since they are all included in the British empire, which has only extended itself by their means ; and the strength and wealth of the parts is the strength and wealth of the whole ; what imports it to the general state, whether a merchant, a smith, or a hatter, grow rich in *Old* or *New-England* ? And if through increase of people, two smiths are wanted for one employed before, why may not the *new* smith be allowed to live and thrive in the *new* country, as well as the *old* one in the *old* ? In fine, why should the countenance of a state be *partially* afforded to its people, unless it be most in favour of those who have most merit ? And, if there be any difference, those who have most contributed to enlarge *Britain's* empire and commerce, increase her strength, her wealth, and the numbers of her people, at the risque of their own lives and private fortunes in new and strange countries, methinks ought rather to expect some preference. With the greatest respect and esteem, I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's most obedient,  
and humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Plan for settling two Western Colonies in North America, with Reasons for the Plan, 1754.

The great country back of the *Apalachian* mountains, on both sides the *Ohio*, and between that river and the lakes, is now well known both to the English and French, to be one of the finest in *North America*, for the extreme richness and fertility of the land ; the



healthy temperature of the air, and mildness of the climate ; the plenty of hunting, fishing, and fowling ; the facility of trade with the Indians ; and the vast convenience of inland navigation or water-carriage by the lakes and great rivers, many hundred of leagues around.

From these natural advantages it must undoubtedly (perhaps in less than another century) become a populous and powerful dominion ; and a great accession of power, either to England or France.

The *French* are now making open encroachments on these territories, in defiance of our known rights ; and if we longer delay to settle that country, and suffer them to possess it,—these *inconveniences and mischiefs* will probably follow :

1. Our people, being confined to the country between the sea and the mountains, cannot much more increase in number ; people increasing in proportion to their room and means of subsistence.

2. The *French* will increase much more, by that acquired room and plenty of subsistence, and become a great people behind us.

3. Many of our debtors, and loose English people, our *German* servants, and slaves, will probably desert to them ; and increase their numbers and strength, to the lessening and weakening of ours.

4. They will cut us off from all commerce and alliance with the western *Indians*, to the great prejudice of Britain, by preventing the sale and consumption of its manufactures.

5. They will both in time of peace and war (as they have always done against *New-England*) set the Indians on to harass our frontiers, kill and scalp our people, and drive in the advanced settlers ;\* and

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\*A very intelligent writer, Dr. Clark, in his *Observations on the late and present Conduct of the French, &c.* printed at Boston 1755, says—

“The Indians in the French interest are, upon all proper opportunities, *instigated by their priests*, (who have generally the chief management of their public councils,) to acts of hostility against the English, even in time of profound peace between the two crowns. Of this there are many undeniable instances : The war between the Indians and the colonies of the Massachusetts Bay and New-Hampshire, in 1723, by which those colonies suffered so much damage, was begun by the instigation of the French ; their supplies were from them ; and there are now original letters of several Jesuits to be produced, whereby it evidently appears, that they were continually animating the Indians, when almost tired with the war, to a farther prosecution of it. The French not only excited the Indians, and supported them, but joined their own forces with them in all the late hostilities that have been committed within his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia. And from an intercepted letter this year from the Jesuit at Penobscott, and from other information, it is certain that they have been using their utmost endeavours to excite the Indians to new acts of hostility against his Majesty's colony of the Massachusetts Bay ; and some have been committed.—The French not only excite the Indians to acts of hostility, but reward them for it, by *buying the English prisoners of them* : for the ransom of each of which they afterwards demand of us the price that is usually given for a slave in these colonies. They do this under the specious pretence of rescuing the poor prisoners from the cruelties and barbarities of the savages ; but in reality to encourage them to continue their depredations, as they can, by this means, get more by hunting the English, than by hunting wild beasts ; and the French at the same time are thereby enabled to keep up a large body of Indians, entirely at the expense of the English.”

so, in preventing our obtaining more subsistence by cultivating of new lands, they discourage our marriages, and keep our people from increasing ; thus (if the expression may be allowed) killing thousands of our children before they are born. — — —

If two strong colonies of *English* were settled between the Ohio and Lake Erie, in the places hereafter to be mentioned,—these *advantages* might be expected :

1. They would be a great security to the frontiers of our other colonies ; by preventing the incursions of the French and French Indians of Canada, on the back parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas ; and the frontiers of such new colonies would be much more easily defended, than those of the colonies last mentioned now can be, as will appear hereafter.

2. The dreaded junction of the French settlements in *Canada*, with those of *Louisiana* would be prevented.

3. In case of a war, it would be easy, from these new colonies, to annoy *Louisiana* by going down the Ohio and Mississippi ; and the southern part of *Canada* by sailing over the lakes ; and thereby confine the French within narrower limits.

4. We should secure the friendship and trade of the *Miamis* or *Twightwees*, (a numerous people, consisting of many tribes, inhabiting the country between the west end of Lake Erie, and the south end of Lake Hurons, and the Ohio ;) who are at present dissatisfied with the French, and fond of the English, and would gladly encourage and protect an infant English settlement in or near their country, as some of their chiefs have declared to the writer of this memoir. Further, by means of the lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, our trade might be extended through a vast country, among many numerous and distant nations, greatly to the benefit of Britain.

5. The settlement of all the intermediate lands, between the present frontiers of our colonies on one side, and the lakes and Mississippi on the other ; would be facilitated and speedily executed, to the great increase of *Englishmen*, *English* trade, and *English* power.

The grants to most of the colonies, are of long narrow slips of land, extending west from the Atlantic to the South Sea. They are much too long for their breadth ; the extremes at too great a distance ; and therefore unfit to be continued under their present dimensions.

Several of the old colonies may conveniently be limited westward by the Alleghany or Apalachian mountains ; and new colonies formed west of those mountains.

A single old colony does not seem strong enough to extend itself otherwise than inch by inch : it cannot venture a settlement far distant from the main body, being unable to support it : But if the colonies were united under one governor general and grand council, agreeable to the *Albany* Plan, they might easily, by their joint force, establish one or more new colonies, whenever they should judge it necessary or advantageous to the interest of the whole.\*

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\*Extract from the "Plan for settling two western colonies," &c.



"A number of noblemen, merchants, and planters of Westminster, London, and Virginia, about the year 1751, obtained a charter grant, of six hundred thousand acres, on and near the Ohio River. In pursuance of the terms of their patent, the lands were surveyed, about two years after the grant, and settlements were soon made.

The governor of Canada, had early intelligence of the transactions of the company, and was alarmed with apprehensions, that they were prosecuting a plan, which would effectually deprive the French of the advantages, which they derived from their trade with the Twightwees ; and what was still worse, would cut off the communication between the colonies of Canada and Louisiana. The French claimed all the country from the Mississippi, as far in upon Virginia, as the Alleghany mountains. This claim was founded on the pretence, that they were the first discoverers of that river. To secure their claims and preserve the communication between their two colonies of Canada and Louisana, they had not only erected a fort on the south side of Lake Erie, but one about fifteen miles south of that, on a branch of the Ohio, and another at the conflux of the Ohio and the Wabache. Nothing could be more directly calculated to dash a favourite plan of France, than the settlement of the Ohio.

The Governor of Canada therefore wrote to the governors of New-York and Pennsylvania, representing that the English traders had encroached on the French, by trading with their Indians, and threatening that he would seize them wherever they should be found.

Accordingly, in 1753, a party of French and Indians seized the British traders, among the Twightwees, and carried them to their fort on the south side of Lake Erie. The Twightwees, resenting the injury done to the British traders, their allies, made reprisals on the French, and sent several of their traders to Pennsylvania. The French, however, persisted in their claims and continued to strengthen their fortifications.

The Indians at the same time, jealous that settlements were about to be made on their lands, without purchase or consent from them, threatened the settlers. These claims and encroachments of the French, and threats of the Indians, struck at the very existence of the Ohio Company. Complaints were therefore made to Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, and the province began to interest themselves warmly in the affair. The Indians were, in some measure, pacified, by a pretended message delivered them from the king. Maj. Washington was despatched to Mr. St. Pierre, the French commandant on the Ohio, to demand the reasons of his hostile conduct, and, at the same time, to insist on the withdrawment of his troops. A party of Virginians were also sent forward to erect a fort at the conflux of the Ohio and Monongabela.

The French commander denied the charge of hostility, and was so far from withdrawing his forces, that he made an absolute claim of the country, as the property of the French king, and declared that, agreeably to his instructions, he would seize and send prisoner to



Canada, every Englishman, who should attempt to trade on the Ohio or any of its branches.

Before the Virginians had finished their designed fortifications on the Ohio, the French came upon them, and, driving them out of the country, erected a regular fort on the very ground where they had begun their fortifications. This fortress, which was called *du Quesne*, very much commanded the entrance of the whole country on the Ohio and Mississippi.\* This gave a general alarm not only to the colonies, but to Great Britain.

It was easily foreseen, that if the French should unite Canada with their settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi, by a possession of that vast country, which lies between them, that the colonies would not only sustain the loss of a great part of their country, and all share in the Indian trade ; but, that in time of war, their frontiers would be exposed to continual alarm and danger. They must also be subjected to the ruinously expensive and impracticable defence of a frontier more than a thousand miles in length. On the contrary if the designs of France on Nova Scotia and the Ohio, could be defeated, it would entirely disunite their colonies : and, as the entrance into the one, is in the winter season shut up by frost, and as that into the other is always difficult, by reason of the banks, at the mouth of the Mississippi, they would consequently become of little value to France. It was also foreseen that the fortune of these colonies would immediately affect their settlements in the West Indies. As these points were fully comprehended by both nations, they were equally determined to maintain their respective claims.

No sooner, therefore, were the British ministry acquainted with the claims and conduct of the French, than they instructed the Virginians, by force of arms to resist their encroachments. Orders were given that several independent companies in America should assist the Virginians. Major Washington was advanced to the rank of a colonel, and appointed to command the troops destined to remove the French encroachments on the Ohio. In May the colonel fell in with a party from fort *du Quesne*, under the command of one *Jamonville*, whom he totally defeated. *De Villier*, who commanded at fort *du Quesne*, incensed at this defeat, marched down upon him, with nine hundred men, besides Indians. The colonel had thrown up some imperfect works, which were with propriety termed *Fort Necessity* ; hoping to defend himself in his post, till he should be reinforced, by the companies expected from New-York. Within these works, he made so brave and obstinate a defence, that *De Villier*, finding he had desperate men to combat, offered him an honourable capitula-

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\*In these ravages the French destroyed all the English traders but two, and plundered them of skins and other commodities to the amount of twenty thousand pounds. They finally came on from *Venango*, with a thousand men, and eighteen pieces of cannon, in three hundred canoes, drove off the Virginians and built fort *du Quesne*.—*Rider's Hist.* vol. xi. p. 71.

tion. This he accepted, and retreated with his party to Virginia. It was but two months after this event that the Congress met at Albany, of whose proceedings we have already given an account.\*

On the reception of the news of Colonel Washington's defeat, the British court remonstrated against the conduct of the French : but receiving nothing but evasive answers and professions of peace from the court of France, gave orders for a vigorous preparation for war. The colonies were directed to arm, and act with united exertions against the enemy. Four expeditions were planned. One against the French on the Ohio, under the command of General Braddock, a second against Nova Scotia, a third against Crown Point, and a fourth against Niagara. About the middle of January, General Braddock embarked at Cork, with fifteen hundred regulars for Virginia. After a passage of about six weeks he arrived at the place of destination.

The French, while they spoke nothing but peace, made vigorous preparations for the support of their claims in America. Early in the spring they had a powerful armament ready to sail for Canada. It consisted of twenty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates and transports. On board were great quantities of military stores, and four thousand regular troops, under the command of Baron Dieskau.

Admirals Boscawen and Holborn, with seventeen ships of the line and seven frigates, with six thousand land forces, were despatched to watch the motions of the enemy."†

Thus commenced a nine year's war, which may be denominated "*a war for limits*," which raged along our whole extensive frontier. A summary of its prominent events are given by Dr. Trumbull‡—and a shorter one by Dr. Webster, which we quote.

"In 1755, four expeditions were undertaken in America against the French. One was conducted by General Monckton, who had orders to drive the French from the encroachments on the province of Nova Scotia. This expedition was attended with success. General Johnson was ordered, with a body of troops, to take possession of Crown Point, but he did not succeed. General Shirley commanded an expedition against the fort at Niagara, but lost the season by delay. General Braddock marched against fort Du Quesne, but in penetrating through the wilderness, he incautiously fell into an ambuscade and suffered a total defeat. General Braddock was killed, but a part of his troops were saved by the prudence and bravery of General Washington, at this time a Colonel, who then began to exhibit proofs of those military talents, by which he afterwards conducted the armies of America to victory, and his country to independence. The ill success of these expeditions left the English settlements in America exposed to the depredations of both the French and Indians. But the war now raged in Europe and the

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\* Page 73. † Hist. U. S. Vol. I. p. 346 to 448. ‡ Trumbull's Hist. U. States, Vol. I. p. 340.



East Indies, and engaged the attention of both nations in those quarters.

It was not until the campaign in 1758, that affairs assumed a more favorable aspect in America. But upon a change of administration, Mr. Pitt was appointed Prime Minister, and the operations of war became more vigorous and successful. General Amherst was sent to take possession of Cape Breton; and after a warm siege, the garrison of Louisburgh surrendered by capitulation. General Forbes was successful in taking possession of Fort Du Quesne, which the French thought fit to abandon. But General Abercrombie, who commanded the troops destined to act against the French at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, attacked the lines at Ticonderoga, where the enemy were strongly entrenched, and was defeated with a terrible slaughter of his troops. After his defeat, he returned to his camp at Lake George.

The next year, more effectual measures were taken to subdue the French in America. General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson began the operations of the campaign by taking the French fort near Niagara.\* General Amherst took possession of the forts at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, which the French had abandoned.

But the decisive blow, which proved fatal to the French interests in America, was the defeat of the French army, and the taking of Quebec, by the brave General Wolfe. This hero was slain in the beginning of the action, on the Plains of Abram, and Monsieur Montcalm, the French commander, likewise lost his life. The loss of Quebec was soon followed by the capture of Montreal, by General Amherst, and Canada has remained ever since in possession of the English.

Colonel Grant, in 1761, defeated the Cherokees in Carolina, and obliged them to sue for peace. The next year, Martinico was taken by Admiral Rodney and General Monckton; and also the islands of Grenada, St. Vincents, and others. The capture of these was soon followed by the surrender of the Havanna, the capital of the island of Cuba.†

"On the third of November 1763, preliminaries of peace were signed, at Fountainbleau, by the British and French ministers. The definitive treaty of Paris was completed on the tenth of the succeeding February. In the fourth article of this treaty, his most Christian majesty renounced all pretensions, which he had ever formed or might form to Nova Scotia in all its parts, and guaranteed the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the king of Great Britain. He also ceded and guaranteed, to his Britannic majesty, in full right, Canada with all its dependencies, with Cape Breton and all the other islands and coasts in the River St. Lawrence, with every thing dependent on said countries, lands, islands, and coasts; with the sovereignty, prop-

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\* General Prideaux was killed by the bursting of a mortar, before the surrender of the French. † Webster p. 156-158.



erty, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, in the amplest manner and form, without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee. The seventh article fixed the limits of territory between the two nations in the following manner;—

“In order to re-establish peace, on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and the French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty and those of his most Christian Majesty in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the Lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the sea; and for this purpose the most Christian king cedes in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses or ought to possess on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of Orleans, and the island on which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length from its source to the sea, and expressly that part, which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of the river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever.”\*†

The king of Great Britain made a restoration of all his conquests in the Spanish West Indies to the king of Spain. In consequence of which his Catholic Majesty, in the twentieth article, made to his Britannic Majesty an ample cession of Florida, St. Augustine, the bay of Pensacola, and all that Spain possessed on the continent of North America, to the east or to the southeast of the river Mississippi. A cession was also made of every thing dependent on said country or lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties, or otherwise, which, ever the Catholic king or crown of Spain had over the said countries.

In the fourth, seventh, and twentieth articles, his Britannic Majesty stipulated, that the inhabitants of the respective countries above ceded, by France and Spain, should be allowed the enjoyment of the Roman Catholic religion; and that he would give the most express and effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects might profess the exercise of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish Church, so far as should be consistent with the laws of Great Britain. It was further stipulated, that the inhabitants of said countries might sell their estates to British subjects, and retire with all safety and freedom wher-

\*“*Riders Hist. vol. i. p. 5, 6.*”

† By the cessions of France in this Treaty, the colonial territories of Great Britain in North America were greatly enlarged, extending from Hudson's Bay, on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and the Mississippi River on the west.

ever they should think proper. They were also allowed to remove their effects, as well as persons, without any restraint in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except in cases of debt and of criminal prosecutions. The time of emigration was limited to the term of eighteen months from the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty. These were the principal stipulations relative to the continent of America.

Signally conspicuous was that all-governing Providence, which, for so many years, by sea and land, in Europe, America, and the other quarters of the world, combined such a variety of circumstances, as united their influence in this great event. In this important treaty, the American colonies saw the enemy, who, for nearly a century and a half, had given them such immense trouble, caused them so many years of fear and sorrow, such an incredible expense of blood and treasure, either removed from the continent, or reduced to circumstances, in which they were so far from injuring them, that they could not but contribute to their emolument, and to the wealth and grandeur of Great Britain. The aspects of Providence were peculiarly favourable with respect to the colonies, in that extent of territory which was secured to them by the treaty. In the extent and security which it gave them with respect to their fisheries and commerce, and in every other respect, which related to their particular interests it was favourable, how defective soever it was with respect to the other interests of Great Britain. In this, pious people could discover something very providential, that though the colonies had no hand nor influence in the treaty, yet that it was much more favourable with respect to them, than it was to the parent country.

Great and universal was the joy which the peace gave to the English colonies in America. For nearly eight years they had been making the utmost exertions to carry on the war, and assist his majesty in humbling the pride of their common enemy. Their burdens and losses had been great. As the provincials generally enlisted only for one campaign, a new army was to be raised, new bounties given, and new clothing furnished every spring. So great was the expense, that the colonies were obliged not only to emit bills of credit to a great amount, but to tax the people as highly as they could bear. Besides the public bounties, the merchants, farmers, and gentlemen of character, were obliged to advance considerable sums to encourage the enlistment, or they must have left their merchandize, farms and various employments, and gone themselves into actual service. Especially was this the case with the northern colonies. New England in general, during the war, had ten thousand men in the field. Some years, the two colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut only, furnished this number. The Massachusetts sent into the field annually five thousand and five hundred men; and one year seven thousand. Besides her annual quota, this colony for several years garrisoned Louisburg and Nova Scotia, that the regular troops might be employed in the expeditions against Canada. On application of the



British admiral, she furnished five hundred seamen in the expeditions against Louisburg and Quebec. At several times many others were impressed out of the vessels employed in the fishery. Agreeably to the statement made by governor Bernard, and transmitted to the lords of trade, the colony had expended in the war eight hundred and eighteen thousand pounds sterling.\* Of this three hundred and twenty eight thousand pounds had been replaced by parliamentary grants. Four hundred and ninety thousand pounds were expended, for which the colony had no parliamentary compensation.

Connecticut exerted herself more beyond her proportion than the Massachusetts. On the commencement of the war, in 1755, she raised a thousand men for the service. After the battle at the lake, in September, she sent on a detachment of two thousand of her militia, as a reinforcement to the army. The next year, supposing that the southern states might fail of furnishing their respective quotas, she sent into actual service two thousand and five hundred men. This was double the number required by the commander in chief. Such was her zeal for his majesty's service and the general good, that she exerted herself in this duplicate proportion, lest the common cause should suffer. As she was called upon, the next year, 1758, to raise all the men in her power, and was encouraged that this would be the last year of the war, she exerted herself beyond all former examples, and sent into service about five thousand men. General Amherst taking advantage of the zeal of the colony this year, made this number the rule of his command annually during the war. This proved a heavy burden on the colony, and was not only far beyond her proportion, but even beyond her ability. The expense of this little colony, in the war from 1755 to 1762 inclusively, after deducting the parliamentary grants, amounted to upwards of four hundred thousand pounds.†

The colonies probably sustained a loss of about five or six and twenty thousand men. These in general were their most firm and hardy young men, the flower of their country. Many others were wounded, maimed, and enervated in the many distant and arduous campaigns during the war. As the New England colonies furnished much the greatest numbers of men, this loss fell with the greatest weight upon them. New York and New Jersey were next in their zeal to New England, and consequently had the next share in the expense and loss of the war. The populous and opulent colony of Pennsylvania, by reason of internal dissensions, sometimes did little or nothing; when she did her best, she sent into the field no more than two thousand seven hundred men. Her whole expense very little exceeded the grants made her by parliament. The expense of Maryland was next to nothing.

\* Governor Bernard's Letter, August 1, 1764.

† Reasons offered, in behalf of Connecticut, against internal taxation of the colonies, printed, New-Haven, 1764.



The employment of such a number of men for so many years, in the war, greatly injured the husbandry of the country, which was its principal, and, in the northern colonies, almost the only resource. The loss of so many young men, and the prevention of marriage, for so many years, with respect to others, very greatly retarded population. At the same time the war was a check to literature, exceedingly destructive of domestic happiness, injurious to piety and the social virtues. The colonies thirsted for peace. A deliverance from these evils, the return of parents, sons, brethren, and friends, from distant countries, captivity, and the dangers of war, to the embraces of each other, with the countless blessings of peace, diffused a general and uncommon joy. The extent of territory ceded to the colonies, the safety of their commerce and fisheries, the prodigious scope which opened for both, for the extension of settlement, the increase of wealth and population, and a general diffusion of happiness, all united to swell the general tide of joy. That high point of greatness, honour, and magnificence, to which the nation had been elevated, the extension of her empire, the flow of the whole trade and wealth of Canada, and of this great continent into her lap, whom they considered as a parent, and to whom they claimed the relation of children; the honours acquired in so glorious a war, with the advantages of a peace, which gave lustre to the crown and aggrandizement to the reign of a prince whom they loved, were so many circumstances enlivening the joy and increasing the satisfaction, which so universally prevailed. The colonists gloried in their prince, and in their relation to Great Britain. They felt a high degree of satisfaction, and it was no small part of their pride, that with their fellow subjects, of the mother country, they had shared in the labours and enterprises, and with them had mingled their blood in those battles and victories, on the continent and in the Indies, which had given such enlargement to her empire, and such lustre to her arms.

They felt a grateful sense of the royal beneficence and parliamentary goodness, in the grants which had been made for their assistance in defraying the expenses of the war. They were entirely satisfied with the British government, and conceived themselves singularly happy in the protection and privileges which they enjoyed as British subjects. This was the general feeling and happy state of the country on the return of peace.

The extension of settlements, the increase of cultivation, numbers, commerce, and wealth of the colonies, for about ten or twelve years after the pacification of Paris were almost incredible. These, with the conquests made during the war, and the extent of country ceded, in America, by the definitive treaty, were so many great preparatory steps, in the grand series of events, which paved the way to the independence of the United States. These all united their influence in obtaining for them those extensive limits, and that happy establishment which they now enjoy.”\*

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\* Trumbull's Hist. U. S. p. 446.

## SECTION III.

The prospects at the close of the war disappointed by acts of parliament. The growth of the colonies, and their advantage to Great Britain, while they were allowed to tax themselves. A new system of colonization is adopted, the sugar-act passed and the stamp act proposed. The colonies offer their reasons and petition against it. Debates in parliament on the introduction of the bill. The stamp-act passes; is odious to Americans, and universally opposed. The revenue officers obliged to resign. Mr. Pitt reprobates the act and advises to the repeal of it. The parliament, having asserted their right to tax America, repeal the act. Consequences of the repeal.

THE success and fortunate termination of the war with France and the Indian nations, not only raised the British empire to a distinguished pitch of national glory, but appeared to establish the tranquillity of her colonies upon a more permanent basis than it had ever been fixed at any preceding period. Unbounded prospects of navigation, commerce, wealth, national aggrandizement and happiness presented themselves both to Great Britain and America. Had the nation been favoured with some happy genius, capable of discerning her great and complicated interests, and of adopting a benevolent plan of administration, consistent with the rights, emolument and happiness of the parent country and of her colonies, it is not easy to describe that point of greatness and splendor to which the empire might have risen. Indeed, had the voice of those illustrious statesmen, who had raised the nation to that renown, which it then boasted, been heard, its union might have been preserved. But a new and fatal plan of colonization was now adopted, which distracted the nation, and terminated in the American Revolution.

During a century and a half, from their first emigration, the colonists were left to tax themselves. If there were any exceptions to this general rule, they were too inconsiderable to be worthy of notice. Great Britain, however, restrained and regulated their trade. She named the ports and nations to which only their merchandize might be carried, and with whom only they might trade. She obliged them to carry to her all their raw materials which might be wrought up for her emolument, and their other productions which she needed, or which might increase her wealth. She prohibited their manufacturing any articles among themselves, which might injure her manufactures or commerce, and their procuring manufactures from any other part of the globe, or even the products of European countries, which were her rivals, until they were first brought into her ports. Notwithstanding the numerous oppressions which the colonists had experienced, under the British government, and though all disrelished, and many, from the pressures which they felt, complained of the restrictions on their manufactures and commerce, yet they were generally disposed to submit to them. It was generally acknowledged that the parent country might exercise a

sovereign dominion over the whole empire, and that while it was guarded by contract, and exercised for the general emolument, it was safe and might not be resisted. Some warm defenders of American liberty conceded, that the supreme legislature represents the whole society, the dominions as well as the realm, and that this was implied in the idea of a supreme power.\* But the right of taxing the colonies without their consent, was universally reprobated, as inconsistent with their natural charter, and constitutional rights.† Ancient usage was pleaded against it as well as the general principles of liberty.

During a period of more than a century, from 1660, to 1764, the parliament of Great Britain had passed nearly thirty acts restraining and regulating the trade of the colonies in such a manner as was judged most conducive to mutual advantage, and especially to her own particular welfare. In all these acts, the contributions of the colonies to the strength and aggrandizement of the British empire were established solely on the system of commerce. Not a single revenue act had been passed. Until this year they all stood upon a commercial footing, and were designed as regulations of trade, and not sources of a national revenue.

While Great Britain adhered to this system of colonization, her American colonies increased and flourished beyond all parallel. In the same proportion as the colonies increased, the commerce, opulence, strength and glory of Great Britain increased.

Her whole export trade to the colonies in 1763, exceeded half of all her exports, to other countries, sixty years before; and, antecedently to the independence of the American states, equalled her whole export trade at the aforementioned period. In the year 1604, the amount of the whole export trade of Great Britain, to America and all other countries, was no more than 6,509,000 pounds sterling; but in 1763, her exports to her American colonies only, amounted to 3,730,900 pounds;‡ and so prodigious was the increase of the colonies, that, in about ten or twelve years after this period, the tonnage of their shipping, the number of their seamen and the amount of their trade was doubled. In the year 1772, the export trade of Great Britain, to them only, was 6,022,132 pounds sterling:§ and the annual increase during the four succeeding years was very rapid. In the short term of about 70 years the colonies added not less to the export trade of their parent country, than the whole of that to which she had grown by the increasing improvements of 1700 years. As it is evident, from the preceding history, that the settlement and protection of the colonies was not at the expense of Great Britain, so it is equally evident, that this increase of their trade was not at the expense or diminution of the general trade of the kingdom, for this increased during the same period from six, to sixteen millions.

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\* Otis's rights of the British colonies. † The several colonies insisted on this, in the reasons which they offered against the stamp-act. ‡ Anonymous history of the war in America, part i. p. 31. § Ramsay's Hist. vol. i. p. 49, 50.



The filial submission of the colonies to the sovereignty of the parent country, for so long a period, while it was exercised in superintending their general concerns, and in harmonizing the commercial interests of the empire, gave a clear demonstration, that, without parliamentary taxation, they might have been kept in proper subordination and subserviency to her government and interests. No subjects in the kingdom were more strongly attached to the royal house of Hanover, and to those revolutionary principles which placed it on the throne of the British empire, than the colonists. They gloried in the British constitution, in their relation to Great Britain, and rejoiced in her growing commerce, strength and glory. Had that line of colonization been pursued, the benefit of which had been experienced for many ages, the colonies with great cheerfulness would have poured all the profits of their increasing labours and commerce into the lap of their parent.

For several years the British ministry had conceived the idea of a new plan of colonization, and of altering both the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the colonies. Immediately after the pacification of Paris, new scenes were presented. The numbers and resources which the colonies had exhibited during the war, the show of wealth and plenty which had been made, at the entertainments given to some of the British generals and officers, in several of their capitals, the gold, silver and jewels appearing in the dress of the colonists, on these and other occasions, begat, in their fellow subjects of Great Britain, the idea that they were wealthy and powerful. It was said, that their taxes were light; that the whole expense of the civil establishment, in all the colonies in North America, was little more than seventy thousand pounds sterling: That their ecclesiastical constitution was no less economical: That tithes were not known among them: That their clergy were numerous: and that they were generally maintained by moderate stipends, or by the voluntary contributions of the people, &c. The national debt of Great Britain amounted to the enormous sum of a hundred and forty-eight millions. The annual interest of it only was nearly five millions, and the inhabitants of that country already groaned under a grievous load of taxes.

While the British minister, in these partial views, was digesting plans for the diminution of this amazing debt, and for easing the inhabitants of Great Britain, he conceived the idea of raising a substantial revenue in the American colonies by parliamentary taxation.\* The British ministry maintained the novel doctrine, That

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\*Tudor, in his life of Otis, gives us the following interesting anecdote: "When President Adams was minister at the court of St. James, he often saw his countryman, Benjamin West, the late president of the royal academy. Mr. West always retained a strong and unyielding affection for his native land. Mr. West one day asked Mr. Adams, if he should like to take a walk with him, and see the cause of the American

the Parliament, as the supreme power of the nation, was vested with a constitutional authority to impose taxes on every part of the empire. The Parliament unanimously adopted the opinion, and, in March 1764, resolved that it had a right to tax the colonies. As a prelude to the memorable STAMP-ACT, the House of Commons also voted, "That towards further defraying the necessary expenses of protecting the colonies, IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO CHARGE CERTAIN STAMP DUTIES upon them." To these resolutions succeeded what has commonly been called, the SUGAR-ACT, passed April 5th, the preamble to which ran in this alarming style: "Whereas it is just and necessary, that a revenue be raised in America, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same, We the commons, &c. towards raising the same, give and grant unto your majesty, after the 29th of September, 1764, upon clayed sugar, indigo and coffee of foreign produce, [and on many other articles] the sum of," &c. Until this inauspicious hour no act of Parliament had been passed avowedly for the purpose of raising a revenue in the colonies. This act was fraught with ingredients highly disgusting and alarming. It not only declared the necessity, but JUSTICE of taxing the colonists for the avowed purpose of a parliamentary revenue, but the very wording of it excited, in the colonists, shrewd apprehensions that the Parliament would proceed to tax them to such a degree and for such a time, as they pleased, for the support of a military force to dragoon them into its unconstitutional measures. They imagined that they were able to defend themselves, and were averse from paying their money to purchase their own chains, and to bind themselves and their descendants in perpetual servitude.

The act was grievous and disgusting, as it required the monies to be raised by it to paid in specie, at the same time that regulations were adopted to obstruct the acquiring of gold and silver, and to

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revolution. The minister, having known something of this matter, smiled at the proposal, but told him that he should be glad to see the cause of that revolution, and to take a walk with his friend West any where. The next morning he called according to agreement, and took Mr. Adams into Hyde Park, to a spot near the Serpentine River, where he gave him the following narrative. The king came to the throne a young man, surrounded by flattering courtiers; one of whose frequent topics it was, to declaim against the meanness of his palace, which was wholly unworthy a monarch of such a country as England. They said that there was not a sovereign in Europe who was lodged so poorly; that his sorry, dingy, old, brick palace of St. James, looked like a stable, and that he ought to build a palace suitable to his kingdom. The king was fond of architecture, and would therefore more readily listen to suggestions, which were in fact all true. This spot that you see here, was selected for the site, between this and this point, which were marked out. The king applied to his ministers on the subject; they inquired what sum would be wanted by his majesty, who said that he would begin with a million: they stated the expenses of the war, and the poverty of the treasury, but that his majesty's wishes should be taken into full consideration. Some time afterwards the king was informed, that the wants of the treasury were too urgent to admit of a supply from their present means, but that a revenue might be raised in America to supply all the king's wishes. This suggestion was followed up, and the king was in this way first led to consider, and then to consent, to the scheme for taxing the colonies."

interdict the use of the colonial paper currency. The regulations, taken together, were calculated at once to deprive the colonies of the means of trade, and to injure the commerce of both countries.

The principal source of acquiring gold and silver, and of making remittances to Great Britain, was the trade which the colonies carried on with the French and Spanish West Indies. To these they carried timber, boards, and materials of almost every kind for building, staves and hoops for casks, horses, cattle, and all kinds of provisions. In return, they brought back indigo, cotton, sugar, cocoa, molasses, bills of exchange, and such sums in specie as they chose. The whole profit of this trade centred in Great Britain. The bills of exchange, and all other articles not wanted in the colonies, either for their own consumption or as means of trade, were sent to the mother country in exchange for her various manufactures. The foreign trade of the colonies was really *her* trade. If this trade was prohibited by the letter of the navigation laws of the empire, it was not inconsistent with the spirit of them. The advantages of it to the colonies, and especially to Great Britain, were very great. For this reason it had been winked at by those in power. But soon after the peace such regulations were adopted, as nearly annihilated this lucrative trade. The British men of war received a general order to prevent all smuggling, or as the ministerial phrase was, to "crush the monster." Not only the men of war made prizes of French, Spanish, and English vessels employed in this trade, but armed cutters were fitted out for the same purpose, and to suppress every breach of the very letter of the laws of navigation. The commanders of these were obliged to take the usual custom-house oaths, and to act in the capacity of revenue officers. The sudden stoppage of a trade, which, like the vital fluid in the human body, gave life to business of every description, in the northern colonies, was productive of a general torpor in their commerce, and gave them a distressing blow. This general distress of the mercantile interest, and the heavy losses to which many of the colonists were subjected, soured their minds, created jealousies, and produced sentiments and designs altogether unfavourable to the mother country. These were further excited and inflamed by the arbitrary, unconstitutional, and cruel methods adopted for securing the collection of the duties imposed for the purpose of raising a revenue. It was enacted by the Parliament, that whenever offences should be committed against the acts, which imposed them, the prosecutor might bring his action for the penalty, in the courts of admiralty, by which means the defendant was deprived of the privilege of a trial by a jury of the vicinage, and was subjected to a decision of his case by a single man, a creature of the crown, whose salary was to be paid out of those very forfeitures adjudged by himself. What rendered the case of the defendant still harder, was, that he was subjected to a course of law, by which the prosecutor was exempted from the trouble of proving his accusation, and he was obliged, either to prove his innocence or



to suffer. By these regulations, the colonists, when charged with violating the laws for raising a revenue in America, were deprived of every constitutional security of their property. All the guards which the constitution, and their ancestors of both countries had placed on property with respect to them, were utterly demolished. Beside, the naval officers employed in the execution of the orders of government, partly from ignorance, and partly from rapacity, were guilty of many acts of violence and injustice. These all united their influence to inflame the passions of the colonists and to alienate them from the parent country. That she should infringe her own constitution, and counteract her own commercial interests, to cramp the trade and check the growing propensity of her colonies, was a subject of general admiration and complaint. The Americans imagined that it was to be accounted for upon this supposition only, That the British ministry were jealous of their enterprising commercial spirit, increasing numbers and opulence, and were resolved on the means of obstructing them. They began to view Great Britain, not as they had formerly done, in the light of an affectionate mother, but of an illiberal, imperious and cruel step-dame.

The trade indeed, between the British, and the French and Spanish colonies, on the 29th of September, 1764, was in a certain degree legalized ; but it was loaded with such enormous duties as amounted to a prohibition, and gave no relief to the colonists. In these circumstances, though their sufferings were great, yet their fears were greater. It is not strange, therefore, that they viewed and represented their mother country, in a very unfavourable point of light. It was designed that the stamp-act should succeed the acts which had already been so alarming, disgusting and distressing. The ministry waited only to be more particularly informed of the writs, deeds, licences and other instruments of that kind, used in the colonies, on which a duty might be charged ; to know what the objections of the colonists would be against the duties in contemplation ; and whether the Americans would not choose to tax themselves to such an amount, or, in some other way, make such permanent provision, for the augmentation of the national revenue, as might be equivalent to that, which was contemplated by the stamp-act. The governors of the several colonies, in obedience to the requisition of his Britannic Majesty, at an early period, transmitted to the ministry, for their assistance, in framing the said act, the forms of writs, deeds and the like, used in America, how opposite soever they were to the tax it was designed to impose. The Americans were well apprized of the designs of the British ministry, and big with the most anxious expectation.

While the ministry paid an eager attention to the reception given to the regulations which they had already made respecting America, and were anxiously seeking every possible information from the most enlightened characters in the several colonies, that they might the more effectually carry their designs into execution, the alarm,

among the colonists, became greater and greater, and spread wider and wider. The best heads and pens among them were employed against the regulations which had been adopted and the act which was in contemplation. Eloquence and the press every where aided the opposition. The more the people thought and reasoned, the more they were awakened to a sense of their danger ; in proportion to their time and opportunities they increased their union, and roused each other to oppose the regulations already made and the act which was pending. They viewed the parliamentary resolutions as the sad preface to a system of American revenue, which would divest them of the rights of English subjects, not only enslave but impoverish themselves and their posterity, and prove a melancholy introduction to a complication of evils of the greatest magnitude. They imagined they saw before them a prospect of oppression, unlimited in its extent and endless in its duration.

Several of the colonies petitioned and remonstrated against the acts ; and committees were generally appointed by the respective assemblies to represent their objections against a parliamentary taxation of the colonies, and particularly against the Stamp-Act.

In Virginia, the Council and House of Burgesses petitioned his majesty, presented a memorial to the House of Lords, and a remonstrance to the House of Commons.

Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, and New-York preferred petitions."

We here insert as a fair specimen of these petitions,

" *The Memorial of the Council and Burgesses of Virginia, now met in General Assembly,*"—to the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament,—

" HUMBLY REPRESENTS,

" That your memorialists hope an application to your lordships, the fixed and hereditary guardians of *British* liberty, will not be thought improper at this time, when measures are proposed, subversive, as they conceive, of that freedom, which all men, especially those who derive their constitution from *Britain*, have a right to enjoy ; and they flatter themselves that your lordships will not look upon them as objects so unworthy your attention, as to regard any impropriety in the form or manner of their application, for your lordships' protection, of their just and undoubted rights as *Britons*.

" It cannot be presumption in your memorialists to call themselves by this distinguished name, since they are descended from *Britons*, who left their native country to extend its territory and dominion, and who, happily for *Britain*, and as your memorialists once thought, for themselves too, effected this purpose. As our ancestors brought with them every right and privilege they could with justice claim in their mother kingdom, their descendants may conclude, they cannot be deprived of those rights without injustice.

" Your memorialists conceive it to be a fundamental principle of the *British* constitution, without which freedom can no where exist, that the people are not subject to any taxes but such as are laid on them by their own consent, or by those who are legally appointed to represent them : property must become too precarious for the genius of a free people, which can be taken from them at the will of others, who cannot know what taxes such people can bear, or the easiest mode of raising them ; and who are not under that restraint, which

is the greatest security against a burthensome taxation, when the representatives themselves must be affected by every tax imposed on the people.

"Your memorialists are therefore led into an humble confidence, that your lordships will not think any reason sufficient to support such a power, in the *British* Parliament, where the colonies cannot be represented : a power never before constitutionally assumed, and which if they have a right to exercise on any occasion, must necessarily establish this melancholy truth, that the inhabitants of the colonies are the slaves of *Britons*, from whom they are descended ; and from whom they might expect every indulgence that the obligations of interest and affection can entitle them to.

"Your memorialists have been invested with the right of taxing their own people from the first establishment of a regular government in the colony, and requisitions have been constantly made to them by their sovereigns, on all occasions when the assistance of the colony was thought necessary to preserve the *British* interest in *America* ; from whence they must conclude, they cannot now be deprived of a right they have so long enjoyed, and which they have never forfeited.

"The expenses incurred during the last war, in compliance with the demands on this colony by our late and present most gracious sovereigns, have involved us in a debt of near half a million, a debt not likely to decrease under the continued expense we are at, in providing for the security of the people against the incursions of our savage neighbours ; at a time when the low state of our staple commodity, the total want of specie, and the late restrictions upon the trade of the colonies, render the circumstances of the people extremely distressful ; and which, if taxes are accumulated upon them by the *British* Parliament, will make them truly deplorable.

"Your memorialists cannot suggest to themselves any reason why they should not still be trusted with the property of their people, with whose abilities, and the least burthensome mode of taxing, (with great deference to the superior wisdom of Parliament,) they must be best acquainted.

"Your memorialists hope they shall not be suspected of being actuated, on this occasion, by any principles but those of the purest loyalty and affection, as they always endeavoured by their conduct to demonstrate, that they consider their connexion with *Great Britain*, the seat of liberty, as their greatest happiness.

"The duty they owe to themselves and their posterity, lays your memorialists under the necessity of endeavouring to establish their constitution upon its proper foundation ; and they do most humbly pray your lordships to take this subject into your consideration, with the attention that is due to the well-being of the colonies, on which the prosperity of *Great Britain* does, in a great measure, depend."

Pamphlets were also published, containing the reasons and pleas of the colonies against the acts. These were sent over to their agents and put into the hands of the ministry. In these, it was pleaded, 'That by the constitution and common law of England, the English were a free people ; that their freedom consisted in this general privilege,—that no laws could be made or abrogated without their consent, by their representatives in Parliament : That no privilege, included in the general rights of the free subjects of *Great Britain*, was more essential to their freedom, more approved and fixed than this,—that *no tax, loan, or benevolence can be imposed on them but by their consent, by their representatives in Parliament* : That this was a privilege of ancient date, and that there was none of which they had been more jealous ; none which they had more expressly claimed, or for which they had more vigorously contended,



as essential to the preservation of the liberty, property and safety of the subject. It was insisted that the colonists were as much British subjects as those who had been born and lived in Great Britain, and had a right to the same essential privileges : That these had been stipulated and confirmed by royal charters, acknowledged by the people of Great Britain, and enjoyed by the colonies for more than a century : That the colonists could not be represented in Parliament, nor give their consent, directly or indirectly, to laws made, or taxes imposed, by its authority ; and therefore that charging stamp duties, or other internal taxes, on the American colonies, would be inconsistent with the British constitution, and an infringement on their natural and essential rights. It was urged, that if the taxations in contemplation should take place, and the principles on which they were founded be adopted and acted upon, the colonies would enjoy no more than the show of legislation, and the king's subjects, in them, the shadow of English liberty only : That the same principles, which would warrant a tax of this kind on one article, would upon every article, and a tax of a pound, as well as of a penny, or of a thousand pounds, and so on, without limitation, as Parliament might judge convenient. It was affirmed, that the law was no less the rule and measure of the king's government and power, than of the allegiance of his subjects ; and that while it asserted and maintained the royal powers and prerogatives, it equally asserted and maintained their rights and liberties.

Further, it was pleaded, that the taxes were impolitic, as well as an infringement of the rights of the subject : That the colonies were a great interest, and of high importance to Great Britain : That the increase of their numbers, commerce and riches, was in reality the increase of *her* strength, commerce and opulence : That the profits of their industry, spirit of enterprise, and circuitous trade all centre in Great Britain, and that the revenue of the crown, no less than the wealth of the nation, was greatly increased, at the expense of the colonies : That the measures in contemplation, by depriving them of their powers and privileges, and rendering both liberty and property insecure, would cause the colonies to languish, and be an essential injury to the mother country : and that by continuing their governments, and treating their privileges as too sacred to be violated, the people would be invigorated, their spirit of industry and enterprise would be kept up, and they would become more able and zealous to advance the national interest.

The manner in which most of the colonies were settled, and the special services which they had performed, were also pleaded as objections against all internal taxations. It was affirmed that the colonists had purchased the right of pre-emption of their lands of the king, or his patentees, and that they had been obliged to purchase a great part of them again of the native proprietors\* of the country : That

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\* "Man," says Chalmers, "having a right to the world from the gift of the beneficent Creator, must possess and use the general estate according to the grant, which com-

they had scutled and defended themselves at their own expense ; That they had cheerfully assisted the mother country in all her wars ; and, that they had not only done their proportion in them, but more than their proportion : and that with respect to the French war, then just concluded, this had been allowed, both by his British Majesty and the parliament, and some compensation had been granted for their extraordinary services.

It was further objected that the principal charges, denominated American expenses, arose merely from the protection and defence of the new governments and acquisitions, the outposts and fur-trade, and that the old colonies had no interests in these new and large acquisitions, that they would finally be disposed of and settled for the benefit of the crown and nation in general, and not for any particular emolument of the colonies. It was therefore pleaded, that it would be altogether unreasonable and unjust to tax the old colonies, which had settled and defended themselves at their own expense, and by braving dangers and hardships scarcely paralleled in the history of man, had immensely increased the power, wealth and glory of the nation.† This is a summary of the objections against the stamp-act, and all internal taxation of the colonies.

While the colonies made these objections to parliamentary taxation, they insisted that they were willing, and should always judge it their duty, to grant all such aids to the crown, as might be compatible with their circumstances, whenever they should be called upon in the usual constitutional manner. At the same time, they determined to be judges of the expediency of the grants to be made, of the sums to be granted, and to have the honour of giving their money to his majesty, equally with their fellow subjects of Great Britain. It was a fixed opinion with the Americans, that it was an essential idea of property to be so entirely the possessor's, that no man, whether prince

manded him to multiply and to subsist by labour : and little would the earth have been peopled or cultivated, had men continued to live by hunting or fishing, or the mere productions of nature. The roving of the erratic tribes over wide extended deserts, does not form a possession which excludes the subsequent occupancy of emigrants from countries overstocked with inhabitants. The paucity of their numbers, and their mode of life, render them unable to fulfil the great purposes of the grant. Consistent, therefore, with the great charter to mankind, they may be confined within certain limits. Their rights to the privileges of men, nevertheless, continue the same. And the colonists, who conciliated the affections of the aborigines, and gave a consideration for their territory, have acquired the praise due to humanity and justice."

"As for the usurpation of territory from the natives, by the American states, he must be," says the Quarterly Review, "a feeble moralist, who regards that as an evil : the same principle upon which that usurpation is condemned, would lead to the nonsensical opinion of the Bramins, that agriculture is an unrighteous employment, because worms must sometimes be cut by the ploughshare and the spade. It is the order of nature, that beasts should give place to man, and among men the savage to the civilized ; and no where has this order been carried into effect with so little violence as in North America."

† Reasons why the British colonies in America, should not be charged with internal taxes, offered in behalf of Connecticut, 1764, written by Governor Fitch.

or subject, could take it from him without his consent. The love which they had to their property corroborated this idea, the manner of their education, the extent of their country, and their distance from the parent state, united their influence to enforce it, and to engage them in vindicating a privilege which, in their view, was so essential to the preservation both of liberty and property.

They therefore offered no other tax, in compliance with the proposal of the minister, which might be equivalent, in its produce, to the stamp duties in contemplation. While the parliament passed the acts which gave such general alarm and uneasiness to the colonies, it ought to be observed, that others were passed for the encouragement of their trade, which, it was pretended, were at least a balance for those of a contrary tendency. An act was passed, granting leave for a limited time for the carrying of rice from the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia to other parts of America, on the payment of British duties; an act granting a bounty upon the importation of hemp and flax from the colonies into Great Britain; and another act for the encouragement of the whale fishery in the American seas. But whatever the design of these acts might have been, the colonies paid no grateful attention to them. They rather viewed them as insidious, designed as a sugar-plumb to sweeten a potion, which they determined never to receive.

That the general sense of the colonies might be known, and the opposition to the designs of the ministry might be general and harmonious, measures, at an early period, were adopted for these purposes. The general court of the Massachusetts appointed a committee to communicate to the other governments the sentiments which it had conceived relative to the several acts which had been passed, and to others which were in contemplation, and to acquaint them with the instructions which the house had voted to transmit to their agent. This committee was instructed, in behalf of the general court, to desire that the several assemblies on the continent would unite with them in adopting the same measures. Committees were also appointed by other colonies, to correspond with these several assemblies or with their committees. Thus a new kind of correspondence commenced between the colonies, bringing them into a more intimate acquaintance with each others sentiments and circumstances, strengthening and harmonizing their opposition to the encroachments of the ministry. Beside the proceedings of the colonial assemblies, the inhabitants assembled in many places, and numerous associations were formed, unanimously resolving to encourage their own manufactures, and to purchase as few British as possible.

Meanwhile the ministry were no less active and harmoniously fixed in the prosecution of their designs than the colonies were in their opposition to them. Having obtained the necessary intelligence respecting writings and instruments of all kinds used by the



colonists in their civil transactions, the stamp-act was drawn up early in the winter and lay for objection and adjustment.

The agents of the colonies had free access to the ministry, and, as opportunity presented made a full representation of the sentiments and state of the colonies. On their representation some small alterations were made respecting notes of hand, licenses for marriage, registers for vessels, and the salaries of judges in the several courts. These were taken out of the bill; but its general principles, the right, justice, policy, and even the necessity of taxing the colonies, were formally avowed. Not only the ministry and parliament, but the people of Great Britain, revolted against the claims of the colonies. Educated as they had been in the habits of submission to parliamentary taxation, they imagined it unpardonable obstinacy in the colonies to refuse obedience to a power which they had ever been taught to revere. They believed that their representatives in parliament had the same right to tax the colonists, which they had to tax the people of Great Britain, though they stood in no such relation to them, and though no such common interest existed between them. The haughtiness of an opulent and victorious nation naturally corroborated their mode of reasoning. After they had so lately humbled France and Spain, to be resisted and dictated by their own colonies was deemed an insult not to be endured.

However, the agents of the colonies in England, as the last expedient before the bill was brought into parliament, made choice of Mr. Jackson, who had been appointed agent for the Massachusetts, of Mr. Garth of Virginia, of Mr. Ingersoll of Connecticut, and of Mr. Franklin of Philadelphia, to wait on Mr. Greenville, who was at the head of the treasury, to remonstrate against the stamp bill, and in case that a tax must be laid upon the Americans, to propose that the several colonies might be permitted to tax themselves. The two former of the gentlemen were not only agents, but members of parliament; the two latter had just arrived from America, and were fully acquainted with the views and spirit of the people in the colonies.

On the 2nd of February 1765, they waited on Mr. Greenville, and were admitted to a full hearing. They pressed the objections against the bill, and represented the spirit and jealousies of the colonies. Mr. Jackson in particular, went so far as plainly to tell the minister, "That he foresaw by the measure now pursuing, by enabling the crown to keep up an armed force of its own in America, and to pay the governors in the king's governments, and all with the American's own money, the assemblies in the colonies would be subverted; — That the governors would have no occasion, as for any ends of their own, or of the crown, to call them, and that they never would be called together in the king's governments."

Mr. Greenville utterly disavowed the design of depriving the colonies of their assemblies, and assured them that he took no pleasure in giving the Americans so much uneasiness as he found he did :

That it was the duty of his office to manage the revenue : That he was really made to believe, that, considering the whole circumstances of the mother country and of the colonies, the latter could and ought to pay something, and that he knew of no better way to lay a tax for that purpose than that in prosecution ; but that he was willing to adopt a better whenever it should be proposed.

The agents then urged, that the colonies might be allowed to lay the tax : That this, at least, would seem to be their own act, and might prevent that universal jealousy and uneasiness which they found it would otherwise occasion.

Mr. Greenville objected, that there would be no certainty that every colony would raise the sum enjoined ; and that to be at the expense of making stamps to oblige one or two provinces to do their duty would be very inconvenient ; and that the colonies, by their constant increase, would be continually varying their numbers, ability and proportion, and that a stamp-bill would keep pace with this increase. Upon the whole, he said, that he had pledged his word for offering the stamp-bill to the house : That the parliament would hear all objections, and act as it judged best.\*

Great men are often obstinately tenacious of their own plans. Favourite ideas which they have long cherished cannot easily be given up.

Mr. Greenville therefore, a few days after, brought his long expected bill into the house of commons for laying a stamp duty on the Americans. He opened the nature, and pressed the necessity of the tax, and attempted to obviate all objections. He expressed his wishes, that the house would give the bill a most serious and cool consideration, and not suffer itself to be influenced by any resentments which might have been kindled from without doors. He observed that the subject before them was a matter of revenue, which of all others was most interesting to the subject. He appeared to treat the affair with ability and candour.

Alderman Beckford, Mr. Jackson, Colonel Barre, Sir William Meridith and others took up the argument against the bill. Alderman Beckford not only argued against it in point of policy and justice, but boldly denied the right and authority of parliament to tax America. The other gentlemen insisted principally on arguments respecting the inexpediency, impolicy and injustice of taxing the colonists. It was urged by them, that the provinces in America were extremely poor, that they owed a debt of more than four millions to the merchants of Great Britain, that as they were creditors of the Americans to such an amount, they were in fact the proprietors of a great portion of what they seemed to possess ; that the suppression of manufactures in the colonies, and the obliging of them to take every kind necessary for their own use from Great Britain, com-

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\* Mr. Ingersoll's Letters ; letter iii. to Governor Fitch.

prised all taxes in one, and in reality made them the supporters of a great part of the public burdens. It was also pleaded, that as the internal commerce of the colonies was carried on entirely by a paper currency, and as all the gold and silver which they were able to procure, was sent to Great Britain in payment for her merchandise, they could not pay taxes if they should be laid upon them, as it was impossible to draw that from the colonies which they had not, and which they were deprived of the means of obtaining. Colonel Barre, who had served as an officer in America and conceived better ideas of the colonists than the members of the house in general, concluded a most eloquent and moving speech against the bill with an observation to this effect, "That he was very sure that whoever should hold up his hand for the bill must be under the necessity of acting very much in the dark," adding, "perhaps as well in the dark as any way."

Mr. Charles Townsend in reply to Colonel Barre, in favour of the bill, and after making some observations on his speech, concluded by saying, "And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence, until they were grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite, to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?"

Upon this Colonel Barre arose, and having explained some observations on which Mr. Townsend had been remarking, in a spirited and almost inimitable manner, took up his concluding words, and said,

"They planted by your care? No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny, to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country; where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe the most subtle; and I take upon me to say, the most formidable, of any people upon the face of God's earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those who should have been their friends.

"They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some member of this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them;—men, whose behaviour, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them;—men promoted to the highest seats of justice; some, who to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.

"They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence: have exerted valour amidst their constant and



laborious industry, for the defence of a country, whose frontier, while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me, remember I this day told you so,—that the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still ; but prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat ; what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience, the respectable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has ; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated ; but the subject is too delicate, and I will say no more.”

These sentiments were thrown out so entirely without premeditation, with such force and firmness, and the breaking off was so beautifully abrupt, that the whole house, for a time, seemed to sit in a state of amazement, intently looking, without replying a word.\*

Some of the Americans acknowledged that they felt emotions which they had never experienced before, and they took the first opportunity to present their thanks to Col. Barre for so noble and spirited a speech in behalf of their country.

But arguments were to no purpose, the bill passed by a great majority. Of about three hundred members, fifty only were in the opposition.

On the second reading of the bill, February 12th, the petitions against it were brought forward. The first, which was presented to the House of Commons, was brought in by Mr. Fuller, one of the West India planters, in behalf of the London merchants trading to America, who were greatly alarmed on the account of their outstanding debts in this country. But no sooner had Mr. Fuller opened the purport of the petition, and asked leave to lay it before the house, than it was strongly objected against, upon a principle which, it was said, had for a long time been adopted,—that no petition should be received against a money bill. Mr. Fuller, perceiving that the petition would not be received, withdrew his motion.

Sir William Meredith then presented the petition in behalf of the colony of Virginia, but the house refused to receive it by a great majority. The Connecticut petition was presented by Mr. Jackson, and was rejected in the same manner. The petition from New-York was conceived in terms so high and inflammatory that no member of the house could be persuaded to present it. Mr. Garth presented a petition in behalf of South Carolina, but the house would not give it a hearing. As the point was thus overruled, the other agents judged that it would be of no use to offer the petitions of

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† Ingersoll's letter to Governor Fitch.

the other colonies. On a subject so interesting to the colonies, Parliament would not receive a single petition from them.

In support of the bill it was insisted; "That the king's grants contained in the charters to some, and in the commissions to the governors in the other colonies, could in their natures, be no more than to answer particular, local, and provincial purposes; and could not take the people in America out of the general and supreme jurisdiction of the parliament." It was also much insisted on, that the colonies were virtually represented, in the same manner as Leeds, Halifax, and other towns in Great Britain were.

With respect to the observations relative to the charters of the colonies, they made them a mere nullity, as they respected the engagements of the prince to the colonists, while they were holden with respect to every duty on their part to the prince. The language of them was, that the colonies were only for the convenience and emolument of the British parliament and inhabitants of Great Britain, and were to be the subjects of subjects, to be governed in their persons and estates by their sovereign pleasure.

With respect to the virtual representation of the colonists, so much insisted on, they felt, and every unprejudiced person must feel, that there was no parity in the cases alledged, and consequently no force nor justice in the argument from them. Whenever the parliament taxed Leeds, Halifax, or any other places in Great Britain, they laid the same burdens on themselves, and on all other towns and cities within the realm. If the inhabitants of Leeds and Halifax were really oppressed and distressed, the members of parliament and the nation in general would be oppressed, and participate in the injury. If Leeds and Halifax should, in such case, petition for redress, the general sense and feelings of the whole nation would second their prayer, and the feelings and personal interests of the members of parliament would combine their influence to give them relief; but in case of the taxation of the colonists the parliament eased themselves in exact proportion as they laid burdens on them; and, in case they were injured and petitioned, the personal interests and feelings of the members of parliament and of the people of Great Britain, the pride and all the selfish passions of the nation, would operate against them. Besides, the inhabitants of Great Britain were at home, had a near and cheap access to their king and parliament, but with the Americans the case was directly the reverse. The parliament, however, were satisfied with their own arguments, and though General Conway, as well as Alderman Beckford, most peremptorily denied the right of parliament to tax the Americans, and with great vehemence urged the many hardships, and as he was pleased to call them, *absurdities*, which would follow from the contrary doctrine and practice, yet the bill passed with the same majority which it had on the first reading. In the house of lords it passed without a debate; and on the 22d of March it received the royal assent.

The agents of the colonies now despaired with respect to the efficacy of any opposition which could be made. Even Dr. Franklin wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson, afterwards secretary of congress, "The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy." Mr. Thomson made a spirited answer: That he was apprehensive that other lights would be the consequence, predicting the opposition which soon took place.\*

To evince our impartiality in giving the history of this most interesting and delicate period, we insert in this connection the view of it given by one of the most respectable of the English historians.

"We now come," says Dr. Bisset, "to measures, in which the lead was taken by Mr. Grenville himself, belonging peculiarly to his department, and deriving their nature and tendency from his character. Mr. Grenville was a man of a clear and sound understanding, of great parliamentary experience, indefatigable application, and extensive knowledge, especially in the laws of his country, in commerce, and in finance. He had adopted an opinion, that the resources of the country were in a very exhausted state; that therefore the chief business of a prime minister was to find out in what way the deficiencies might be supplied. His great object was, the improvement of the revenue without additional burthens on the country.

Mr. Grenville, therefore, proposed a deviation from the established practice, and the assertion of a claim, which involved in it very important questions, respecting not only general liberty, but also the constitutional freedom of a British subject. Intended by him merely as a scheme of finance upon old and established grounds, his project proposed a political change founded upon new principles, of which experience had afforded no means of ascertaining the operation and effects. It was a much more important and more complicated proposition than its author apprehended; and a plan for making an inconsiderable addition to British revenue, eventually laid the foundation of one of the greatest and most momentous revolutions which history has to record.

As a part of this innovating system, Mr. Grenville moved in parliament a bill for granting certain duties on goods in the British colonies, to support the government there, and encourage the trade to the sugar plantations; and on the 6th of April, 1764, this proposition was passed into a law. He also proposed another to the following purport: "*that towards further defraying the expence of protecting and securing the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the colonies.*" He postponed, however, during this session, the introduction of a bill founded on the last resolution, that the Americans might have time to offer a compensation for, or in place of, stamp duties. The colonial assemblies during the war had been in the practice of issuing bills, which were made a legal tender for money: these had begun to be attended with great inconvenience,



and to suffer very considerable depreciation. To remedy the evils, a law was proposed by Mr. Grenville, and passed by parliament, for preventing such bills as might be hereafter issued in any of his majesty's colonies or plantations in America, from being made legal tenders in payment of money. The restrictions on the clandestine trade had given great umbrage in North America; the law obstructing their paper currency added to the dissatisfaction; but the duties actually imposed upon merchandise, and the resolutions concerning the *stamp duty*, excited a loud clamour. The New-Englanders were the first to investigate these measures. Conceiving the new laws to be part of a general plan for assuming a power not heretofore exercised by Britain over her American colonies, they immediately controverted the fundamental principle, and totally denied the right of a British parliament to levy, in any form, duties or taxes upon the colonies. The exercise (they said) of such an authority was a violation of their rights as freemen; as colonists, possessing by their charters the power of taxing themselves for their own support and defence; and as British subjects, who ought not to be taxed but by themselves or their representatives. These topics were the subjects of petitions sent over to the king, to the lords, and to the commons.\*

The deliberations of parliament were now, Jan. 1765, turned towards America. Both the justice and expediency of taxation

\* The character given by this historian of the "New-Englanders," will amuse our readers. It exhibits a curious mixture of truth, prejudice, and misrepresentation.

"Placed in a rigorous climate, and on a soil requiring active and persevering industry to render it productive, the New-Englanders were strong, hardy, and capable of undergoing great labour and fatigue. Having many difficulties to overcome and dangers to encounter, they were formed to penetration, enterprise, and resolution. Their country, less bountiful than those of their southern neighbours, rendered recourse to traffic necessary. The puritanism which they inherited from their forefathers, with its concomitant hypocrisy, incorporated itself with their commercial conduct; and avarice is never keener than after a coalition with fanatical austerity, and never with more ardour uses the ministry of fraud, than when arrayed in the garb of sanctity. The traffic of New-England, of a minute and detailed kind, less resembling the pursuit of an enlightened merchant than a petty shop keeper, while it narrowed liberality, sharpened artifice. Inheriting a tinge of democratic republicanism, the people submitted with reluctance to the constitutional authority of a government, in which monarchy made a considerable part, and spurned at the idea of yielding to what they conceived to be usurpation. Avarice being a prominent feature in their characters, they were peculiarly jealous of an apprehended usurpation, which was calculated to affect their purposes. As their sentiments and principles prompted them to oppose such attempts, their intelligent and bold character enabled them effectually to resist them. In the middle colonies, in which the temperature of the climate and fertility of the soil easily afforded the necessaries and accommodations of life, though active and industrious, the inhabitants were not equally hardy and enterprising; they were less austere in their manners, admitted luxury and refinement to a much greater degree than the colonists of the north, and were attached to a monarchical form of government. The southern colonies were dissipated, relaxed, and indolent; and therefore, though little adapted to resistance themselves, were well fitted to receive impressions from more vigorous characters. The New-Englanders were extremely active in diffusing their own sentiments through the provinces attached to the mother country; till, at length, the spirit of dissatisfaction became so prevalent, as to attract the notice and animadversions of the British government."

underwent a discussion, on much more comprehensive principles, than in the former year, when the probable efficiency of the tax appeared to be the sole consideration. The petitions and manifestos from the American colonies, denying the right of the British Parliament to tax them, being read, the minister submitted the question to the house. A more important subject of discussion had rarely been presented to the British Parliament. It was a question, the extent and consequences of which its proposer had by no means digested; it involved the general objects of colonization, the means by which those were to be effected, and the particular constitution, state, and sentiments of the British colonies. In considering this subject, many, by arguing from the practice of parent countries and their plantations in ancient times, were led to very faulty conclusions respecting the question between Britain and her colonies. The plans of different European nations in the government of their colonies, varied according to the general policy of the parent country, the circumstances of the settlements, and the character of particular administrations. The constitution of the American colonies was similar to the polity of Britain, in established provisions for the security of property, liberty, and life; they therefore possessed the right of taxing themselves by their representatives. This was a privilege which the Americans thought inherent in them as British subjects, and confirmed by charters admitted by the mother country; its practical enjoyment constituted a great part of their comfort and happiness; and teaching them to value themselves and their respective colonies, inspired those exertions which rendered them so beneficial to the British empire. The actual benefits that accrued to England from her colonies, consisted in the increase of people, as the means of security and productiveness were augmented; and in the vast and rapidly growing accession to our trade,\* to supply the wants of the multiplying colonies. Commercial benefits were the objects of the plantations; the question, therefore, to be considered simply was, how are these advantages to be most effectually promoted, insured, and improved? It was a mere question of *EXPEDIENCY*, requiring no metaphysical disquisitions about abstract rights. Experience showed that our gains had been very considerable, and acquired without

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\*This was Sir Robert Walpole's view of the subject, declared when he was expressing his objections to taxing America. As his opinion was much quoted during the discussion before us, it may not be foreign to our purpose to repeat it in his own words: "I will leave the taxation of America," said he, "for some of my successors, who may have more courage than I have, and be less a friend to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me, during my administration, to encourage the trade of the American colonies in the utmost latitude; nay, it has been necessary to pass over some irregularities in their trade with Europe; for, by encouraging them to an extensive growing foreign commerce, if they gain 500,000*l.* I am convinced, that in two years afterwards, full 250,000*l.* of their gain will be in his majesty's exchequer, by the labour and product of this kingdom; as immense quantities of every kind of our manufactures go thither; and as they increase in their foreign American trade, more of our produce will be wanted. This is taxing them more agreeably to their own constitution and to ours."



murmur or dispute, by the old plan, of profiting from their commerce, and demands for our productions : wisdom had now to determine, whether an adherence to a system of experienced benefit daily increasing, or the adoption of new schemes of *doubtful operation* and certain opposition, was most likely to continue and extend that benefit for which colonies were established.

The British minister preferred the untried theory to the essayed plan ; and stated to Parliament, that having postponed his scheme of taxation till this session, expecting that the colonies would have offered an equivalent, instead of a compensation, they had sent remonstrances. On the 7th of February, 1765, he opened his system to the commons, and in a committee moved fifty-five resolutions, for imposing *stamp duties* on certain papers and documents used in the colonies, and introduced a bill grounded upon the propositions.

Of the two parties which opposed government, the Duke of Newcastle's was the more strenuous in combating the *stamp-act*. The principal leaders among the whig party in the House of Commons, were General Conway and Mr. Dowdeswell. Ministry had now acquired a very powerful auxiliary in the brilliant ingenuity of Mr. Charles Townshend, who had lately come over to their side. The supporters of British taxation asserted, that the colonies had been planted by our care, and nourished by our indulgence ; and that as America had been the cause of great expense, it was but reasonable that she should contribute toward the general demands of the empire, as a part of which she was protected. The British legislature (they said) had a right to enact laws for every settlement within the British territories. The Americans, though not nominally, were really represented in the British Parliament, and thus were on a footing with many individuals and bodies of Britons, who, having ostensibly no vote in the election of members, were equally included in the provisions of the legislature. The British finances were exhausted by a war begun for the security of the colonies ; it was therefore not only equitable that they should contribute, but extremely ungrateful in them to refuse. The nation had contracted an immense debt to give them protection ; the navigation act, that palladium of British commerce, had been relaxed in their favour ; in short, Britain had treated them as favourite children.

The arguments of the opposers of the *stamp-act* were resolved into two heads ; the right of Britain to tax America, and the expediency of exercising that right. The sovereign claim of taxation proposed by the pending bill, was totally inconsistent with every principle of freedom ; it would undo the security of property, and was contrary to the rights of British subjects. The perfection of the representative system is, that the delegate is placed in the same situation as the constituent, and is bound himself by the laws which he has a share in enacting. In Great Britain, every individual may be said to be virtually represented ; as every law and impost extends equally to those who have, as to those who have not votes. The



Americans were not even virtually represented, and so far were members of the British Parliament from being interested in securing the property of the Americans, that, if the right of taxation were admitted, by increasing the burthens of the colonies, they would relieve their own. Such were the arguments used against the right of taxation. On the ground of expediency it was urged, that from the established system we had derived very great benefits, commercial and financial ; that the willing contributions of the colonies in demands for our commodities, though circuitously, increased our revenue much more than any direct impost would augment it, since it was already manifest that they would very unwillingly pay. The particular regulations of the act itself also underwent a severe discussion. The bill was carried through both houses by a great majority ; and, on the 22d of March, passing into a law, became an important epoch in the history of the reign of George III.\*

#### SECTION IV.

Stamp-Act—its effect on both countries—its repeal, and the immediate consequences which followed.

As the *Stamp-Act* was a prominent subject of controversy between the mother country and her American colonies, and probably the most operative cause of the following Revolutionary War, it is proper here to give a brief account of it.

This famous and odious act passed in Parliament February 7th, 1765, under the ministry of Lord Grenville, and was to take effect the 1st of November following. It was repealed March 18th, 1766, under the ministry of Mr. Pitt, who came into office in July 1765. The intervening period of *thirteen months* was the most tumultuous and eventful of any in our whole history. The events which occurred, during this short space, were big with the most important consequences, which have since been witnessed—consequences which wise men foresaw and predicted ; which affected not only the parties contending, but other nations to a great extent. The talents of the ablest and best men, in both countries, were displayed to their utmost extent in the measures which they devised and publicly discussed and adopted. The speeches and state papers exhibited, during this period, elevate it in history to the highest rank of importance, as displaying a manly, though impassioned eloquence, singular wisdom, moderation and firmness ; ardent and inextinguishable patriotism and love of LIBERTY, and invincible courage and perseverance in its defence. Our aim is to give a full and impartial history of this period.

“After the stamp-act was passed, Mr. Whately, secretary to the treasury, invited the agents of the colonies to an interview with him.

and acquainted them that it was not the design of Mr. Grenville to send stamp officers from Great Britain, but that it would oblige him if they would nominate persons of discretion and respectability among the colonists, who might be appointed distributors of the stamps. Thus the agents were taken in by the minister, and generally nominated their friends. Even Dr. Franklin recommended Mr. Hughes in Pennsylvania, Mr. Cox in New-Jersey, and advised Mr. Ingersoll to accept the office in Connecticut. This afforded sufficient evidence, that, in their opinion, the act would have been received without any general resistance. Indeed it was the general opinion that the colonies ultimately would be obliged to submit to parliamentary taxation. The ministry in general were confident that the stamp act was so framed that it would enforce itself. They flattered themselves that the confusion which must arise on the disuse of writings, and the insecurity of property, which would be the result of using any other than those required by law, would necessitate the colonies to use the stamp paper, and consequently to pay the imposed taxes.

It however appears that Mr. Grenville was not without apprehensions, that the act would be resisted and occasion disorder; he therefore, in the same session, projected and brought in another bill, which made it lawful for military officers in the colonies, to quarter soldiers in private houses. The apparent design of this was to awe the people into a compliance by a military force. In this form of the bill, it met with a most strenuous opposition. It was insisted on that with an army vested with such power, no man could be safe, even in his own house. The form of the bill, therefore, was altered, and it passed into a law, that the assemblies in the several colonies should provide quarters for the soldiers, and furnish them with firing, bedding, candles, and various other articles, at the expence of the colonies. This was directly against the principle, that money is not to be raised on English subjects without their consent, and was an occasion of great grievance and mischief to the colonies, which continued until the revolution, and was one cause of the separation between Great Britain and the colonies.

No sooner had the Americans received the intelligence, than a deep melancholy seized every countenance, and the people, struck with astonishment, hesitated, for a short interval, with respect to the course which it would be best to pursue. In Boston the ships in the harbour, in token of the deepest mourning, hung out their colours half-mast high; and the bells in the town were rung muffled. The act was soon printed, with a death's head in the front of it, and was cried about the streets as the "**FOLLY OF ENGLAND and the RUIN OF AMERICA.**" A general discontent immediately discovered itself through the country. The people gradually recovered from their consternation, and began to speak, write and resolve boldly against the parliamentary acts. The newspapers every where groaned for the loss of liberty; and the warm patriots in the colonies, rallying

for the defence of their country, from the noble speech of Col. Barre, assumed the title of THE SONS OF LIBERTY. The legislatures of the colonies proceeded to bold resolutions against parliamentary taxation. The legislature of the ancient and respectable colony of Virginia led the way.

May 28th, 1765, Mr. Patrick Henry brought into the House of Burgesses the following resolutions, which were substantially adopted by the house :—

*“ Resolved, That the first adventurers, settlers of his majesty’s colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other, his majesty’s subjects, since inhabiting in this, his majesty’s colony, all the liberties, privileges and immunities, that have at any time been held, enjoyed and possessed by the people of Great Britain.*

*“ Resolved, That by two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the colonies aforesaid are declared, and entitled to all liberties, privileges, and immunities of denizens, and natural subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding, and born within the realm of England.*

*“ Resolved, That his majesty’s liege people, of this, his ancient colony, have enjoyed the rights of being thus governed by their own assembly, in the article of taxes and internal police, and that the same have never been forfeited, or yielded up, but have been constantly recognized by the king and people of Great Britain.*

*“ Resolved, therefore, That the General Assembly of this colony, together with his majesty, or his substitutes, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power, to lay taxes and imposts, upon the inhabitants of this colony, and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons, whatsoever, than the General Assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and hath a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American liberty.*

*“ Resolved, That his majesty’s liege people, the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law, or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatever upon them, other than the laws and ordinances of the General Assembly aforesaid.*

*“ Resolved, That any person who shall, by speaking or writing, assert, or maintain, that any person, or persons, other than the General Assembly of this colony, have any right or power to impose or lay any taxation on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to this his majesty’s colony.”*

These resolutions were so bold and novel, so firm and unexpected, that upon the reading of them, one of the members was affected to such a degree, that he cried out, “Treason ! Treason !” The people, nevertheless, judged them true and judicious ; they expressed their feelings and met their applause. With dispatch they were sent forward from colony to colony ; the same spirit caught from one legislature to another, and similar resolutions were very universally adopted by the freemen and assemblies through the continent. The wavering were soon confirmed, and the timid emboldened in their opposition to the stamp-act.”

“On the 6th of June, the following proceedings, in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, took place, respecting sending a Committee to New-York, to consult with Committees from other colonies, on the state of the country :—



"The House, taking into consideration the many difficulties to which the colonies are and must be reduced by the operation of some late acts of Parliament; after some time spent,

"On a motion made and seconded, ordered, that Mr. Speaker, Brigadier Ruggles, Col. Partridge, Col. Worthington, Gen. Winslow, Mr. Otis, Mr. Cushing, Col. Saltonstall, and Capt. Sheafe, be a committee to consider what measures had best be taken, and make report.

"The committee appointed for that purpose, reported as follows:—The committee appointed to consider what dutiful, loyal, and humble address may be proper to make to our gracious Sovereign and his Parliament, in relation to the several acts passed, for levying duties and taxes on the colonies, have attended that service, and are humbly of opinion:

"That it is highly expedient there should be a meeting, as soon as may be, of committees from the Houses of Representatives, or Burgesses, in the several colonies on this continent, to consult together on the present circumstances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they are and must be reduced by the operation of the late acts of Parliament for levying duties and taxes on the colonies, and to consider of a general and humble address to his Majesty and the Parliament, to implore relief.

"And the committee are further of opinion, that a meeting of such committees should be held at New-York, on the first Tuesday of October next, and that a committee of three persons be chosen by this House on the part of this Province, to attend the same.

"And that letters be forthwith prepared and transmitted to the respective Speakers of the several Houses of Representatives, or Burgesses in the colonies aforesaid, advising them of the resolution of this House thereon, and inviting such Houses of Representatives, or Burgesses, to join this with their committees, in the meeting, and for the purposes aforesaid.

"And that a proper letter be prepared and forwarded to the agent of the Province, on these matters, in the mean time.

"Read and accepted, and ordered, that Mr. Speaker, Mr. Otis, and Mr. Lee, be a committee to prepare a draft of letters to be sent to the respective Speakers of the several Houses of Representatives in the colonies, and make report.

"The committee appointed for that purpose, reported the following draft:

#### CIRCULAR.

*"Province of Massachusetts Bay.*

BOSTON, JUNE 8, 1765.

"SIR—The House of Representatives of this Province in the present session of the General Court, have unanimously agreed to propose a meeting, as soon as may be, of committees from the Houses of Representatives, or Burgesses, of the several British colonies on this continent, to consult together on the present circumstances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they are and must be reduced by the operation of the acts of Parliament for levying duties and taxes on the colonies; and to consider of a general and united, dutiful and humble representation of their condition to his Majesty and the Parliament, to implore relief. The House of Representatives of this Province have also voted to propose that such meeting be at the city of New-York, on the first Tuesday of October next, and have appointed a committee of three of their members to attend that service, with such as the other Houses of Representatives, or Burgesses, in the several colonies may think fit to appoint to meet him: And the committee of the House of Representatives of this Province are directed to repair to said New-York, on said first Tuesday of October next, accordingly. If, therefore, your honorable House should agree to this proposal, it would be acceptable, that as early notice of it as possible might be transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of this Province.

"SAMUEL WHITE, *Speaker.*"

"From this period it became far more general, and assumed a much bolder face. The tongues and pens of the best informed citizens

were in constant labour to kindle the sparks of patriotism and to rouse the people to an united and general defence of their endangered liberties. Many judicious publications in the several colonies exhibited the rights of America in a clear and strong point of light.

It was not a little fortunate to the colonies; that the news-papers were subject to a heavy stamp-duty. The printers in general zealously arranged themselves on the side of liberty. The country was not only filled with pamphlets, but the news-papers with pieces on the rights and dangers of America, and on the necessity of a systematical and harmonious opposition to the encroachments of parliament.\*

In New-England the clergy were among the first and most zealous patriots both in speaking and writing in vindication of the rights of their country. No class of men had more deeply imbibed the spirit of their venerable ancestors, the first settlers of New-England, than they; none more generally engaged in the cause of their injured country, nor had a greater and more general influence upon the people.

The pamphlets published, and pieces which appeared in the news-papers, were often addressed to the passions as well as reason of the colonists. The flame of liberty kindled from breast to breast, and province to province, until the conflagration became general. In no part of the country did it spread more rapidly, or with greater ardor, than in New-England. In no part of the world are the people, in general, so well informed; the history of their forefathers, whose memory was dear to them, had been kept alive in their memories. They knew how they had been driven by the relentless hand of persecution and despotism, from their pleasant seats and enjoyments in Europe, into the inhospitable wilds of America, and had been obliged to effect settlements on bare creation. They knew that they had made settlements and defended themselves against the most subtle and formidable enemies, wholly at their own expense, and to the immense emolument of their parent state. Their resentments for the invasion of their just and accustomed rights, were heightened by the remembrance of the ill treatment and grievous sufferings of their ancestors. The spirit of their fathers kindled in their breasts, and they determined to show that they were not unworthy to be the descendants of such magnanimous ancestors. They rose with the same spirit of opposition against the stamp-act, with which their fathers had resisted the cruel impositions of the house of Stuarts, and of bigoted priests and bishops. Indeed in a short time

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\* The news-papers of this period "exhibited the operation of the spirit of public Liberty, the measures pursued, and the successful emancipation from slavery. The press was of eminent service in this cause. In all America there had been but *seven* presses issuing news-papers before 1750. In 1765 they had increased to *twenty-six*, on the Continent, and *five* in the West India Islands." [Dr. Stiles' collection of American News-papers, published during the memorable period of the stamp-act, from August 1765, to August 1773, in four folio volumes, presented by him to Yale College Library.]



the minds of the people underwent an admirable and almost total transformation. From that peaceable, steady, and almost unparalleled attachment to the British nation, for which they had been distinguished, for nearly a century and an half, they were gradually advancing every day to the opposite extreme.

By the month of August\* the spirit of opposition broke forth in tumult and disorder. New modes of expressing resentment against the stamp-act, and all its abettors, began to display themselves in the several colonies. They began in Boston, where the inhabitants until this time had been more orderly and peaceable than in several of the other colonies. Early in the morning, on the fourteenth of the month, there appeared on the limb of a large tree in the most public street toward the entrance of the town, two uncommon effigies: by the labels, it appeared that one was designed to represent the stamp master, the other was a jack-boot, with a head and horns peeping out at the top. The report of them instantly spread, and great numbers both from town and country collected to view them. A spirit of enthusiasm spread almost instantaneously among the multitude. No sooner was it evening, than the images were cut down and carried in funeral procession, while the populace shouted, "Liberty and property forever, and no stamps." They took their route to a new building of Mr. Oliver's, which they imagined he had erected for a stamp-office. This they soon demolished. Hence they proceeded to his dwelling house, in the front of which they beheaded his effigy, and broke his windows. After burning his effigy, on Fort Hill, they returned to his house, broke into the lower part of it, destroyed his furniture, and did further injuries to it.

About twelve days after, the tumult and outrage became far more enormous and alarming. A numerous mob attacked the house of Mr. William Storer, deputy register of the court of admiralty, and after breaking his windows, forced into his dwelling house, destroyed the books and files belonging to said court, and ruined the principal part of his furniture. Thence they proceeded to the house of Mr. Benjamin Hallowell, comptroller of the customs for Boston, and besides committing similar excesses, they drank and destroyed the liquors in his cellars, robbed him of wearing apparel, and of more than thirty pounds sterling in money. Many by this time were heated with liquor, and the number of the mob was greatly increased; it became therefore more riotous and prepared for every mischief. These madmen determined now to wreak their vengeance on Mr. Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor of the province. After all his efforts to save himself, he was driven with his family from his house, and the rioters carried off all his plate, family pictures, household furniture of all kinds, his own, his children's and servants' wearing apparel, and robbed him of above nine hundred pounds sterling. The house was so destroyed that nothing but the bare walls and

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\* August 14, 1765.



floors remained. The mob scattered and destroyed all his manuscripts and other papers, which he had been collecting for more than thirty years. Many public papers, which were in his custody, shared the same fate. The damage was irreparable, not only to him, but to the public. Never had there before been such an outrage in New-England. The town of Boston condemned the whole proceeding, and all sober people viewed it with grief and abhorrence. A small number of the lowest of the mob were taken up and committed, but they broke jail, or otherwise escaped all punishment.

These lawless proceedings were not confined to Boston. The very next day similar outrages were committed at New-Port in Rhode-Island. The people exhibited three effigies, representing Messieurs Howard, Moffatt, and Johnson, in a cart with halters about their necks: after hanging them for some time, they cut them down and burnt them amidst the shouts of thousands of the inhabitants. The day following the inhabitants collected at the house of Martin Howard, an attorney, who had been writing in defence of the right of parliament to tax the colonies, and destroyed every thing in it, and left the house but a mere shell. They then made a similar visit to Dr. Moffatt's, who had been a warm supporter of the parliamentary rights. The Doctor not only lost his property, but was obliged to make his escape on board a ship of war. Johnson made his peace with the people by a resignation of his office.

In Connecticut no such violences were committed. Mr. Ingersoll was burnt in effigy in several towns in the month of August, and on the 19th of September a large body of people, to the amount of a thousand, assembled, and overtaking Mr. Ingersoll on the road to Hartford, whither he was going to meet the assembly of the colony, they obliged him publicly to resign his office of distributor of stamps, in the Great-street, at Wethersfield, and to give liberty and property with three cheers. This was followed with the loud acclamations of the people. A man then took him by the hand and told him he was now restored to their former friendship. The people were all undisguised and well dressed, headed by officers of the militia, in scarlet, with laced hats. They had marched, some twenty and some thirty miles, in three divisions, through the country in the most orderly manner, and made a junction at Wethersfield. From Wethersfield they proceeded to Hartford, where the general assembly was sitting; and forming four abreast, preceded by three trumpeters sounding, they marched round the court-house. Then forming in a semicircle, at the door of an adjoining tavern, they caused Mr. Ingersoll to read his resignation within the hearing of the assembly. This was succeeded with liberty and property, and three cheers.\* The people then, in the most quiet and peaceable manner, retired to their respective towns and habitations. Though they were assembled nearly

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\*Mr. Ingersoll's Letters.

three days, in such numbers, on this business, and marched through such a tract of country, yet no man was injured in his person or property.

The governor had met some of the heads of the people, on his way to Hartford and said whatever he thought proper to one of them, to dissuade him from his purpose, representing to him the danger of the measures the people were persuing, and charging him to go and tell them to return. He assured the governor, that he considered the affair as the cause of the people, and that it was their determination not to take directions respecting it from any man. The members of the assembly were generally as warmly opposed to the proceedings of parliament, as the people; and they so well knew the state of the public mind, that they judged it expedient, to take no notice of the transaction.

Resolves against the stamp-act, as illegal and injurious to the rights of the colonists, passed in the assembly, at this session, almost unanimously.

The governor was in a most delicate and critical situation. It was the opinion of a majority of both houses of assembly, that he should not take the oath prescribed by act of Parliament. If he neglected it, he was subjected to a fine of a thousand pounds sterling, and incapacitated to hold the office of governor in any future time. The members of the lower house were touched with sympathy for him, and as they judged it dangerous to transact any thing respecting his relief, in their legislative capacity, they agreed among themselves to indemnify him with respect to the thousand pounds; and appointed a committee to acquaint him with their determination, and to desire him not to take the oath, which the act of Parliament prescribed. But just as the committee were about to enter the upper house, they found that the governor was taking the oath, and met the members of his council withdrawing from the house, as they would not be present while it was administered. They all withdrew but four, who advised him to receive the oath. The committee, finding how the affair was circumstanced, returned without any conference with the governor on the subject.

The governor and the counsellors, who gave him the oath, no doubt were of the opinion that the safety of the colony required that he should conform to the act of Parliament, as well as his personal interest and public usefulness. The freemen, nevertheless, at the next election, manifested their resentment, by leaving them all out of the house.

In New-York, as the stamp officer had been induced to resign, Lieutenant-Governor Colden had deposited the stamp papers in Fort George. The people, disliking his political sentiments, and his thus securing the papers, on the first of November, the day the stamp-act was to take place, broke open his stable, took out his coach, and carried it in triumph through the principal streets, to the gallows. On one end of it they suspended the effigy of the Lieutenant-Governor, bearing in his right hand a stamped bill of lading, and in his left a



figure of the devil. After parading, for some time, the apparatus was conveyed to the gate of the fort, and thence to the bowling-green, under the muzzles of the guns; they there burned the coach and whole apparatus. Thence they went to the house of Major James, a known friend to the stamp-act, which they stripped of a good library and of every other valuable article, destroyed his garden, and finished their riot with another bonfire.

The next evening they assembled again, and obliged the Lieutenant-Governor to deliver the stamped papers to the corporation, and deposit them in the city hall. The same excesses were not practised in the more southern colonies; but means were every where adopted to make the stamp officers resign. Some of them were obstinate, and held out long, but they were ultimately obliged to submit to the requisitions of the people. They did not judge the cause worth dying for, and they saw no other alternative, but to resign or die \*

As opportunities presented, the assemblies passed resolutions, asserting the exclusive right of taxing their constituents; and though the king's governors, in the colonies, prorogued the assemblies, and used all their influence to prevent them, yet they were generally passed. The representatives were instructed by their constituents, in town and freemen's meetings, to oppose the stamp-act, and to assert their just rights. In these the commonalty spoke the determined language of freemen. As a specimen of these, the instruction given by the ancient town of Plymouth, to their representative, shall be subjoined. After representing the high esteem in which they held the British constitution, and declaring their grievances, they thus address him:—

"You, sir, represent a people, who are not only descended from the first settlers of this country, but inhabit the very spot they first possessed. Here was first laid the foundation of the British empire, in this part of America, which, from a very small beginning, has increased and spread in a manner very surprising and almost incredible; especially, when we consider that all this has been effected, without the aid or assistance of any other power upon earth: That we have defended, protected and secured ourselves against the invasions and cruelty of the savages, and the subtlety and inhumanity of our inveterate and natural enemies, the French; and all this without the appropriation of any tax by stamps, or stamp-acts, laid upon our fellow subjects in any part of the king's dominions for defraying the expense thereof. This place, sir, was at first the asylum of liberty, and, we hope, will ever be preserved sacred to it, though it was then no more than a barren wilderness, inhabited only by

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\* The following persons were appointed distributors of Stamps in nine of the states, viz:—George Meserve, Esq. New-Hampshire—Andrew Oliver, Esq. Massachusetts—Augustus Johnson, Esq. Rhode-Island—Jared Ingersoll, Esq. Connecticut; — McEvers, Esq. New-York—William Coxe, Esq. New-Jersey—John Hughes, Esq. Pennsylvania—Zachariah Hood, Esq. Maryland—Colonel Mercer, Virginia.



savage men and beasts. To this place our father's (whose memories be revered) possessed of the principles of liberty in their purity, disdaining slavery, fled to enjoy those privileges which they had an undoubted right to, but were deprived of, by the hands of violence and oppression, in their native country. We, sir, their posterity, the freeholders, and other inhabitants of this town, legally assembled for that purpose, possessed of the same sentiments, and retaining the same ardor for liberty, think it our indispensable duty, on this occasion, to express to you these our sentiments of the stamp-act, and its fatal consequences to this country, and to enjoin upon you, as you regard not only the welfare, but the very being of this people, that you, (consistent with our allegiance to the king, and relation to the government of Great Britain) disregarding all proposals for that purpose, exert all your power and influence in opposition to the stamp-act, at least till we hear the success of our petitions for relief. We also, to avoid disgracing the memories of our ancestors, as well as the reproaches of our own consciences, and the curses of posterity, recommend it to you, to obtain, if possible, in the honourable house of representatives of this province, a full and explicit assertion of our rights, and to have the same entered on their public records, that all generations yet to come, may be convinced, that we have not only a just sense of our rights and liberties, but that we never, with submission to divine providence, will be slaves to any power on earth."

Among other expedients for the preservation of the liberties of America, it was conceived that the calling of a continental congress, consisting of deputies from each of the colonies, might have the most general and happy influence. In this the wisdom of all the colonies would be collected; this would harmonize, and give countenance and vigour to the proceedings of their several legislatures, and to the conduct of the people in general, and through this body all the colonies might jointly petition the king and parliament. This measure had, at an early period, occurred to the people of Massachusetts, and their general court passed a resolution for that purpose.\* The place of meeting was fixed at New-York, and the time assigned was the second Tuesday in October."† These proceedings, and the circular letter we have given in a former page.

We here insert the instructions of the freeholders and inhabitants of Boston to their Representatives to the Continental Congress, passed September 23, 1765.

"To the Hon. James Otis, Esq. Thomas Cushing Esq. and Mr. Thomas Gray.

GENTLEMEN—

At a time when the British American subjects are every where loudly com-

\* This measure had been suggested by Dr. Mayhew, in a letter written only three days before his death, June 8, 1766, to Mr. Otis, jun. member of the Legislature, then in session, in the following manner—"You have heard of the *Communion of Churches*. While I was thinking of this on my bed, the great use and importance of a *Communion of Colonies*, appeared to me in a very strong light, which determined me immediately to set down these hints for you, not knowing but the house may be suddenly prorogued or dissolved." Mrs. Warren's Hist. Rev. vol. i. App. p. 416.

† Trumbull's Hist. U. States, MS

plaining of arbitrary and unconstitutional innovations, the town of *Boston* cannot any longer remain silent, without just imputations of inexcusable neglect. We therefore, the freeholders and other inhabitants, being legally assembled at *Faneuil-Hall*, to consider what steps are necessary for us to take at this alarming crisis, think it proper to communicate to you our united sentiments, and to give you our instruction thereupon.

It fills us with great concern to find, that measures have been adopted by the British ministry, and acts of parliament made which press hard upon our invaluable rights and liberties; and tend greatly to distress the trade of the province, by which we have heretofore been able to contribute so large a share towards the enriching the mother country. But we are more particularly alarmed and astonished at the act called the *STAMP-ACT*, by which a very grievous, and we apprehend unconstitutional tax is to be laid upon the colonies.

By the royal charter granted to our ancestors, the power of making laws for our internal government, and of levying taxes, is vested in the general assembly: and by the same charter the inhabitants of this province are entitled to all the rights and privileges of natural free born subjects of *GREAT-BRITAIN*. The most essential rights of *British* subjects are those of being represented in the same body which exercises the power of levying taxes upon them, and of having their property tried by juries. These are the very pillars of the British constitution, founded in the common rights of mankind.—It is certain that we were in no sense represented in the parliament of *Great Britain*, when this act of taxation was made; and it is also certain that this law admits of our properties being tried, in controversies arising from internal concerns, by courts of admiralty, without a jury. It follows, that at once it annihilates the most valuable privileges of our charter, deprives us of the most essential rights of *Britons*, and greatly weakens the best security of our lives, liberties and estates; which may hereafter be at the disposal of judges, who may be strangers to us, and perhaps malicious, mercenary, corrupt and oppressive.

But admitting we had no complaints of this nature, we should have reason to except against the *inequality* of these taxes:—It is well known that the people of this province have not only settled this country, but enlarged and defended the British dominion in America with a vast expence of treasure and blood. They have exerted themselves in the most distinguished services for their king, by which they have often been reduced to the greatest distress: And in the late war more especially, by their surprizing exertions, they have brought upon themselves a debt almost insupportable: And we were well assured that if these expensive services, for which very little if any advantage hath ever accrued to themselves, together with the necessary charges of supporting and defending his majesty's government here, had been duly estimated, the monies designed to be drawn from us by this act would have appeared greatly beyond our proportion. *We look upon it as a peculiar hardship, that when the representative body of this province had prepared and sent forward, a decent remonstrance against these proceedings, while they were depending in the house of commons, IT FAILED OF ADMITTANCE THERE.* And this we esteem the most extraordinary, inasmuch as, being unrepresented, it was the only method whereby they could make known their objections to measures, in the event of which their constituents were to be so deeply interested.

Moreover this act, if carried into execution, will become a further grievance to us, as it will afford *a precedent for the parliament to tax us, in all future time*, and in all such ways and measures as they shall judge meet, without our consent.

We therefore think it our indispensable duty, in justice to ourselves and posterity, as it is our undoubted privilege, in the most open and unreserved, but decent and respectful terms, to declare our greatest dissatisfaction with the law; and we think it incumbent on you by no means to join in any public measures for countenancing and assisting in the execution of the same; but to use your best endeavours in the general assembly, to have the inherent unalien-



able rights of the people of this province, asserted and vindicated, and left upon the public records, that posterity may never have reason to charge the present times with the guilt of tamely giving them away.

It affords us the greatest satisfaction to hear that the congress proposed by the house of representatives of this province, is consented to by the representatives of most of the other colonies on the continent. We have the warmest expectations from the united councils of that very respectable committee : And we may with the strictest propriety enjoin upon Mr. OTIS, a member of the same, being also one of the representatives of this town, to contribute the utmost of his ability, in having the rights of the colonies stated in the clearest view, and laid before the parliament ; and in preparing a humble petition to the KING, our Sovereign and Father, under whose gracious care and protection we have the strongest reason to hope, that the rights of the colonies in general, and the particular charter-rights of this province, will be confirmed and perpetuated."

"The New-England colonies, New Hampshire excepted, readily embraced this first advance towards a continental union. South Carolina was the next which adopted the plan in the colonies to the southward of New-York. This, probably, had a considerable influence in recommending it to the other southern colonies, which were not united in their opinions respecting its propriety.

"At the time appointed, twenty-eight deputies, from Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina, met at New-York. New-Hampshire excused itself for not sending their deputies to congress, on the account of the peculiar situation of the affairs of that government. The assemblies of Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, were prevented, by their governors, from sending a deputation. After mature deliberation, the congress agreed upon a declaration of the rights, and a statement of grievances of the colonies. In the strongest terms, it asserted the exemption of the colonists from all taxes, not imposed by their own representatives. It united in presenting a petition to the king, a memorial to the house of lords, and a petition to the house of commons. The colonies which were unrepresented highly approved the proceedings of congress, and forwarded petitions similar to those which it had adopted."

*Declaration of Rights and Grievances by the first American Congress.*

"The members of this congress, sincerely devoted with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty, to his majesty's person and government, inviolably attached to the present happy establishment of the protestant succession, and with minds deeply impressed by a sense of the present and impending misfortunes of the British colonies on this continent ; having considered, as maturely as time will permit, the circumstances of the said colonies, esteem it our indispensable duty to make the following declarations of our humble opinion, respecting the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists, and of the grievances under which they labour, by reason of several late acts of Parliament.

I. That his majesty's subjects in these colonies, owe the same allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, that is owing from his subjects born within the realm, and all due subordination to that august body, the Parliament of Great Britain.



II. That his majesty's liege subjects in these colonies, are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural born subjects, within the kingdom of Great Britain.

III. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them, but with their own consent, given personally, or by their representatives.

IV. That the people of these colonies are not, and, from their local circumstances, cannot be represented in the House of Commons of Great Britain.

V. That the only representatives of these colonies are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed upon them, but by their respective legislatures.

VI. That all supplies to the crown being free gifts from the people, it is unreasonable, and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution, for the people of Great Britain to grant to his majesty the property of the colonists.

VII. That trial by jury is the inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in these colonies.

VIII. That the late act of Parliament, entitled "an act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties, in the British colonies and plantations in America," &c. by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of these colonies; and the said act, and several other acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists.

IX. That the duties imposed by several late acts of Parliament, from the peculiar circumstances of these colonies, will be extremely burdensome and grievous; and from the scarcity of specie, the payment of them absolutely impracticable.

X. That as the profits of the trade of these colonies ultimately centre in Great Britain, to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all supplies granted to the crown.

XI. That the restrictions imposed by several late acts of Parliament on the trade of these colonies, will render them unable to purchase the manufactures of Great Britain.

XII. That the increase, prosperity, and happiness of these colonies depend on the full and free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and an intercourse with Great Britain mutually affectionate and advantageous.

XIII. That it is the right of the British subjects in these colonies to petition the king, or either house of Parliament.

XIV. That it is the indispensable duty of these colonies, to the best of sovereigns, to the mother country, and to themselves, to endeavour, by a loyal and dutiful address to his majesty, and humble applications to both houses of Parliament, to procure the repeal of the act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, of all clauses of any other acts of Parliament, whereby the jurisdiction of the admiralty is extended, as aforesaid, and of the other late acts for the restriction of American commerce."

*Petition to the British house of commons, agreed to by the first American congress, October, 23, 1765.*

"To the honorable the knights, citizens, and burgesses of Great Britain, in parliament assembled:

The petition of his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the freeholders and other inhabitants of the colonies of the Massachusetts-bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, , New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the government of the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, upon Delaware, Maryland,

*Most humbly sheweth,*—That the several late acts of parliament, imposing divers duties and taxes on the colonies, and laying the trade and commerce

thereof under very burdensome restrictions, but above all the act for granting, and applying certain stamp duties, &c. in America, have filled them with the deepest concern and surprize; and they humbly conceive the execution of them will be attended with consequences very injurious to the commercial interest of Great Britain, and her colonies, and must terminate in the eventual ruin of the latter.

Your petitioners therefore most ardently implore the attention of the honorable house, to the united and dutiful representation of their circumstances, and to their earnest supplications for relief, from those regulations which have already involved this continent in anxiety, confusion and distress.

We most sincerely recognize our allegiance to the crown, and acknowledge all due subordination to the parliament of Great Britain, and shall always retain the most grateful sense of their assistance and protection. It is from and under the English constitution, we derive all our civil and religious rights and liberties: we glory in being subjects of the best of kings, and having been born under the most perfect form of government; but it is with most ineffable and humiliating sorrow, that we find ourselves, of late, deprived of the right of granting our own property for his majesty's service, to which our lives and fortunes are entirely devoted, and to which, on his royal requisitions, we have ever been ready to contribute to the utmost of our abilities.

We have also the misfortune to find, that all the penalties and forfeitures mentioned in the stamp-act, and in divers late acts of trade extending to the plantations, are, at the election of the informer, recoverable in any court of admiralty in America. This, as the newly erected court of admiralty has a general jurisdiction over all British America, renders his majesty's subjects in these colonies, liable to be carried, at an immense expence, from one end of the continent to the other.

It gives us also great pain to see a manifest distinction made therein, between the subjects of our mother country, and those in the colonies, in that the like penalties and forfeitures recoverable there only in his majesty's court of record, are made cognizable here by a court of admiralty: by these means we seem to be, in effect, unhappily deprived of two privileges essential to freedom, and which all Englishmen have ever considered as their best birthrights, that of being free from all taxes but such as they have consented to in person, or by their representatives, and of trial by their peers.

Your petitioners further shew, that the remote situation, and other circumstances of the colonies, render it impracticable that they should be represented, but in their respective subordinate legislatures; and they humbly conceive, that the parliament, adhering strictly to the principles of the constitution, have never hitherto taxed any but those who were actually therein represented; for this reason, we humbly apprehend, they never have taxed Ireland, or any other of the subjects without the realm.

But were it ever so clear, that the colonies might in law be reasonably deemed to be represented in the honourable house of commons, yet we conceive, that very good reasons, from inconvenience, from the principles of true policy, and from the spirit of the British constitution, may be adduced to shew, that it would be for the real interest of Great Britain, as well as her colonies, that the late regulations should be rescinded, and the several acts of parliament imposing duties and taxes on the colonies, and extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty here beyond their ancient limits, should be repealed.

We shall not attempt a minute detail of all the reasons which the wisdom of the honourable house may suggest on this occasion, but would humbly submit the following particulars to their consideration:

That money is already become very scarce in these colonies, and is still decreasing by the necessary exportation of specie from the continent, for the discharge of our debts to British merchants.

That an immensely heavy debt is yet due from the colonies for British manu-



factures, and that they are still heavily burdened with taxes to discharge the arrearages due for aids granted by them in the late war.

That the balance of trade will ever be much against the colonies, and in favour of Great Britain, whilst we consume her manufactures, the demand for which must ever increase in proportion to the number of inhabitants settled here, with the means of purchasing them. We therefore humbly conceive it to be the interest of Great Britain, to increase, rather than diminish, those means, as the profits of all the trade of the colonies ultimately centre there to pay for her manufactures, as we are not allowed to purchase elsewhere; and by the consumption of which, at the advanced prices the British taxes oblige the makers and venders to set on them, we eventually contribute very largely to the revenue of the crown.

That from the nature of American business, the multiplicity of suits and papers used in matters of small value, in a country where freeholds are so minutely divided, and property so frequently transferred, a stamp duty must ever be very burdensome and unequal.

That it is extremely improbable that the honourable house of commons should, at all times, be thoroughly acquainted with our condition, and all facts requisite to a just and equal taxation of the colonies.

It is also humbly submitted, whether there be not a material distinction in reason and sound policy, at least, between the necessary exercise of parliamentary jurisdiction in general acts, for the amendment of the common law, and the regulation of trade and commerce through the whole empire, and the exercise of that jurisdiction, by imposing taxes on the colonies.

That the several subordinate provincial legislatures have been moulded into forms, as nearly resembling that of their mother country, as by his majesty's royal predecessors was thought convenient; and their legislatures seem to have been wisely and graciously established, that the subjects in the colonies might, under the due administration thereof, enjoy the happy fruits of the British government, which in their present circumstances they cannot be so fully and clearly availed of, any other way: under these forms of government we and our ancestors have been born or settled, and have had our lives, liberties and properties protected. The people here, as every where else, retain a great fondness for their old customs and usages, and we trust that his majesty's service, and the interest of the nation, so far from being obstructed, have been vastly promoted by the provincial legislatures.

That we esteem our connexions with, and dependence on Great Britain, as one of our greatest blessings, and apprehend the latter will appear to be sufficiently secure, when it is considered, that the inhabitants in the colonies have the most unbounded affection for his majesty's person, family and government, as well as for the mother country, and that their subordination to the parliament, is universally acknowledged.

We, therefore, most humbly entreat, that the honourable house would be pleased, to hear our counsel in support of this petition, and take our distressed and deplorable case into their serious consideration, and that the acts and clauses of acts, so grievously restraining our trade and commerce, imposing duties and taxes on our property, and extending the jurisdiction of the court of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, may be repealed; or that the honourable house would otherwise relieve your petitioners, as in your great wisdom and goodness shall seem meet.

*And your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray."*

"As the first of November, the time when the stamp-act was to commence its operation, approached, every art was used to prevent it, and to render the act odious and contemptible among the people. Ten boxes of stamped paper, sent for the use of Connecticut, were seized by the populace at New-York, and burned. The masters of ships who brought over the stamped papers, unless defended by some



man of war, were obliged either to depart with their execrated cargoes, or to deliver them into the hands of the enraged people, to save themselves from insult and violence. When the ship which brought the stamped papers to Philadelphia, made her appearance round Gloucester Point, all the vessels in the harbour hung their colours in mourning, half-mast high. The bells of the town were rung muffled until the evening, and every countenance wore the appearance of deep mourning.

At Boston, and other places, the first of November was ushered in by the shutting up of shops and stores, and by a funeral tolling of the bells. The effigies of the planners and abettors of the stamp-act were carried in procession through the public streets in public contempt, and were then torn in pieces and committed to the flames.

The general abhorrence of the stamp-act was demonstrated in similar, and in a great variety of ways, in different towns and cities. The proceedings were generally conducted with great decorum. They had not their origin in the lowest of the people, but were planned by men of character and general influence. Knowing how much more the great body of the people are led by their senses, than their reason, they excited and countenanced these public exhibitions with a view of making the stamp-act, and all its contrivers and supporters, as contemptible and odious as possible."

At a meeting of the lawyers, at the Supreme Court, held at Perth Amboy, on the 20th of September, 1765, like true born sons of liberty, and lovers of their country, the Chief Justice having proposed the following *queries*, agreed, and came into the undermentioned *resolves*, which will always redound to their honour :—

*First*—Whether, if the stamps should arrive, and be placed at the city of Burlington, by, or after, the first of November, they would, as practitioners, agree to purchase them, or any of them, for the necessary proceedings in the law ?

*Resolved*, By the whole body, *nem. con.* they would not ; but rather suffer their private interest, to give way to the public good, protesting, at the same time, against all indecent or riotous behaviour, which they will discountenance by every means in their power, to preserve order, and by an absolute refusal to make use of the stamps, and other quiet methods, endeavour to obtain a repeal of the law.

*Second*—Whether it was their opinion, that, should the act take place, the duties could possibly be paid in gold and silver ?

Answered, by the whole body,—It could not be paid in gold and silver, even for one year.

*Third*.—Their opinion was desired, whether, as the act required, the governor and chief justice to superintend the distributor, he should be obliged to take charge of the distribution of the stamps by order and appointment of the governor, if he should think proper to fix upon him for that office ?

Answered and advised, not to take it upon him, the governor not being empowered by the act to appoint, or if he was, it was left at the chief justice's option, and that it would be incompatible with his office as chief justice.

We hear the Speaker of the New-Jersey Assembly has written to all the members to meet at Princeton, to appoint some of their body to go to the congress at New-York.\*

\*Maryland Gazette, Oct. 10, 1765.

"In the mean time the principal merchants in the colonies, with great numbers of the people, entered into solemn engagements to import no more goods from Great Britain until the stamp-act should be repealed."

We here insert the agreement of the New-England and Philadelphia Merchants.

*Resolutions entered into by the merchants of New-York, trading to Great Britain, October 31, 1765.*

I. That in all orders they send to Great Britain, for goods of any nature, kind, or quality whatsoever, they will direct their correspondents not to ship them, unless the stamp-act be repealed. It is, nevertheless, agreed, that all such merchants as are owners of, and have vessels already gone, or now cleared out for Great Britain, shall be at liberty to bring back in them, on their own account, crates and casks of earthen ware, grindstones, pipes, and such other bulky articles as owners usually fill up their vessels with.

II. It is further unanimously agreed, that all orders already sent home, shall be countermanded by the very first conveyance, and the goods thereby ordered not to be sent, unless upon the condition mentioned in the foregoing resolution.

III. It is further unanimously agreed, that no merchant will vend any goods sent on commission from Great Britain, that shall be shipped from thence after the first day of January next, unless upon the condition mentioned in the first resolution.

IV. It is further unanimously agreed, that the foregoing resolutions shall be binding, until the same shall be abrogated at a general meeting, to be held for that purpose.

*Agreements and resolutions entered into, by the merchants and traders of Philadelphia, Nov. 7, 1765.*

The merchants and traders of the city of Philadelphia, taking into their consideration the melancholy state of the North American commerce in general, and the distressed situation of the province of Pennsylvania in particular, do unanimously agree,

That the many difficulties they now labour under as a trading people, are owing to the restrictions, prohibitions, and ill-advised regulations, made in the several acts of the parliament of Great Britain, lately passed, to regulate the colonies; which have limited the exportation of some part of our country produce, increased the cost and expense of many articles of our importation, and cut off from us all means of supplying ourselves with specie enough even to pay the duties imposed on us, much less to serve as a medium of our trade.

That this province is heavily in debt to Great Britain for the manufactures, and other importations, from thence, which the produce of our lands has been found unequal to pay for, when a free exportation of it to the best markets was allowed of, and such trades open as supplied us with cash, and other articles of immediate remittance to Great Britain.

That the late unconstitutional law, the stamp-act, if carried into execution in this province, will further tend to prevent our making those remittances to Great Britain, for payment of old debts, or purchase of more goods, which the faith subsisting between the individuals trading with each other requires; and therefore in justice to ourselves, to the traders of Great Britain, who usually give us credit, and to the consumers of British manufactures in this province, the subscribers hereto, have voluntarily and unanimously come into the following resolutions and agreements, in hopes that their example will stimulate the good people of this province to be frugal in their use and consumption of all manufactures, excepting those of America, and lawful goods coming directly



from Ireland, manufactured there, whilst the necessities of our country are such as to require it ; and in hopes that their brethren, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, will find their own interest so intimately connected with ours, that they will be spurred on to befriend us from that motive, if no other should take place.

I. It is unanimously resolved and agreed, that in all orders, any of the subscribers to this paper may send to Great Britain for goods, they shall and will direct their correspondents not to ship them until the stamp-act is repealed.

II. That all those among the subscribers, that have already sent orders to Great Britain for goods, shall and will immediately countermand the same, until the stamp-act is repealed : except such merchants as are owners of vessels already gone, or now cleared out for Great Britain, who are at liberty to bring back in them, on their own account, coals, casks of earthen ware, grindstones, pipes, iron pots, empty bottles, and such other bulky articles as owners usually fill up their vessels with ; but no dry goods of any kind ; except such kinds of dye-stuffs and utensils necessary for carrying on manufactures, [as] may be ordered by any person.

III. That none of the subscribers hereto shall or will vend any goods or merchandizes whatever, that shall be shipped them on commission from Great Britain, after the first of January next, unless the stamp-act be repealed.

IV. That these resolves and agreements shall be binding on all and each of us the subscribers, who do hereby, each and every person for himself, upon his word of honour agree, that he will strictly and firmly adhere to and abide by every article, from this time until the first of May next, when a meeting of the subscribers shall be called, to consider whether a further continuance of this obligation be then necessary.

V. It is agreed, that if goods of any kind do arrive from Great Britain, at such time, and under such circumstances, as to render any signer of these agreements suspected of having broken his promise, the committee now appointed shall enquire into the premises, and if such suspected person refuses, or cannot give them satisfaction, the subscribers hereto will unanimously take all prudent measures to discountenance and prevent the sale of such goods, until they are released from this agreement by mutual and general consent.

*Agreement of the retailers of the city of Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1765.*

We, the retailers of the city of Philadelphia, do hereby voluntarily and unanimously promise and oblige all and each of us, upon our word of honour, not to buy any goods, wares, or merchandizes, of any vendue-master, or other person or persons whatsoever, that shall be shipped from Great Britain, after the first day of January next, unless that unconstitutional law, the stamp-act, shall be repealed.

“ As far as might be to remedy this inconvenience the colonists encouraged their own domestic manufactures. Large quantities of coarse and common cloths were soon brought to market, and though dearer, and of an inferior quality to those imported from Great Britain, yet they were cheerfully purchased, in preference to similar articles of her manufacture. To encourage and render domestic manufactures fashionable, men of chief character and influence were the first to appear in them, on the most public occasions. To increase the breed of sheep and the quantity of wool, resolutions were formed against the killing and eating of lambs. Foreign elegancies were generally laid aside by both sexes. The fair daughters of America imbibed the same spirit with her sons, and were not less exemplary in various instances of self-denial. They cheerfully



refused the most pleasing articles for decorating their persons, and of luxury for their tables. The restrictions, which the colonists had so voluntarily imposed on themselves, were observed with such punctuality, as happily answered their design. Multitudes of the manufacturers in England were so distressed, and the merchants so alarmed, that they joined with the colonies in petitioning for a repeal of the act which had given so much alarm and trouble.

Another association was also formed by the "*sons of liberty*," as they were called, in which, after the most solemn appeal to Almighty God, that they bore true allegiance to his majesty, King George the Third, and were most zealously attached to his royal person and family, and most cheerfully submitted to his government, according to the known and just principles of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION, and declaring that the stamp-act "deprived them of the most invaluable part of the British constitution, viz. the trial by juries, and the most just mode of taxation in the world, that is, of taxing themselves," they resolved and determined, "to march with the utmost dispatch, at their own proper cost and expense, on the first notice, with their whole force, to the relief of those that shall be in danger from the stamp-act, or its promoters and abettors, or any thing relative to it, on account of any thing that may have been done in opposition to its obtaining." This association had its origin in New-York and Connecticut, and was ultimately signed by such numbers in those colonies and in New-England generally, that, had not the stamp-act been repealed, civil war must have been the immediate consequence.

*"At a general meeting of the Delegates of the Sons of Liberty, from a great majority of the towns in the colony of Connecticut, holden at Hartford, the 25th day of March, 1766.*

The Sons of Liberty convene, at this time, animated with an ardent love of their country, the deepest and most affectionate sense of duty and loyalty to their rightful sovereign, King George the Third, and with the greatest esteem of, and respect for, the constitution and authority of Great Britain, esteem it a proper expression of their duty, on this occasion, to declare their respectful approbation of, and hearty acquiescence and concurrence with, the loyal, prudent, virtuous and spirited declarations and resolves of the honourable representatives of this colony, at their session in October last, relative to the unconstitutional nature and destructive tendency of the late American stamp-act, and expressive of their loyalty to their said rightful sovereign, and of all the principles and sentiments therein contained.

They also declare the same hearty approbation of the noble and generous exertion of that spirit of heaven-born liberty which has displayed itself among our neighbouring American colonies, as has appeared by the same kind of declarations and resolves of their several representative bodies, and the Sons of Liberty of said colonies

discovered in a variety of ways not inconsistent with the principles of duty and loyalty. And do further declare their hearty desire to keep up and maintain a most friendly correspondence with the loyal Sons of Liberty in our neighbouring colonies, for the purpose of perpetuating the union and harmony so happily established, and to maintain the common liberty which we and they, by the providence of God and the constitution of Great Britain, have a right to enjoy.

And that Col. Israel Putnam, Maj. John Durkee, Capt. Hugh Ledlie, Messrs. Thaddeus Burr, Jonathan Sturges, Samuel Bradley, Jun. John Brooks, and Le Grand Cannon, are appointed a committee for the aforesaid."

"While the colonists were engaged in these transactions, an event most favourable for them, providentially took place in Great Britain. Mr. Grenville and his party, upon a difference respecting the regency-bill, as it was termed, had thrown themselves out of place. July 10th, the Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury, and the Duke of Grafton and General Conway were appointed secretaries of state. The minister and his friends, though advocates for the legislative authority of Great Britain over the colonies in all cases whatsoever, yet were for the repeal of the stamp-act, on the principle of its inexpediency. The merchants and manufacturers in England were alarmed, complaints were every where heard of the decay of commerce, and petitions were prepared in the principal trading and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, to be preferred to Parliament for a repeal of the obnoxious act."

The following article from the Providence Gazette, of 1765, will shew, in some degree, the effect of the stamp-act in England :—

"By a vessel in a short passage from Bristol, we hear that there has been a great uneasiness among the people, and all England is at length in commotion. Near 40,000 weavers, glove-makers, and other manufacturers, appeared in the city of London with black flags, and surrounded even the royal Palace and Parliament-House ; that some unpopular noblemen had been insulted in their chariots, one of whom hardly escaped with life, and some houses had been almost levelled to the ground ; that multitudes of manufacturers were almost wholly out of employ, occasioned, as it is thought, by some late regulations, which have rendered the colonies unable to take off the usual quantity of their manufactures ; that the Norwich weavers, who, a year or two past, supplied America with vast quantities of goods, were also mustering, and expected in the city ; that an alteration of men and measures would soon take place. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Pitt, next to his majesty, the idol of the people in England and America, having been urged to reassume the helm, had opened a door of hope to the real friends of liberty and their country."

"In this state of affairs the important crisis, for which all parties had been preparing and were anxiously waiting, arrived. In Jan. 1766, the Parliament convened. The speech from the British throne recommended the affairs of America to it as the principal object of its deliberations : the addresses of both houses represented them in the same important point of light. The petitions from America and the principal towns in England, the state of both countries, and the



magnitude of the cause depending, united their influence to rouse the attention, and to call into exertion all the faculties of the members upon this great occasion. Never had an affair been debated, in the British Parliament, in which Great Britain and America were more deeply interested ; nor, to the decision of which, all Europe looked with more anxious expectations. No point was ever more ably and thoroughly debated.

As the ministry were for the repeal of the act in question, they urged every argument on the principle of inexpediency, as far as possible ; they encouraged petitions from the great commercial and manufacturing towns, complaining of the decline of commerce and the distressed condition of the manufacturers. They countenanced the examination of Dr. Franklin at the bar of the House of Commons, who gave extensive information respecting the affairs of America, and the great impolicy of the stamp-act. This, it was imagined, contributed much to remove prejudices and to produce a disposition favourable to a repeal.

Mr. Pitt came forward in the House of Commons with an originality, energy and boldness of language peculiar to himself, denied the right of Parliament to tax the Americans, and justified them in their opposition."

The speeches of Messrs. Pitt and Grenville give the best view of both sides of the great question now agitated, which can be furnished, and is here inserted at length, as important in this part of our history.

Mr. Pitt " commended the king's speech, approved of the address in answer, as it decided nothing, every gentleman being left at perfect liberty to take such a part concerning America, as he might afterwards see fit. One word only he could not approve of ; "*early*" is a word that does not belong to the notice the ministry have given to Parliament of the troubles in America. In a matter of such importance, the communication ought to have been *immediate* ; I speak not with respect to parties, I stand up in this place singly and unconnected. As to the late ministry, (turning himself to Mr. Grenville,) every capital measure they have taken, has been entirely wrong. As to the present gentlemen, to those at least whom I have in my eye, (looking at the bench where Mr. Conway sat, with the lords of the treasury,) I have no objection ; I have never been made a sacrifice by any of them. Their characters are fair ; and I am always glad when men of fair character engage in his majesty's service. Some of them have done me the honour to ask my poor opinion, before they would engage. These will do me the justice to own, I advised them to engage ; but notwithstanding I love to be explicit, I cannot give them my confidence. Pardon me, gentlemen, (bowing to the ministry) *confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom : youth is the season of credulity : by comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence.*



It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in Parliament. When the resolution was taken in the house to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequence, I would have solicited some kind hand, to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it. It is now an act that has passed : I would speak with decency of every act of this house, but I must beg the indulgence of the house to speak of it with freedom.

I hope a day may soon be appointed to consider the state of the nation with respect to America. I hope gentlemen will come to this debate with all the temper and impartiality that his majesty recommends, and the importance of the subject requires : a subject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this house, that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question, whether you yourselves were to be bond or free.

In the mean time, as I cannot depend upon health for any future day, such is the nature of my infirmities, I will beg to say a few words at present, leaving the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the act. to another time. I will only speak to one point, a point which seems not to have been generally understood—I mean the right. Some gentlemen (alluding to Mr. Nugent) seem to have considered it as a point of honour. If gentlemen consider it in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong, to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. It is my opinion that this kingdom has *no right* to lay a tax upon the colonies, to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen.

Equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country, the Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned ; but the concurrency of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only necessary to close with the form of a law.

The gift and grant is of the commons alone. In ancient days, the crown, the barons, and the clergy, possessed the lands. In those days, the barons and the clergy gave and granted to the crown. They gave and granted what was their own. At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the commons are become the proprietors of the land. The crown has divested itself of its great estates. The church (God bless it) has but a pittance. The property of the lords, compared with that of the commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean ; and this house represents these commons, the proprietors of the lands ; and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants.

When, therefore, in this house we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty, what? our own property?—No, we give and grant to your majesty the property of the commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms.

The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The crown, the peers, are equally legislative powers with the commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the crown, the peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourselves; rights they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power.

There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this house. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number. Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough,—a borough which, perhaps, no man ever saw? That is what is called the rotten part of the constitution. It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house, is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of man.—It does not deserve a serious consideration.

The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time, this kingdom, as the supreme, governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations, and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures, in every thing, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here I would draw the line,

*Quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum."*

*"Mr. Grenville's Speech on the Taxation of America.*

He began with censuring the ministry very severely, for delaying to give earlier notice to parliament of the disturbances in America. He said they began in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately they were only occurrences; they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults, and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrine I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name, to take that of a revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution will take place in America. I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and differ only in



name. That this kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted. It cannot be denied ; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of the legislation. It is, it has been exercised, over those who are not, who were never represented. It is exercised over the India Company, the merchants of London, and the proprietors of the stocks, and over great manufacturing towns. It was exercised over the county palatine of Chester, and the bishoprick of Durham, before they sent any representatives to parliament. I appeal for proof to the preambles of the acts which gave them representatives ; one in the reign of Henry VIII. the other in that of Charles II. [He then quoted the acts, and desired they might be read ; which being done, he said :] When I proposed to tax America, I asked the house, if any gentleman would object to the right ; I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America, America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated ? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them this protection ; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, an expense arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, in open rebellion.

The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition.

We were told we trod on tender ground ; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this, but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy with expectation of support from hence ? let us only hold out a little, they would say, our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America ! bounties have been extended to them. When I had the honour of serving the crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favour, the act of navigation, that palladium of British commerce ; and yet I have been abused in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been particularly charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade, and thereby stopping the channel by which alone North America used to be supplied with cash for remittances for this country. I defy any man to produce any such orders or instructions. I discouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by act of parliament. I desire a West India merchant, well known in this city, (Mr. Long,) a gentleman of character, may be admitted. He will tell you, that I offered to do every thing in my power to advance the trade of Amer-



ica. I was above giving an answer to anonymous calumnies ; but in this place, it becomes me to wipe off the aspersion."

Mr. Pitt in reply said, " I do not apprehend I am speaking twice ; I did expressly reserve a part of my subject, in order to save the time of this house ; but I am compelled to proceed in it. I do not speak twice ; I only mean to finish what I designedly left imperfect. But if the house is of a different opinion, far be it from me to indulge a wish of transgression against order." Here he paused, the house resounding with, go on, go on—he proceeded :

"Gentlemen, sir, (to the speaker) I have been charged with giving birth to the sedition in America. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this house, imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise.

No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it—it is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited, by which he ought to have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us America is obstinate ; America is almost in open rebellion. *I rejoice that America has resisted.* Three millions of people, so dead to all feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. I come not here armed at all points, with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dogs'-ears, to defend the cause of liberty : if I had, I myself would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham : I would have cited them, to have shewn that even under the most arbitrary reigns, parliaments were ashamed of taxing people without their consent, and allowed them representatives. Why did the gentleman confine himself to Chester and Durham ? He might have taken a higher example in Wales ; Wales, that never was taxed by parliament till it was incorporated. I would not debate a particular point of law with the gentleman : I know his abilities : I have been obliged by his diligent researches. But for the defence of liberty upon a general principle, upon a constitutional principle, it is a ground upon which I stand firm ; on which I dare meet any man. The gentleman tells us of many who are taxed, and are not represented. The India Company, merchants, stock-holders, manufacturers. Surely many of these are represented in other capacities, as owners of land, or as freemen of boroughs. It is a misfortune that more are not actually represented. But they are all inhabitants, and, as such, are virtually represented. Many have it in their option to be actually represented. They have connections with those that elect, and they have influence over them. None of the ministers since the accession of King William, he said, thought or ever dreamed of robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights. That was reserved to mark the era of the late administration : not that there were wanting some, when I had the honour to serve his majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers

with an American stamp-act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition; but it would have been taking an ungenerous, an unjust advantage. The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America! Are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America, I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that the parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America.

Our legislative power over the colonies is supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. Where two countries are connected together like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it, as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both. If the gentleman does not understand the difference between external and internal taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; although, in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter. The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated? But I desire to know, when were they made slaves? but I dwell not upon words. When I had the honour of serving his majesty, I availed myself of the means of information which I derived from my office. I speak therefore from knowledge. My materials were good. I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, three score years ago, are at three thousand at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years purchase; the same may be now sold for thirty.

You owe this to America. This is the price that America pays you for her protection. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast, that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the exchequer, to the loss of a million to the nation! I dare not say, how much higher these profits might be augmented. Omitting the immense increase of people, by natural population, in the northern colonies, and the migration from every part of Europe, I am convinced the whole commercial system of America may be altered to advantage. You have prohibited where you ought to have encouraged; you have encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. Improper restraints have been laid on the continent, in favour of the islands. You have but two nations to trade with in America. Would you had twenty! Let acts of parliament in consequence of treaties remain, but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain, or for



any foreign power. Much is wrong, much may be amended for the general good of the whole.

A great deal has been said without doors of the power, of the strength of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valour of your troops. I know the skill of your officers. There is not a company of foot that has served in America out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience to make a governour of a colony there. But on this ground, on the stamp-act, which so many here will think a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it.

In such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace—not to sheathe the sword in its scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole house of Bourbon is united against you, while France disturbs your fisheries in Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave trade to Africa, and withholds from your subjects in Canada their property stipulated by treaty; while the ransom for the Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror basely traduced into a mean plunderer; a gentleman (Colonel Draper) whose noble and generous spirit would do honour to the proudest grandee of the country? The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper; they have been wronged; they have been driven to madness, by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them:

“Be to her faults a little blind;  
Be to her virtues very kind.”

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion. It is, that the stamp-act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.”

“Lord Camden, in the House of Peers, on the same principle of Mr. Pitt, with great learning and ability pleaded for the immediate and total repeal of the act. The body who were for the repeal on



this principle, though not numerous, stood high in the estimation of the people, and in point of ability and influence were of great importance.

Those who were opposed to the repeal insisted, with Mr. Grenville, on arguments drawn from the dignity of the nation, the danger of giving way to the clamours of the Americans, and from the consequences of it, which it was urged would weaken the authority of Parliament over the colonies. The old ground, the omnipotence of Parliament, its right to tax the colonies, their virtual representation in Parliament, the planting and defending them by the nurturing hand of the parent state, the expense of defending them and the reasonableness and justice of their bearing a part of the burden, necessarily arising from their own defence, was again travelled over with all the grace and strength of which the speakers on that side of the question were masters.

After the speakers on each side had tried all their strength ; displayed the riches of their eloquence, and exhausted every argument, the stamp-act was finally repealed,\* and a bill of indemnity passed for those who had opposed its operation.

At the same time, the advocates for the high claims of the legislature, were gratified with an act declaring that " the King and Parliament had, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force to bind the colonies, and his majesty's subjects in them, *in all cases whatsoever*."

The colonists had in almost every way resisted the stamp-act, entirely prevented its operation, and transacted their maritime and civil affairs without stamps, directly in the face of law, and indeed as though the law had either not required the use of them, or had never existed. An act of indemnity was therefore no less necessary to prevent civil war, and preserve the peace of the empire, than the repeal of that obnoxious act which had occasioned such opposition, and strong combinations against it.

The repeal of the stamp-act was an occasion of exceeding great joy both in Great Britain and America. No sooner was the event known in London, than the ships in the river Thames displayed their colours, and the houses in all parts of the city were illuminated. When the news reached America every countenance brightened with joy, and pious hearts warmed with gratitude. The churches resounded with thanksgivings, and the public rejoicings were great and universal. Non-importation resolutions were rescinded, the commercial intercourse between the two countries recommenced, and the Americans imported more largely than they had ever done at any preceding period. Past ill-treatment and ill-humours were forgotten ; and though the principles on which the stamp-act was repealed, and the

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\*In the House of Commons, February 22 ; in the House of Peers, March 18 ; and on the 19th his British majesty passed the bill for the repealing of the American stamp-act.

declaratory act, which preceded the repeal, had no favourable aspect on American liberty, yet the colonists manifested a spirit of most cordial reconciliation, and, in a great variety of ways, exhibited demonstrations of sincere acknowledgment and gratitude.

The repeal of this obnoxious act, viewed in all its circumstances, connexions and consequences, was indeed a great and memorable event. It was exceedingly happy for the colonies. It was, doubtless, the first direct and principal step toward the American independency. It is not improbable, that it was the great event which prevented the loss of the liberties of all America. Had it not been repealed, civil war must have been the immediate consequence; and had the arduous struggle between Great Britain and her colonies commenced at this early period, there is great reason to imagine that the event would have been fatal with respect both to the civil and religious liberties of this country. The strong opposition against the repeal, and the numerous interests to which it was opposed, made the event the more remarkable. The Dukes of York and Cumberland, the Lords of the Bed-Chamber, the officers of the king's household, most of the reverend bench of bishops, with their adherents in both houses, were for supporting the act, at all adventures, and carrying fire and sword into America. The whole legion of pensioners, and all those who were looking for offices for themselves or their friends, in consequence of the revenue acts, were ranged on the same side of the question.

The various circumstances, preparing the way for the repeal, were remarkable. Though the stamp-act was passed in March, yet the time for it to take effect was postponed until the first day of November. This gave time for the colonists to consider their liberties and danger, to rouse the people to an harmonious and universal opposition, to collect the general sense of the colonies, to petition and adopt all proper measures for redress. Their union and firmness in their opposition; Mr. Grenville's taking such a part with respect to the regency-bill, as made his resignation a point of necessity, at this important conjuncture, the appointment of a ministry ultimately favourable to the repeal, the union of the merchants, and of the great trading and manufacturing towns in England, in petitioning for it, with the decided part which those great men, Lord Camden and Mr. Pitt, were pleased to take, were all necessary, and remarkably combined their influence to accomplish the event. The declaration of his British Majesty, when the Marquis of Rockingham and Lord Shelbourne waited on him to know his pleasure respecting the repeal of the act,—that he had expressed his desire that the act might be enforced; but if it could not be done peaceably, and without bloodshed, it was his sincere desire and intention that it should be totally repealed, had, doubtless, no small influence, in the House of Peers, towards the repeal. Had not the ministry been changed, or had any of these circumstances been different from what they were, the repeal



might not have been effected. That they were not different can be ascribed to HIM only, who turneth the hearts of kings and of mankind as the rivers of water are turned. Pious people did then, and ever will ascribe it to His superintendency, whose kingdom ruleth over all.”\*

## SECTION V.

Occurrences from the repeal of the stamp-act to the opening of the war in the battle of Lexington.

EVENTS of interest during this, and the subsequent period, to the conclusion of the war, are so numerous, that we are constrained, from our prescribed limits, to notice those only which are the most prominent.

From the cautious manner in which the Parliament repealed the stamp-act, it was obvious, to men of discernment, that they did not intend to lay aside the scheme of raising a revenue in the colonies, but merely to change the mode. The relief and joy, however, resulting even from this insidious and delusive measure, this appearance of lenity, so great had been the previous pressure, were felt throughout the colonies.

“The people of every description manifested the strongest desire, that harmony might be re-established between Great Britain and the colonies. Bonfires, illuminations, and all the usual expressions of popular satisfaction, were displayed on the joyful occasion : yet, amidst the demonstrations of this lively gratitude, there were some who had sagacity enough to see, that the British ministry was not so much influenced by principles of equity, as impelled by necessity. These deemed any relaxation in Parliament an act of justice, rather than favour ; and felt more resentment for the manner, than obligation for the design, of this partial repeal. Their opinion was fully justified by the subsequent conduct of administration.

When the assembly of Massachusetts met the succeeding winter, there seemed to prevail a general disposition for peace : the sense of injury was checked ; and such a spirit of affection and loyalty appeared, that the two houses agreed to a bill for compensation to all sufferers in the late times of confusion and riot. But they were careful not to recognize a *right* in Parliament to make such a requisition ; they ordered it to be entered on the journals of the house, that “for the sake of internal peace, they waved all debate and controversy, though persuaded the delinquent sufferers had no just claim on the province : that, influenced by a loyal regard to his majesty’s recommendation, (not considering it as a requisition ; ) and that, from

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\*Trumbull’s Hist. U. S: MS.



a deference to the opinions of some illustrious patrons of America, in the House of Commons, who had urged them to a compliance : They therefore acceded to the proposal ; though, at the same time, they considered it a very reprehensible step in those who had suffered, to apply for relief to the Parliament of Britain, instead of submitting to the justice and clemency of their own legislature."

They made several other just and severe observations on the heightened speech of the governor, who had said, "that the requisition of the ministry was founded on so much justice and humanity, that it could not be controverted." They inquired if the authority with which he introduced the ministerial demand, precluded all disputation about complying with it, what freedom of choice they had left in the case ?

In the bill for compensation by the assembly of Massachusetts, was added a very offensive clause. A general pardon and oblivion was granted to all offenders in the late confusion, tumults and riots. An exact detail of these proceedings was transmitted to England. The king and council disallowed the act, as comprising in it a bill of indemnity to the Boston rioters ; and ordered compensation made to the late sufferers, without any supplementary conditions. No notice was taken of this order, nor any alteration made in the act. The money was drawn from the treasury of the province to satisfy the claimants for compensation ; and no farther inquiries were made relative to the authors of the late tumultuary proceedings of the times, when the minds of men had been wrought up to a ferment, beyond the reach of all legal restraint."\*

The remainder of the year subsequent to the repeal of the stamp-act, passed without any remarkable political events. A few prostitutes of power, nurtured in the lap of America, and bound by every tie of honour and gratitude, to be faithful to the interests of their country, were even at this time filling the ears of the ministry with the most odious misrepresentations and slanders of their countrymen, calculated to infuse and foster prejudices against the colonists, and prompt to measures of oppression. These men were promoted to offices of power and profit, and exerted a baleful influence on both countries. It was observed at this time, in a speech before the House of Commons, by Col. Barre, that "to his certain knowledge, some were promoted to the highest seats of honour in America, who were glad to fly to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of justice in their own."

"However injudicious the appointments to American departments might be, the darling point of an American revenue was an object too important to be relinquished, either by the court at St. James's, the plantation governors, or their mercenary adherents dispersed through the continent. Besides these, there were several classes in America, who were at first exceedingly opposed to measures that militated with the designs of administration. Some, impressed by

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\*Mrs. Warren's Hist. of the Revolution, vol. i. p. 34.

long connexion, were intimidated by her power, and attached by affection to Britain : others, the true disciples of passive obedience, had real scruples of conscience with regard to any resistance to the powers that be : these, whether actuated by affection or fear, by principle or interest, formed a close combination with the colonial governors, custom-house officers, and all in subordinate departments, who hung on the court for subsistence. By the tenor of the writings of some of these, and the insolent behaviour of others, they became equally obnoxious in the eyes of the people, with the officers of the crown and the danglers for place ; who, disappointed of their prey by the repeal of the stamp-act, and restless for some new project that might enable them to rise into importance on the spoils of America, were continually whispering malicious insinuations into the ears of the financiers and ministers of colonial departments.

They represented the mercantile body in America as a set of smugglers, forever breaking over the laws of trade and society ; the people in general as factious, turbulent, and aiming at independence ; the legislatures in the several provinces as marked with the same spirit ; and government every where in so lax a state, that the civil authority was insufficient to prevent the fatal effects of popular discontent.

Unhappily for both parties, who were now formed, Governor Bernard was very illy calculated to promote the interest of the people, or support the honour of his master. He was a man of little genius, but some learning. He was by education strongly impressed with high ideas of canon and feudal law, and fond of a system of government that had been long obsolete in England, and had never had an existence in America. His disposition was choleric and sanguine, obstinate and designing, yet too open and frank to disguise his intrigues, and too precipitant to bring them to maturity. A revision of colony charters, a resumption of former privileges, and an American revenue, were the constant topics of his letters to administration.\* To prove the necessity of these measures, the most trivial disturbance was magnified to a riot ; and to give a pretext to these wicked insinuations, it was thought by many, that tumults were frequently excited by the indiscretion or malignancy of his own partizans.

The declaratory bill still hung suspended over the heads of the Americans, nor was it suffered to remain long without trying its operative effects. The clause holding up a right to tax America at pleasure, and "TO BIND THEM IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER," was comprehensive and alarming. Yet it was not generally expected, that the ministry would soon endeavour to avail themselves of the dangerous experiment ; but in this, the public were mistaken.

Not many months after the repeal of the stamp-act, the chancellor,

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\* See his pamphlet on law and polity, and his letters to the British ministry, while he presided in the Massachusetts,



of the exchequer, Charles Townshend, Esq. came forward and pawned his character on the success of a new attempt to tax the American colonies. He was a gentleman of conspicuous abilities, and much professional knowledge; endowed with more boldness than discretion; he had "the talent of bringing together at once all that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate the side of the question he was on."

The purport of the new project for revenue was to levy certain duties on paper, glass, painters' colours, and several other articles usually imported into America. It was also directed that the duties on India teas, which had been a productive source of revenue in England, should be taken off there, and threepence per pound levied on all kinds that should in future be purchased in the colonies.

This inconsiderable duty on teas finally became an object of high importance and altercation; it was not the sum, but the principle that was contested; it manifestly appeared that this was only a financiering expedient to raise a revenue from the colonies by imperceptible taxes. The defenders of the privileges and the freedom of the colonies, denied all parliamentary right to tax them in any way whatever. They asserted that if the collection of this duty was permitted, it would establish a precedent, and strengthen the claim parliament had assumed, to tax them at pleasure. To do it by the secret modes of imposts and excises would ruin their trade, corrupt the morals of the people, and was more abhorrent in their eyes than a direct demand. The most judicious and intelligent Americans at this time considered all *imperceptible* taxes fraught with evils, that tended to enslave any country plunged in the boundless chaos of fiscal demands that this practice would introduce.

In consequence of the new system, a board of customs was instituted and commissioners appointed to set in Boston to collect the duties; which were besides other purposes to supply a fund for the payment of the large salaries annexed to their office. A civil list was soon after established, and the governors of the Massachusetts, judges of the superior court, and such other officers as had heretofore depended on the free grants of the representative body, were to be paid out of the revenue chest.

Thus rendered wholly independent of the general assembly, there was no check left on the wanton exercise of power in the crown officers, however disposed they might be to abuse their trust. The distance from the throne, it was said, must delay, if not wholly prevent, all relief under any oppressions the people might suffer from the servants of government; and to crown the long list of grievances, specified by the patriots of the day, the extension of the courts of vice-admiralty was none of the least. They were vested with certain powers that dispensed with the mode of trial by jury, annihilated the privileges of Englishmen, and placed the liberty of every man in the hand of a petty officer of the customs. By warrant of a writ of assistance from the governor or lieutenant-governor, any officer of the



revenue was authorized to enter the dwelling of the most respectable inhabitant on the smallest suspicion of a concealment of contraband goods, and to insult, search, or seize, with impunity.

Jonathan Sewall, an attorney\* at law, of some professional abilities and ingenuity, was, by the instigation of Mr. Bernard, appointed sole judge of admiralty in the Massachusetts. The dangerous aspect of this court, particularly when aided by writs of assistance, was opposed with peculiar energy and strength of argument, by James Otis, Esq. of which we have already spoken. For his fidelity, however, as might be supposed in such a state of party feeling, he was abused and vilified by the scriblers of the court, and threatened with an arrest from the crown, for the boldness of his opinions. Yet he continued to advocate the rights of the people, and in the course of his argument against the iniquitous consequences of writs of assistance, he observed, that "his engaging in this cause had raised the resentment of its abettors; but that he argued it from principle, and with peculiar pleasure, as it was in favour of *British liberty*, and in opposition to the exercise of a power, that in former periods of English history, had cost one king of England his head, and another his crown."—He added, "I can sincerely declare, that I submit myself to every opprobrious name for conscience sake, and despise all those, whom guilt, folly or malice have made my foes."

It was on this occasion, that Mr. Otis resigned the office of judge advocate, and renounced all employment under so corrupt an administration, boldly declaring in the face of the supreme court, at this dangerous crisis, that "the only principle of public conduct, worthy a gentleman or a man, was the sacrifice of health, ease, applause, estate, or even life, to the sacred calls of his country; that these manly sentiments in private life made the good citizen, in public, the patriot and the hero."—Thus was verified in his conduct the observation of a writer of merit and celebrity, that "it was as difficult for Great Britain to frighten as to cheat Americans into servitude; that she ought to leave them in the peaceable possession of that liberty which they received at their birth, and were resolved to retain to their death."

When the new parliamentary regulations reached America, all the colonies in their several departments petitioned in the most strenuous manner against any American taxation, and all other recent innovations relative to the government of the British provinces. These petitions were, when received by the ministry, treated by them with the utmost contempt. But they were supported by a respectable party in the parliament of Britain, who did not neglect to warn the administration of the danger of precipitating measures, that

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\* Jonathan Sewall, a native of the province, whose pen had been employed to vindicate the measures of administration and the conduct of Governor Bernard, under the signature of Philaethes, Massachusettensis, &c. &c.

might require before the termination of a contest thus hurried on, "more virtue and abilities than the ministry possessed."

The act of Parliament, making it lawful for the officers of the British army to quarter their troops in private houses, &c. continued in full force after the stamp-act was repealed, though it equally militated with that part of the British constitution which provides that no monies should be raised on the subject without his consent. Yet rather than enter on a new dispute, the colonists in general chose to evade it for the present, and without many observations thereon, had occasionally made some voluntary provisions for the support of the king's troops. It was hoped the act might be only a temporary expedient to hold up the authority of parliament, and that in a short time the claim might die of itself, without any attempt to revive such an unreasonable demand. But New-York, more explicit in her refusal to *obey*, was suspended by Parliament from all powers of legislation until the quartering act should be complied with in the fullest extent.

Aroused by the same injuries from the parent state, threatened in the same manner by the common enemies to the rights of society among themselves, their petitions to the throne had been suppressed without even a reading, their remonstrances were ridiculed and their supplications rejected. They determined no longer to submit. All stood ready to unite in the same measures to obtain that redress of grievances they had so long requested, and that relief from burdens they had so long complained of, to so little purpose. Yet there was no bond of connexion by which a similarity of sentiment and concord in action might appear, whether they were again disposed to revert to the hitherto fruitless mode of petition and remonstrance, or to leave that humiliating path for a line of conduct more cogent and influential in the contests of nations.

A circular letter dated February 11, 1768, by the legislature of Massachusetts, directed to the representatives and burgesses of the people through the colonies, was a measure well calculated for this salutary purpose. This letter painted in the strongest colours the difficulties they apprehended, the embarrassments they felt, and the steps already taken to obtain relief. It contained the full opinion of that assembly relative to the late acts of parliament; while at the same time they expatiated on their duty and attachment to the king, and detailed in terms of respect the representations that had been made to his ministers, they expressed the boldest determination to continue a free but a loyal people. Indeed there were few, if any, who indulged an idea of a final separation from Britain at so early a period; or that even wished for more than an equal participation of the privileges of the British constitution.

*"Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Feb. 11, 1768.*

SIR,

The house of representatives of this province have taken into their serious consideration, the great difficulties that must accrue to themselves and their



constituents, by the operation of the several acts of parliament imposing duties and taxes on the American colonies.

As it is a subject in which every colony is deeply interested, they have no reason to doubt but your house is duly impressed with its importance ; and that such constitutional measures will be come into as are proper. It seems to be necessary, that all possible care should be taken that the representations of the several assemblies, upon so delicate a point, should harmonize with each other ; the house therefore hope that this letter will be candidly considered, in no other light than as expressing a disposition freely to communicate their mind to a sister colony, upon a common concern, in the same manner as they would be glad to receive the sentiments of your, or any other house of assembly on the continent.

The house have humbly represented to the ministry their own sentiments ; that his majesty's high court of parliament is the supreme legislative power over the whole empire ; that in all free states the constitution is fixed ; and as the supreme legislative derives its power and authority from the constitution, it cannot overleap the bounds of it, without destroying its foundation. That the constitution ascertains and limits both sovereignty and allegiance ; and therefore his majesty's American subjects, who acknowledge themselves bound by the ties of allegiance, have an equitable claim to the full enjoyment of the fundamental rules of the British constitution. That it is an essential, unalterable right in nature, engrafted into the British constitution as a fundamental law, and ever held sacred and irrevocable by the subjects within the realm, that what a man hath honestly acquired, is absolutely his own, which he may freely give, but cannot be taken from him without his consent. That the American subjects may therefore, exclusive of any consideration of charter rights, with a decent firmness, adapted to the character of freemen and subjects, assert this natural, constitutional right.

It is moreover their humble opinion, which they express with the greatest deference to the wisdom of the parliament, that the acts made there, imposing duties on the people of this province for the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue, are infringements of their natural and constitutional rights. Because, as they are not represented in the British parliament, his majesty's commons in Britain, by those acts grant their property without their consent.

The house further are of opinion that their constituents, considering their local circumstances, cannot by any possibility be represented in the parliament ; and that it will forever be impracticable that they should be equally represented there, and consequently not at all, being separated by an ocean of a thousand leagues. That his majesty's royal predecessors for this reason were graciously pleased to form a subordinate legislative here, that their subjects might enjoy the unalienable right of a representation. Also that considering the utter impracticability of their ever being fully and equally represented in parliament, and the great expense that must unavoidably attend even a partial representation there, this house think that a taxation of their constituents, even without their consent, grievous as it is, would be preferable to any representation that could be admitted for them there.

Upon these principles, and also considering that were the right in the parliament ever so clear, yet for obvious reasons it would be beyond the rule of equity, that their constituents should be taxed on the manufactures of Great Britain here, in addition to the duties they pay for them in England, and other advantages arising to Great Britain from the acts of trade ; this house have preferred a humble, dutiful, and loyal petition to our most gracious sovereign, and made such representations to his majesty's ministers, as they apprehend would tend to obtain redress.

They have also submitted to consideration, whether any people can be said to enjoy any degree of freedom, if the crown in addition to its undoubted authority of constituting a governor, should appoint him such a stipend as it should judge proper, without the consent of the people, and at their expense :



and whether while the judges of the land and other civil officers, hold not their commissions during good behaviour, their having salaries appointed for them by the crown, independent of the people, hath not a tendency to subvert the principles of equity, and endanger the happiness and security of the subject.

In addition to these measures, the house have wrote a letter to their agent, Mr. De Berdt, the sentiments of which he is directed to lay before the ministry ; wherein they take notice of the hardship of the act for preventing mutiny and desertion, which requires the governor and council to provide enumerated articles for the king's marching troops, and the people to pay the expense ; and also the commission of the gentlemen appointed commissioners of the customs, to reside in America, which authorizes them to make as many appointments as they think fit, and to pay the appointees what sums they please, for whose mal-conduct they are not accountable. From whence it may happen that officers of the crown may be multiplied to such a degree, as to become dangerous to the liberty of the people, by virtue of a commission which doth not appear to this house to derive any such advantages to trade as many have been led to expect.

These are the sentiments and proceedings of this house ; and as they have too much reason to believe that the enemies of the colonies have represented them to his majesty's ministers, and the parliament, as factious, disloyal, and having a disposition to make themselves independent of the mother country, they have taken occasion in the most humble terms, to assure his majesty and his ministers, that with regard to the people of this province, and as they doubt not of all the colonies, that the charge is unjust.

The house is fully satisfied that your assembly is too generous, and enlarged in sentiment, to believe that this letter proceeds from an ambition of taking the lead, or dictating to the other assemblies ; they freely submit their opinion to the judgment of others, and shall take it kind in your house to point out to them any thing further that may be thought necessary.

This house cannot conclude without expressing their firm confidence in the king, our common head and father, that the united and dutiful supplications of his distressed American subjects will meet with his royal and favourable acceptance."

After the circulation of this alarming letter, wherever any of the governors had permitted the legislative bodies to meet, an answer was returned by the assemblies replete with encomiums on the exertion and the zeal of the Massachusetts. They observed that the spirit that dictated that letter was but a transcript of their own feelings ; and that though equally impressed with every sentiment of respect to the prince on the throne of Britain, and feeling the strongest attachment to the house of Hanover, they could not but reject with disdain the late measures, so repugnant to the dignity of the crown and the true interest of the realm ; and that at every hazard they were determined to resist all acts of parliament for the injurious purpose of raising a revenue in America. They also added, that they had respectively offered the most humble supplications to the king ; that they had remonstrated to both houses of parliament, and had directed their agents at the British court to leave no effort untried to obtain relief, without being compelled to what might be deemed by royalty an illegal mode of opposition.

In consequence of the spirited proceedings of the house of representatives, the general assembly of Massachusetts was dissolved by

the governor, nor were they suffered to meet again until a new election. These transactions were carefully transmitted to administration by several of the plantation governors, and particularly Mr. Bernard, with inflammatory observations of his own, interlarded with the most illiberal abuse of the principal leaders of the late measures in the assembly of Massachusetts.

Their charter, which still provided for the election of the legislature, obliged the governor to summon a new assembly to meet May 24, 1768. The first communication laid before the house by the governor contained a haughty requisition from the British minister of state, directing in his majesty's name that the present house should immediately *rescind* the resolutions of a former one, which had produced the celebrated circular letter. Governor Bernard also intimated, that it was his majesty's pleasure, that on a non-compliance with this extraordinary mandate, the present assembly should be dissolved without delay.

What heightened the resentment to the manner of this singular order, signed by Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for the American department, was, that he therein intimated to the governor that he need not fear the most *unqualified obedience* on his part to the high measures of administration, assuring him that it would not operate to his disadvantage, as care would be taken in future to provide for his interest, and to support the dignity of government, without the interpositions or existence of a provincial legislature.

These messages were received by the representative body with a steadiness and resolution becoming the defenders of the rights of a free people. After appointing a committee to consider and prepare an answer to them, they proceeded with great coolness to the usual business of the session, without further notice of what had passed.

Within a day or two, they received a second message from the governor, purporting that he expected an immediate and an explicit answer to the authoritative requisition; and that if they longer postponed their resolutions, he should consider their delay as an "*oppugnation to his majesty's authority*," and a negative to the command, by an expiring faction." On this, the house desired time to consult their constituents on such an extraordinary question. This was peremptorily and petulantly refused.

The committee appointed to answer the governor's several messages, were gentlemen of known attachment to the cause of their country, who on every occasion had rejected all servile compliances with ministerial requisitions. They were not long on the business. When they returned to the house, the galleries were immediately cleared, and they reported an answer, bold and determined, yet decent and loyal. In the course of their reply, they observed that it was not an "*expiring faction*," that the governor had charged with "*oppugnation to his majesty's authority*," that it was the best blood of the colony who opposed the ministerial measures, men of reputa-

tion, fortune and rank, equal to any who enjoyed the smiles of government; that their exertions were from a conspicuous sense of duty to their God, to their king, to their country, and to posterity.\*

This committee at the same time reported a very spirited letter to Lord Hillsborough, which they had prepared to lay before the house. In this they remonstrated on the injustice as well as absurdity of a requisition, when a compliance was impracticable, even had they the inclination to rescind the doings of a former house. This letter was approved by the house, and on a division on the question of rescinding the vote of a former assembly, it was negatived by a majority of *ninety-two to seventeen*.

The same committee was immediately nominated to prepare a petition to the king to remove Mr. Bernard from the government of Massachusetts. They drew up a petition for this purpose without leaving the house, and immediately reported it. They alleged a long list of accusations against the governor, and requested his majesty that one more worthy to represent so *great* and *good* a king, might be sent to preside in the province. Thus impeached by the house, the same minority that had appeared ready to rescind the circular letter, declared themselves against the impeachment of Governor Bernard. Their servility was marked with peculiar odium: they were stigmatized by the appellation of the *infamous seventeen*, until their names were lost in a succession of great events and more important characters.

When the doors of the house were opened, the secretary who had been long in waiting for admission, informed the house that the governor was in the chair, and desired their attendance in the council chamber. They complied without hesitation, but were received in a most ungracious manner. With much ill humour the governor reprimanded them in the language of an angry pedagogue, instead of the manner becoming the first magistrate when addressing the representatives of a free people: he concluded his harangue by pro-roguing the assembly, which within a few days he dissolved by proclamation.

In the mean time by warm and virulent letters from this indiscreet governor; by others full of invective from the commissioners of the customs, and by the *secret influence* of some, who yet concealed themselves within the vizard of moderation, "who held the language of patriotism, but trod in the footsteps of tyranny," leave was obtained from administration to apply to the commander in chief of the king's troops, then at New-York, to send several regiments to Boston, as a necessary aid to civil government, which they represented as too weak to suppress the disorders of the times. It was urged

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\* The principal members of this committee, were Major Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, James Otis, Esq. of Boston, Samuel Adams, James Warren, of Plymouth, John Hancock, and Thomas Cushing, Esqrs.



that this step was absolutely necessary, to enable the officers of the crown to carry into execution the laws of the supreme legislature.

In this state of general apprehension, confusion and suspense, the inhabitants of Boston again requested Governor Bernard to convoke an assembly, and suffer the representatives of the whole people to consult and advise at this critical conjuncture. He rejected this application with an air of insult, and no time was to be lost. Letters were instantly forwarded from the capital, requesting a delegation of suitable persons to meet in convention from every town in the province before the arrival of the troops, and if possible to take some steps to prevent the fatal effects of these dangerous and unprecedented measures.

The whole country felt themselves interested, and readily complied with the proposal. The most respectable persons from an hundred and ninety-six towns were chosen delegates to assemble at Boston, on the twenty-second of September. They accordingly met at that time and place; as soon as they were convened, the governor sent them an angry message, admonishing them immediately to disperse, assuring them "the king was determined to maintain his entire sovereignty over the province,—that their present meeting might be in consequence of their ignorance,—but that if after this admonition, they continued their *usurpation*, they might repent their temerity, as he was determined to assert the authority of the crown in a more public manner, if they continued to disregard this authoritative warning."

He however found he had not men to deal with, either ignorant of law, regardless of its sanctions, or terrified by the frowns of power. The convention made him a spirited but decent answer, containing the reasons of their assembling, and the line of conduct they were determined to pursue in spite of every menace. The governor refused to receive their reply; he urged the illegality of the assembly, and made use of every subterfuge to interrupt their proceedings.

Their situation was indeed truly delicate, as well as dangerous. The convention was a body not known in the constitution of their government, and in the strict sense of law it might be styled a treasonable meeting. They still professed fealty to the crown of Britain; and though the principle had been shaken by injuries, that might have justified a more sudden renunciation of loyalty, yet their's was cherished by a degree of religious scruple, amidst every species of insult. Thus while they wished to support this temper, and to cherish their former affection, they felt with poignancy the invasion of their rights, and hourly expected the arrival of an armed force, to back the threatenings of their first magistrate.

Great prudence and moderation however marked the transactions of an assembly of men thus circumstanced; they could in their present situation only recapitulate their sufferings, felt and feared. This they did in a pointed and nervous style, in a letter addressed to Mr. De Berdt, the agent of the province, residing in London.

They stated the circumstances that occasioned their meeting, and a full detail of their proceedings. They inclosed him a petition to the king, and ordered their agent to deliver it with his own hand. The convention then separated, and returned to their respective towns, where they impressed on their constituents the same perseverance, forbearance and magnanimity that had marked their own resolutions.

Within a few days after their separation, the troops arrived from Halifax. This was inded a painful era. *The American war may be dated from the hostile parade of this day*; a day which marks with infamy the councils of Britain. At this period, the inhabitants of the colonies almost universally breathed an unshaken loyalty to the king of England, and the strongest attachment to a country whence they derived their origin. Thus was the astonishment of the whole province excited, when to the grief and consternation of the town of Boston several regiments were landed, and marched sword in hand through the principal streets of their city, then in profound peace.

The disembarkation of the king's troops, which took place on the first of October, 1768, was viewed by a vast crowd of spectators, who beheld the solemn prelude to devastation and bloodshed with a kind of sullen silence, that denoted the deepest resentment. Yet whatever might be the feelings of the citizens, not one among the gazing multitude discovered any disposition to resist by arms the power and authority of the king of Great Britain. This appearance of decent submission and order was very unexpected to some, whose guilty fears had led them to expect a violent and tumultuous resistance to the landing of a large body of armed soldiers in the town. The peaceable demeanor of the people was construed, by the party who had brought this evil on the city, as a mark of abject submission.

As they supposed from the present acquiescent deportment, that the spirit of the inhabitants was totally subdued on the first appearance of military power, they consequently rose in their demands. General Gage arrived from New-York soon after the king's troops reached Boston. With the aid of the governor, the chief justice of the province, and the sheriff of the county of Suffolk, he forced quarters for his soldiers in all the unoccupied houses in the town. The council convened on this occasion opposed the measure; but to such a height was the insolence of power pushed, by their passionate, vindictive and wrong-headed governor, that in spite of the remonstrances of several magistrates, and the importunities of the people, he suffered the state-house, where the archives of the province were deposited, to be improved as barracks for the king's troops. Thus the members of council, the magistrates of the town and the courts of justice were daily interrupted, and frequently challenged in their way to their several departments in business, by military sentinels posted at the doors.

A standing army thus placed in their capital, their commerce fettered, their characters traduced, their representative body prevented



meeting, the united petitions of all ranks that they might be convened at this critical conjuncture rejected by the governor; and still threatened with a further augmentation of troops to enforce measures in every view repugnant to the principles of the British constitution; little hope remained of a peaceful accommodation.

The most rational arguments had been urged by the legislative assemblies, by corporate bodies, associations, and individual characters of eminence, to shake the arbitrary system that augured evils to both countries. But their addresses were disdainfully rejected; the king and the court of Great-Britain appeared equally deaf to the cry of millions, who only asked a restoration of their rights. At the same time every worthless incendiary, who, taking advantage of these miserable times, crossed the Atlantic with a tale of accusation against his country, was listened to with attention, and rewarded with some token of royal favour.

In this situation, no remedy appeared to be left short of an appeal to the sword, unless an entire suspension of that commercial intercourse, which had contributed so much to the glory and grandeur of Britain, could be effected throughout the colonies. As all the American continent was involved in one common danger, it was not found difficult to obtain a general combination against all further importations from England, a few articles only excepted. The mercantile body through all the provinces entered into solemn engagements, and plighted their faith and honour to each other, and to their country, that no orders should be forwarded by them for British or India goods within a limited term, except for certain specified articles of necessary use. These engagements originated in Boston, and were for a time strictly adhered to through all the colonies. Great encouragement was given to American manufactures, and if pride of apparel was at all indulged, it was in wearing the stuffs fabricated in their own looms. Harmony and union, prudence and economy, industry and virtue, were inculcated in their publications, and enforced by the example of the most respectable characters.

In consequence of these determinations, the clamours of the British manufacturers arose to tumult in many parts of the kingdom; but no artifice was neglected to quiet the trading part of the nation. There were some Americans, who by letters encouraged administration to persevere in their measures relative to the colonies, assuring them, in the strongest terms, that the interruption of commerce was but a temporary struggle, or rather an effort of despair. No one in the country urged his opinion with more indiscreet zeal than Andrew Oliver, Esq. then secretary in the Massachusetts. He suggested, "that government should stipulate with the merchants in England to purchase large quantities of goods proper for the American market; agreeing beforehand to allow them a premium equal to the advance of their stock in trade, if the price of their goods was not sufficiently enhanced by a tenfold demand in future, even though the goods might lie on hand, till this temporary stagnation of business should



cease." He concluded his political rhapsody with this inhuman boast to his correspondent ; "*By such a step the game will be up with my countrymen.*"

The prediction on both sides the Atlantic, that this combination, which depended wholly on the commercial part of the community, could not be of long duration, proved indeed too true. A regard to private interest ever operates more forcibly on the bulk of mankind than the ties of honour, or the principles of patriotism.

The winter following, (1769) this salutary combination, a partial repeal of the act imposing duties on certain articles of British manufacture, took place. On this it immediately appeared that some in New-York had previously given conditional orders to their correspondents, that if the measures of Parliament should in any degree be relaxed, that without farther application they should furnish them with large quantities of goods. Several in the other colonies had discovered as much avidity for an early importation as the Yorkers. They had given similar orders, and both received larger supplies than usual, of British merchandize, early in the spring of 1769. The people of course considered the agreement nullified by the conduct of the merchants, and the intercourse with England for a time went on as usual, without any check. Thus, by breaking through the agreement within the limited time of restriction, a measure was defeated, which, had it been religiously observed, might have prevented the tragical consequences which ensued.

As the charter of Massachusetts was not yet annihilated, Governor Bernard found himself under a necessity, as the period of annual election approached, to issue writs to convene a general assembly. Accordingly a new house of representatives met at Boston as usual May 31st, 1769. They immediately petitioned the governor to remove the military parade that surrounded the state-house, urging, that such a hostile appearance might overawe their proceedings, and prevent the freedom of election and debate.

A unanimous resolve passed, "that it was the opinion of the house, that placing an armed force in the metropolis while the general assembly is there convened, is a breach of privilege, and totally inconsistent with the dignity and freedom with which they ought to deliberate and determine ;"—adding, "that they meant ever to support their constitutional rights, that they should never voluntarily recede from their just claims, contained both in the letter and spirit of the constitution."

After several messages both from the council and house of representatives, the governor, ever obstinate in error, declared he had no authority over the king's troops, nor should he use any influence to have them removed.\* Thus by express acknowledgment of the first magistrate, it appeared that the military was set so far above the civil authority, that the last was totally unable to check the wan-

ton exercise of this newly established power in the province. But the assembly peremptorily determined to do no business while thus insulted by the planting of cannon at the doors of the state-house, and interrupted in their solemn deliberations by the noisy evolutions of military discipline.

The royal charter required that they should proceed to the choice of a speaker, and the election of a council, the first day of the meeting of the assembly. They had conformed to this as usual, but protested against its being considered as a precedent on any future emergency. Thus amidst the warmest expressions of resentment from all classes, for the indignity offered a free people by this haughty treatment to their legislature, the governor suffered them to sit several weeks without doing business ; and at last compelled them to give way to an armed force, by adjourning the general assembly to Cambridge.

The internal state of the province required the attention of the house at this critical exigence of affairs. They therefore, on their first meeting at Cambridge, resolved, " that it was their opinion that the British constitution admits no armed force within the realm, but for the purpose of offensive and defensive war. That placing troops in the colony, in the midst of profound peace, was a breach of privilege, an infraction on the natural rights of the people, and manifestly subversive of that happy form of government they had hitherto enjoyed. That the honour, dignity, and service of the sovereign should be attended to by that assembly, so far as was consistent with the just rights of the people, their own dignity, and the freedom of debate ; but that proceeding to business while an armed force was quartered in the province, was not a dereliction of the privileges legally claimed by the colony, but from necessity, and that no undue advantage should be taken from their compliance."

After this, they had not time to do any other business, before two messages of a very extraordinary nature, in their opinion, were laid before them. The first was an order under the sign-manual of the king, that Mr. Bernard should repair to England to lay the state of the province before him. To this message was tacked a request from the governor, that as he attended his majesty's pleasure as commander in chief of the province, his salary might be continued, though absent. The substance of the other message was an account of General Gage's expenditures in quartering his troops in the town of Boston ; accompanied by an unqualified demand for the establishment of funds for the discharge thereof. The governor added, that he was requested by General Gage to make requisition for future provision for quartering his troops within the town.

The subsequent resolves of the house on these messages were conformable to the usual spirit of that assembly. They warmly censured both Governor Bernard and General Gage for wantonly acting against the constitution ; charged them with making false and injurious representations against his majesty's faithful subjects,



and discovering, on all occasions, a most inimical disposition towards the colonies. They observed that General Gage had rashly and impertinently intermeddled with affairs altogether out of his line, and that he had betrayed a degree of ignorance equal to his malice, when he presumed to touch on the civil police of the province. They complained heavily of the arbitrary designs of government, the introduction of a standing army, and the encroachments on civil liberty ; and concluded with a declaration replete with sentiments of men conscious of their own freedom and integrity, and deeply affected with the injuries offered their country. They observed, that to the utmost of their power they should vindicate the rights of human nature and the privileges of Englishmen, and explicitly declared that duty to their constituents forbade a compliance with either of these messages. This clear, decided answer being delivered, the governor summoned the house to attend, and after a short, angry, and threatening speech, he prorogued the assembly to January, 1770.

Governor Bernard immediately embarked for Europe, from whence he never more returned to a country, he had, by his arbitrary disposition and indiscreet conduct, inflamed to a degree, that required both judgment and prudence to cool, perhaps beyond the abilities, and certainly incompatible with the views, of the administration in being.

The province had little reason to suppose, that considerations of the interest of the people had any part in the recal or detention of this mischievous emissary. His reception at court, the summary proceedings with regard to his impeachment and trial, and the character of the man appointed to succeed him, strongly counteracted such a flattering opinion. Notwithstanding the high charges that had been alleged against Governor Bernard, he was acquitted by the king and council, without allowing time to the assembly to support their accusations, honoured with a title, and rewarded with a pension of one thousand pounds sterling per annum on the Irish establishment.”\*

Dr. Franklin was at this time in England, and was on intimate terms with Mr. Strahan, printer to the king, and member of Parliament. Anxious to conciliate, as far as possible, the two countries, he addressed to his friend Dr. Franklin, the following letter :—

“NOVEMBER 21, 1769.

*Dear Sir,*

In the many conversations we have had together about our present disputes with North America, we perfectly agreed in wishing they may be brought to a speedy and happy conclusion. How this is to be done, is not so easily ascertained.

*Two objects*, I humbly apprehend, his Majesty’s servants have now in contemplation. 1st. To relieve the colonies from the taxes complained of, which they certainly had no hand in imposing. 2dly,



To preserve the honour, the dignity, and the supremacy of the British legislature over all his Majesty's dominions.

As I know your singular knowledge of the subject in question, and am as fully convinced of your cordial attachment to his Majesty, and your sincere desire to promote the happiness equally of all his subjects ; I beg you would, in your own clear, brief, and explicit manner, send me an answer to the following questions : I make this request now, because this matter is of the utmost importance, and must very quickly be agitated. And I do it with the more freedom, as you know me and my motives too well to entertain the most remote suspicion that I will make an improper use of any information you shall hereby convey to me.

1st. Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of course no new imposition) fully satisfy the colonists ? If you answer in the negative,

2d. Your reasons for that opinion ?

3d. Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences, is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing of the late stamp-act ? If that is your opinion,

4th. Your reasons for that opinion ?

5th. If this last method is deemed by the legislature, and his Majesty's ministers, to be repugnant to their duty, as guardians of the just rights of the crown and of their fellow-subjects ; can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes consistent with the ideas of justice and propriety conceived by the king's subjects on both sides of the Atlantic ?

6th. And if this method was actually followed, do you not think it would actually encourage the violent and factious part of the colonists to aim at still farther concessions from the mother country ?

7th. If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man, and an equal friend to both sides, imagine will be the probable consequences ?

The answers to these questions, I humbly conceive, will include all the information I want ; and I beg you will favour me with them as soon as may be. Every well-wisher to the peace and prosperity of the British empire, and every friend to our truly-happy constitution, must be desirous of seeing even the most trivial causes of dissension among our fellow-subjects, removed. Our domestic squabbles, in my mind, are nothing to what I am speaking of. This you know much better than I do, and therefore I need add nothing farther to recommend this subject to your serious consideration. I am, with the most cordial esteem and attachment, dear sir, your faithful and affectionate humble servant,

W. S."

## THE ANSWER.

" CRAVEN-STREET, NOV. 29, 1769.

*Dear Sir,*

Being just returned to town from a little excursion, I find yours of the 21st, containing a number of queries that would require a pamphlet to answer them fully. You, however, desire only brief answers, which I shall endeavour to give.

Previous to your queries, you tell me, that you " apprehend his Majesty's servants have now in contemplation, 1st, to relieve the colonists from the taxes complained of ; 2. to preserve the honour, the dignity, and the supremacy of the British legislature over all his Majesty's dominions." I hope your information is good ; and that what you suppose to be in contemplation, will be carried into execution, by repealing all the laws that have been made for raising a revenue in America, by authority of Parliament, without the consent of the people there. The honour and dignity of the British legislature will not be hurt by such an act of justice and wisdom. The wisest councils are liable to be misled, especially in matters remote from their inspection. It is the persisting in an error, not the correcting it, that lessens the honour of any man or body of men. The supremacy of that legislature, I believe, will be best preserved by making a very sparing use of it ; never but for the evident good of the colonies themselves, or of the whole British empire ; never for the partial advantage of Britain to their prejudice. By such prudent conduct, I imagine that supremacy may be gradually strengthened, and in time fully established ; but otherwise, I apprehend it will be disputed, and lost in the dispute. At present the colonies consent and submit to it, for the regulations of general commerce ; but a submission to acts of Parliament was no part of their original constitution. Our former kings governed their colonies as they had governed their dominions in France, without the participation of British Parliaments. The Parliament of England never presumed to interfere in that prerogative till the time of the great rebellion, when they usurped the government of all the king's other dominions, Ireland, Scotland, &c. The colonies that held for the king, they conquered by force of arms, and governed afterwards as conquered countries : but New-England having not opposed the Parliament, was considered and treated as a sister kingdom in amity with England (as appears by the Journals, March 10, 1642.)

1st. " Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of course no new imposition) fully satisfy the colonists ?

*Answer.* I think not.

2d. " Your reasons for that opinion ?"

*A.* Because it is not the sum paid in that duty on tea that is complained of as a burden, but the principle of the act expressed in the preamble ; viz. That those duties were laid for the better sup-



port of government, and the administration of justice in the colonies. This the colonists think unnecessary, unjust, and dangerous to their most important rights. *Unnecessary*, because in all the colonies (two or three new ones excepted) government and the administration of justice were, and always had been, well supported without any charge to Britain: *unjust*, as it has made such colonies liable to pay such charge for others in which they had no concern or interest: *dangerous*, as such mode of raising money for those purposes tended to render their assemblies useless; for if a revenue could be raised in the colonies for all the purposes of government by act of parliament, without grants from the people there, governors, who do not generally love assemblies, would never call them: they would be laid aside; and when nothing should depend on the people's goodwill to government, their rights would be trampled on; they would be treated with contempt.—Another reason why I think they would not be satisfied with such a partial repeal is, that their agreements not to import till the repeal takes place, include the whole; which shows that they object to the whole; and those agreements will continue binding on them, if the whole is not repealed.

3d. 'Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences, is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing of the late stamp-act?'

A. I think so.

4th. 'Your reasons for that opinion?'

A. Other methods have been tried. They have been rebuked in angry letters. Their petitions have been refused or rejected by parliament. They have been threatened with the punishments of treason by resolves of both houses. Their assemblies have been dissolved, and troops have been sent among them: But all these ways have only exasperated their minds and widened the breach. Their agreements to use no more British manufactures have been strengthened; and these measures, instead of composing differences, and promoting a good correspondence, have almost annihilated your commerce with those countries, and greatly endanger the national peace and general welfare.

5th 'If this last method is deemed by the legislature and his Majesty's ministers to be repugnant to their duty as guardians of the just rights of the crown, and of their fellow-subjects; can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes, consistent with the ideas of justice and propriety conceived by the King's subjects on both sides the Atlantic?'

A. I do not see how that method can be deemed repugnant to the rights of the crown. If the Americans are put into their former situation, it must be by an act of parliament; in the passing of which by the king, the rights of the crown are exercised, not infringed. It is indifferent to the crown, whether the aids received from America are granted by parliament here, or by the assemblies there, provided the quantum be the same; and it is my opinion, that



more will be generally granted there voluntarily, than can ever be exacted or collected from thence by authority of parliament.—As to the rights of fellow-subjects (I suppose you mean the people of Britain) I cannot conceive how those will be infringed by that method. They will still enjoy the right of granting their own money, and may still, if it pleases them, keep up their claim to the right of granting ours; a right they can never exercise properly, for want of a sufficient knowledge of us, our circumstances and abilities (to say nothing of the little likelihood there is that we should ever submit to it) therefore a right that can be of no good use to them; and we shall continue to enjoy in fact the right of granting our money, with the opinion now universally prevailing among us, that we are free subjects of the king, and that fellow-subjects of one part of his dominions are not sovereigns over fellow-subjects in any other part.—If the subjects on the different sides of the Atlantic have different and opposite ideas of “justice and propriety,” no one “method” can possibly be consistent with both. The best will be, to let each enjoy their own opinions, without disturbing them, when they do not interfere with the common good.

6th. ‘And if this method were actually allowed, do you not think it would encourage the violent and factious part of the colonists to aim at still farther concessions from the mother country?’

A. I do not think it would. There may be a few among them that deserve the name of factious and violent, as there are in all countries; but these would have little influence, if the great majority of sober reasonable people were satisfied. If any colony should happen to think that some of your regulations of trade are inconvenient to the general interest of the empire, or prejudicial to them without being beneficial to you; they will state these matters to parliament in petitions as heretofore; but will, I believe, take no violent steps to obtain what they may hope for in time from the wisdom of government here. I know of nothing else they can have in view: the notion that prevails here of their being desirous to set up a kingdom or commonwealth of their own, is, to my certain knowledge, entirely groundless. I therefore think, that on a total repeal of all duties, laid expressly for the purpose of raising a revenue on the people of America, without their consent, the present uneasiness would subside; the agreements not to import would be dissolved; and the commerce flourish as heretofore;—and I am confirmed in this sentiment by all the letters I have received from America, and by the opinions of all the sensible people who have lately come from thence, crown officers excepted. I know, indeed, that the people of Boston are grievously offended by the quartering of troops among them,—as they think, contrary to law; and are very angry with the Board of Commissioners who have calumniated them to government;—but as I suppose the withdrawing of those troops may be a consequence of reconciling measures taking place; and that the commission also will be either dissolved if found useless, or filled with more tem-

perate and prudent men, if still deemed useful and necessary; I do not imagine these particulars would prevent a return of the harmony so much to be wished. (a)

7th. 'If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man, and an equal friend to both sides, imagine will be the probable consequence ?'

A. I imagine, that repealing the offensive duties in part will answer no end to this country; the commerce will remain obstructed, and the Americans go on with their schemes of frugality, industry, and manufactures, to their own great advantage. How much that may tend to the prejudice of Britain, I cannot say; perhaps not so much as some apprehend, since she may in time find new markets. But I think, if the union of the two countries continues to subsist, it will not hurt the general interest; for whatever wealth Britain loses by the failing of its trade with the colonies, America will gain; and the crown will receive equal aids from its subjects upon the whole, if not greater.

And now I have answered your questions as to what may be, in my opinion, the consequences of this or that supposed measure; I will go a little further, and tell you what I fear is more likely to come to pass in *reality*. I apprehend that the ministry, at least the American part of it, being fully persuaded of the right of parliament; think it ought to be enforced, whatever may be the consequences; and at the same time do not believe, there is even now any abatement of the trade between the two countries on account of these disputes; or that if there is, it is small, and cannot long continue. They are assured by the crown-officers in America, that manufactures are impossible there; that the discontented are few, and persons of little consequence; that almost all the people of property and importance are satisfied, and disposed to submit quietly to the taxing power of parliament; and that, if the revenue-acts are continued, and those duties only that are called anti-commercial be repealed, and others perhaps laid in their stead; power ere long will be patiently sub-

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(a) "The opposition to Lord Rockingham's administration" says Lord Chesterfield, "are for taking *vigorous*, as they call them, but I call them *violent* measures; not less than *les dragonades*; and to have the tax collected by the troops we have there. For my part, I never saw a froward child mended by whipping: and I would not have the mother become a step-mother." Letter, No. 360.

"It is a certain maxim," pleads Mr. Burke, "that the fewer causes of dissatisfaction are left by government, the more the subject will be inclined to resist and rebel?" "I confess I do not feel the least alarm from the discontents which are to arise from putting people at their ease. Nor do I apprehend the destruction of this empire; from giving, by an act of free grace and indulgence, to two millions of my fellow-citizens, some share of those rights, upon which I have always been taught to value myself." Speeches in 1774 and 1775. [Editor's note to *Franklin's work*.]



mitted to, and the agreements not to import be broken, when they are found to produce no change of measures here. From these and similar misinformations, which seem to be credited, I think it likely that no thorough redress of grievances will be afforded to America this session. This may inflame matters still more in that country; farther rash measures there, may create more resentment here; that may produce not merely ill-advised dissolutions of their assemblies, as last year, but attempts to dissolve their constitution; more troops may be sent over, which will create more uneasiness; to justify the measures of government, your writers will revile the Americans in your newspapers, as they have already begun to do; treating them as miscreants, rogues, dastards, rebels, &c. to alienate the minds of the people here from them, and which will tend farther to diminish their affections to this country. Possibly too, some of their warm patriots may be distracted enough to expose themselves by some mad action to be sent for hither; and government here be indiscreet enough to hang them, on the act of Henry VIII. Mutual provocations will thus go on to complete the separation; and instead of that cordial affection that once and so long existed, and that harmony so suitable to the circumstances, and so necessary to the happiness, strength, safety, and welfare of both countries; an implacable malice and mutual hatred, such as we now see subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Genoese and Corsicans, from the same original misconduct in the superior governments, will take place: the sameness of nation, the similarity of religion, manners, and language, not in the least preventing in our case, more than it did in theirs.—I hope, however, that this may all prove false prophecy, and that you and I may live to see as sincere and perfect a friendship established between our respective countries, as has so many years subsisted between Mr. Strahan, and his truly affectionate old friend,

B. FRANKLIN.”

“Soon after the recal of Mr. Bernard, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. a native of Boston, was appointed to the government of Massachusetts. All who yet remember his pernicious administration and the fatal consequences that ensued, agree, that few ages have produced a more fit instrument for the purposes of a corrupt court. He was dark, intriguing, insinuating, haughty and ambitious, while the extreme of avarice marked each feature of his character. His abilities were little elevated above the line of mediocrity; yet by dint of industry, exact temperance, and indefatigable labour, he became master of the accomplishments necessary to acquire popular fame. Though bred a merchant, he had looked into the origin and the principles of the British constitution, and made himself acquainted with the several forms of government established in the colonies; he had acquired some knowledge of the *common law* of England, diligently



studied the intricacies of *Machiavelian* policy, and never failed to commend the Italian master as a model to his adherents.

It was known at St. James's, that in proportion as Mr. Hutchinson gained the confidence of administration, he lost the esteem of the best of his countrymen ; for this reason, his advancement to the chair of government was for a time postponed or concealed, lest the people should consider themselves insulted by such an appointment, and become too suddenly irritated. Appearances had for several years been strong against him, though it was not then fully known that he had seized the opportunity to undermine the happiness of the people, while he had their fullest confidence, and to barter the liberties of his country by the most shameless duplicity. This was soon after displayed beyond all contradiction, by the recovery of sundry letters to administration under his signature.

Mr. Hutchinson was one of the first in America who felt the full weight of popular resentment. His furniture was destroyed, and his house levelled to the ground, in the tumults occasioned by the news of the stamp-act. Ample compensation was indeed afterwards made him for the loss of property, but the strong prejudices against his political character were never eradicated.

All pretences to moderation on the part of the British government being now laid aside, the full appointment of Mr. Hutchinson to the government of the Massachusetts was publicly announced at the close of the year 1769. On his promotion the new governor uniformly observed a more high-handed and haughty tone than his predecessor. He immediately, by an explicit declaration, avowed his independence on the people, and informed the legislative that his majesty had made ample provision for his support without their aid or suffrages. The vigilant guardians of the rights of the people directly called upon him to relinquish the unconstitutional stipend, and to accept the free grants of the general assembly for his subsistence, as usually practised. He replied that an acceptance of this offer would be a breach of his instructions from the king. This was his constant apology for every arbitrary step.

Secure of the favour of his sovereign, and now regardless of the popularity he had formerly courted with such avidity, he decidedly rejected the idea of responsibility to, or dependence on, the people. With equal inflexibility he disregarded all arguments used for the removal of the troops from the capital, and permission to the council and house of representatives to return to the usual seat of government. He silently heard their solicitations for this purpose, and as if with a design to pour contempt on their supplications and complaints, he within a few days after withdrew a garrison, in the pay of the province, from a strong fortress in the harbour of Boston ; placed two regiments of the king's troops in their stead, and delivered the keys of the castle to Colonel Dalrymple, who then commanded the king's troops through the province.

These steps, which seemed to bid defiance to complaint, created new fears in the minds of the people. It required the utmost vigilance to quiet the murmurs and prevent the fatal consequences apprehended from the ebullitions of popular resentment. But cool, deliberate and persevering, the two houses continued to resolve, remonstrate, and protest, against the infractions on their charter, and every dangerous innovation of their rights and privileges. Indeed the intrepid and spirited conduct of those, who stood forth undaunted at this early crisis of hazard, will dignify their names so long as the public records shall remain to witness their patriotic firmness.

Many circumstances rendered it evident that the ministerial party wished a spirit of opposition to the designs of the court might break out into violence, even at the expense of blood. This they thought would in some degree have sanctioned a measure suggested by one of the faction in America, devoted to the arbitrary system, "That some method must be devised, to take off the original *incendiaries*, whose writings instilled the poison of sedition through the vehicle of the Boston Gazette."

Had this advice been followed, and a few gentlemen of integrity and ability, who had spirit sufficient to make an effort in favour of their country in each colony, have been seized at the same moment, and immolated early in the contest on the bloody altar of power, perhaps Great Britain might have held the continent in subjection a few years longer.

That they had measures of this nature in contemplation there is not a doubt. Several instances of a less atrocious nature confirmed this opinion, and the turpitude of design which at this period actuated the court party was clearly evinced by the attempted assassination of the celebrated Mr. Otis, justly deemed the first martyr to American freedom; and truth will enrol his name among the most distinguished patriots who have expired on the "blood-stained theatre of human action."

Fearless of consequences, Mr. Otis had always given the world his opinions both in his writings and his conversation, and had recently published some severe strictures on the conduct of the commissioners of the customs and others of the ministerial party, and bidding defiance to resentment, he supported his allegations by the signature of his name.

A few days after this publication appeared, Mr. Otis, with only one gentleman in company, was suddenly assaulted in a public room, by a band of ruffians armed with swords and bludgeons. They were headed by John Robinson, one of the commissioners of the customs. The lights were immediately extinguished, and Mr. Otis covered with wounds was left for dead, while the assassins made their way through the crowd which began to assemble; and before their crime was discovered, fortunately for themselves, they escaped soon enough to take refuge on board one of the king's ships which then lay in the harbour.



The party had a complete triumph in this guilty deed ; for though the wounds did not prove mortal, the consequences were tenfold worse than death. The future usefulness of this distinguished *friend* of his country was destroyed, reason was shaken from its throne, genius obscured, and the great man in ruins lived several years for his friends to weep over, and his country to lament the deprivation of talents admirably adapted to promote the highest interests of society.

This catastrophe shocked the feelings of the virtuous, not less than it raised the indignation of the brave. Yet a remarkable spirit of forbearance continued for a time, owing to the respect still paid to the opinions of this unfortunate gentleman, whose voice though always opposed to the strides of despotism was ever loud against all tumultuous and illegal proceedings. He was after a partial recovery sensible himself of his incapacity for the exercise of talents that had shone with peculiar lustre, and often invoked the messenger of death to give him a sudden release from a life become burdensome in every view, but when the calm interval of a moment permitted him the recollection of his own integrity. In one of those intervals of beclouded reason he forgave the murderous band, after the principal ruffian had asked pardon in a court of justice ;\* and at the intercession of the gentleman whom he had so grossly abused, the people forebore inflicting that summary vengeance which was generally thought due to so black a crime.

Mr. Otis lived to see the independence of America, though in a state of mind incapable of enjoying fully the glorious event which his own exertions had precipitated. After several years of mental derangement, as if in consequence of his own prayers, his great soul was instantly set free by a flash of lightning, from the evils in which the love of his country had involved him. His death took place in May, 1763."

On the news of his death, Mr. Adams, then in Paris, wrote thus to his friend, Mrs. Warren :—" Extraordinary in death as in life, he has left a character that will never die while the memory of the American revolution remains ; whose foundation he laid with an energy, and with those masterly abilities, which no other man possessed."

" The inhabitants of Boston had suffered almost every species of insult from the British soldiery ; who, countenanced by the royal party, had generally found means to screen themselves from the hand of the civil officers. Thus all authority rested on the point of the sword, and the partizans of the crown triumphed for a time in the plenitude of military power. Yet the measure and the manner

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\* On a civil process commenced against him, John Robinson was adjudged to pay five thousand pounds sterling damages ; but Mr. Otis desisting all pecuniary compensation, relinquished it on the culprit's asking pardon, and setting his signature to a very humble acknowledgment.



of posting troops in the capital of the province, had roused such jealousy and disgust, as could not be subdued by the scourge that hung over their heads. Continual bickerings took place in the streets between the soldiers and the citizens; the insolence of the first, which had been carried so far as to excite the African slaves to murder their masters, with the promise of impunity,\* and the indiscretion of the last, was often productive of tumults and disorder that led the most cool and temperate to be apprehensive of consequences of the most serious nature.”†

On the second of March, 1770, a fray took place in Boston, near Mr. Gray's rope-walk, between a private soldier of the 29th regiment, and an inhabitant. The former was supported by his comrades, the latter by the rope-makers, till several, on both sides, were involved in the consequences. On the fifth a more dreadful scene was presented. The soldiers, when under arms, were pressed upon, insulted and pelted by a mob armed with clubs, sticks, and snow balls covering stones. They were also dared to fire. In this situation, one of the soldiers, who had received a blow, in resentment fired at the supposed aggressor. This was followed by a single discharge from six others. Three of the inhabitants were killed, and five were dangerously wounded. The town was immediately in commotion. Such was the temper, force, and number of the inhabitants, that nothing but an engagement to remove the troops out of the town, together with the advice of moderate men, prevented the townsmen from falling on the soldiers. The killed were buried in one vault, and in a most respectful manner, in order to express the indignation of the inhabitants at the slaughter of their brethren, by soldiers quartered among them, in violation of their civil liberties. Captain Preston, who commanded the party which fired on the inhabitants, was committed to jail, and afterwards tried. The captain, and six of the men, were acquitted. Two were brought in guilty of manslaughter. It appeared, on the trial, that the soldiers were abused, insulted, threatened and pelted, before they fired. It was also proved, that only seven guns were fired by the eight prisoners. These circumstances induced the jury to make a favourable verdict. The result of the trial reflected great honour on John Adams, (the late President of the United States) and Josiah Quincy, Esqrs. the counsel for the prisoners; and also on the integrity of the jury, who ventured to give an upright verdict, in defiance of popular opinions.

“The people, not dismayed by the blood of their neighbours thus wantonly shed, determined no longer to submit to the insolence of military power. Col. Dalrymple, who commanded in Boston, was informed the day after the riot in King-Street, “that he must with-

\* Capt. Wilson, of the 29th regiment, was detected in this infamous practice; and it was proved beyond a doubt by the testimony of some respectable citizens, who declared on oath, that they had accidentally witnessed the offer of reward to the blacks, by some subaltern officers, if they would rob and murder their masters.

† Mrs. Warren's History, p. 52.

draw his troops from the town within a limited term, or hazard the consequences."

The inhabitants of the town assembled in Faneuil Hall, where the subject was discussed with becoming spirit, and the people unanimously resolved, that no armed force should be suffered longer to reside in the capital ; that if the king's troops were not immediately withdrawn by their own officers, the governor should be requested to give orders for their removal, and thereby prevent the necessity of more rigorous steps. A committee from the body was deputed to wait on the governor, and request him to exert that authority which the exigencies of the times required from the supreme magistrate. Mr. Samuel Adams, the chairman of the committee, with a pathos and address peculiar to himself, exposed the illegality of quartering troops in the town in the midst of peace ; he urged the apprehensions of the people, and the fatal consequences that might ensue if their removal was delayed.

But no arguments could prevail on Mr. Hutchinson ; who either from timidity, or some more censurable cause, evaded acting at all in the business, and grounded his refusal on a pretended want of authority. After which, Col. Dalrymple, wishing to compromise the matter, consented that the twenty-ninth regiment, more culpable than any other in the late tumult, should be sent to Castle Island. This concession was by no means satisfactory ; the people, inflexible in their demands, insisted that not one British soldier should be left within the town ; their requisition was reluctantly complied with, and within four days the whole army decamped."

The circumstances and probable consequences of the tragical affair just related sunk deep into the minds of the people, and were turned to the advantage of their cause. Its anniversary, for many years, was observed with great solemnity, and the most eloquent orators were successively employed to deliver an annual oration\* to preserve the remembrance of it fresh in their minds. On these occasions the blessings of liberty—the horrors of slavery—the dangers of a standing army—the rights of the colonies, and a variety of such topics, were represented to the public view under their most pleasing and alarming forms. These annual orations administered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an incessant flame.

In 1773, the spirit of the Americans broke out into open violence. The *Gaspee*, an armed schooner belonging to his Britannic Majesty, had been stationed at Providence, Rhode Island, to prevent smuggling. The vigilance of the commander irritated the inhabitants to that degree, that about two hundred armed men entered the vessel at night, compelled the officers and men to go ashore, and set fire to the schooner. A reward of five hundred pounds, offered by government

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\* It was on these orations that Mr. Adams proposed to write "*Annals of the American Revolution.*"



for apprehending any of the persons concerned in this daring act, produced no effectual discovery.

About this time, the discovery and publication of some private confidential letters, written by the royal officers in Boston,\* to persons in office in England, served to confirm the apprehensions of the Americans, with respect to the designs of the British government. It was now made obvious that more effectual measures would be taken to establish the supremacy of the British parliament over the colonies. The letters recommended decisive measures, and the writers were charged, by the exasperated Americans, with betraying their trust and the people they governed.

The duplicity of Mr. Hutchinson was laid open by these letters, under his signature, written to some individuals in the British cabinet. They were obtained by the vigilance of some friends in England, and sent to America.

A few extracts from the letters of Mr. Hutchinson to Mr. Jackson, Bollen, and others, the year previous to the disturbance in March, 1770, fully evince his sentiments of stationing and retaining troops in the capital of the Massachusetts.

“ Boston, January, 1769.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I sent you under a blank cover, by way of Bristol and Glasgow, the account of proceedings in New-York assembly, which you will find equal to those of the Massachusetts. Perhaps if they had no troops, the people too would have run riot as we did. Five or six men of war, and three or four regiments, disturb nobody but some of our grave people, who do not love assemblies and concerts, and cannot bear the noise of drums upon a Sunday. I know I have not slept in town any three months these two years, in so much tranquillity, as I have done the three months since the troops came.”

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Bollen to Mr. Hutchinson.*

“ Henrietta Street, August 11, 1767.

“ Mr. Paxton has several times told me, that you and some other of my friends were of opinion, that standing troops were necessary to support the authority of the government at Boston, and that he was authorized to inform me this was your and their opinion. I need not say that I hold in the greatest abomination such outrages that have taken place among you, and am sensible it is the duty of all charter, or other subordinate governments, to take due care, and punish such proceedings; and that all governments must be supported by force, when necessary; yet we must remember how often standing forces have introduced greater mischiefs than they retrieved, and I am apprehensive that your distant situation from the centre of all civil and military power, might in this case, sooner or later, subject you to peculiar difficulties.

“ When Malcolm’s bad behaviour made a stir here, a minister who seemed inclined to make use of standing forces, supposing this might not be agreeable to me, I avoided giving an opinion, which then appeared needless and improper, but afterwards, when it was confidently said, that preparations were making to send a considerable number of standing troops, in order to compel obedience, I endeavour’d to prevent it.”

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\* Gov. Hutchinson, Oliver, &c.



Mr. Bollan goes on to observe, that "he had informed some influential gentlemen in England, that he had the highest reason to believe, that whoever should be instrumental in sending over standing troops to America, would be cursed to all posterity."

Extract from Governor Hutchinson's letters to Governor Pownal. It is uncertain on what occasion the following assertion was made, but it discovers the spirit and wishes of the writer.

"Boston, June 22, 1772.

"The union of the colonies is pretty well broke; I hope I shall never see it renewed. Indeed our sons of liberty are hated and despised by their former brethren in New-York and Pennsylvania, and it must be something very extraordinary ever to reconcile them."

Extracts from Mr. Hutchinson's letters to Mr. Jackson, Pownal, and others.

"Boston, August 27, 1772.

"But before America is settled in peace, it would be necessary to go to the bottom of all the disorder, which has been so long neglected already. The opinion that every colony has a legislature within itself, the acts and doings of which are not to be controlled by parliament, and that no legislative power ought to be exercised over the colonies, except by their respective legislatures, gains ground every day: our news-papers publicly announce this independence every week; and, what is much more, there is scarcely an assembly which has not done it at one time or another. The assembly of this province has done as much the last session by their public votes and resolves, and by an address which they have sent to Doctor Franklin, to be presented to the king; so there is sufficient grounds for parliament to proceed, if there is a disposition. What, it will be said, can be done? A test as general as the oaths required instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, would be most effectual; but this there is reason to fear would throw America into a general confusion, and I doubt the expediency. But can less be done than affixing penalties, and disqualifications or incapacities, upon all who by word or writing *shall deny or call in question the supreme authority of parliament* over all parts of the British dominions? Can it be made necessary for all judges to be under oath, to observe all acts of parliament in their judgments? And may not the oaths of all jurors, grand and petit, be so framed as to *include all acts of parliament as the rule of law*, as well as law in general terms? And for assemblies or bodies of men, who shall deny the authority of parliament, may not all their subsequent proceedings be declared to be *ipso facto* null and void, and every member who shall continue to act in such assembly be subject to penalties and incapacities? I suggest these things for consideration. Every thing depends upon the settlement of this *grand point*. If the people were convinced that the British nation with one voice condemned the doctrine, or that parliament at all events, was determined to maintain its supremacy, we should soon be quiet. If nothing more can be done, there must be further provisions for carrying the act of trade into execution, which I am informed administration are very sensible of, and have measures in contemplation. Thus you have a few of my sudden thoughts, which I must pray you not to communicate as coming from me."

TO MR. JACKSON.

"If I consulted nothing but my own ease and quiet, I would propose neglect and contempt of every affront offered to parliament by the little American

assemblies, but I should be false to the King, and betray the trust he has reposed in me.

"To prevent a general revolt, the naval power may for a long course of years be sufficient, but to preserve the peace of the colonies, and to continue them beneficial to the mother country, this will be to little purpose."

"JOHN POWNAL, Esq.

"You know I have been begging for measures to maintain the supremacy of parliament. Whilst it is suffered to be denied, all is confusion, and the opposition to government is continually gaining strength."

"Previous to the discovery of these letters there were many persons in the province who could not be fully convinced, that at the same period when he had put on the guise of compassion to his country, when he had promised all his influence to obtain some relaxation of the coercive system, that at that moment Mr. Hutchinson should be so lost to the ideas of sincerity, as to be artfully plotting new embarrassments to the colonies in general, and the most mischievous projects against the province he was entrusted to govern."

An account of these famous letters is given in Franklin's Works, which is of sufficient interest and importance to be here introduced.

Dr. Franklin, having presented to the Lord's Committee of his Majesty's Privy Council for Plantation affairs, the Address of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, praying for the removal of Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, was summoned to appear Jan. 11, 1774, at the Council Chamber for examination on the subject of the Address.

*Present, Lord President, the Secretaries of State, and many other Lords; Dr. Franklin and Mr. Bollan; Mr. Mauduit and Mr. Wedderburn.*

*[Dr. Franklin's Letter and the Address, Mr. Pownal's Letter, and Mr. Mauduit's Petition, were read.]*

*Mr. Wedderburn.* The address mentions *certain papers*: I could wish to be informed what are those papers.

*Dr. Franklin.* They are the letters of Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver.

*Court.* Have you brought them?

*Dr. Franklin.* No; but here are attested copies.

*Court.* Do you mean to found a charge upon them? if you do, you must produce the letters.

*Dr. Franklin.* These copies are attested by several gentlemen at Boston, and a Notary Public.

*Mr. Wedderburn.* My Lords, we shall not take advantage of any imperfection in the proof. We admit that the letters are Mr. Hutchinson's and Mr. Oliver's hand writing: reserving to ourselves the right of inquiring how they were obtained.

*Dr. Franklin.* I did not expect that counsel would have been employed on this occasion.

*Court.* Had you not notice sent you of Mr. Mauduit's having petitioned to be heard by counsel on behalf of the governor and lieutenant-governor.

*Dr. Franklin.* I did receive such notice ; but I thought this had been a matter of *politics*, not of law, and have not brought my counsel.

*Court.* Where a charge is brought, the parties have a right to be heard by counsel or not, as they choose.

*Mr. Mauduit.* My Lords, I am not a native of that country, as these gentlemen are. I know well Dr. Franklin's abilities, and wish to put the defence of my friends more upon a parity with the attack ; he will not therefore wonder that I choose to appear before your lordships with the assistance of counsel. My friends, in their letters to me, have desired (if any proceedings, as they say, should be had upon this address) that they may have a hearing in their own justification, that their innocence may be fully cleared, and their honour vindicated ; and have made provision accordingly. I do not think myself at liberty therefore to give up the assistance of my counsel, in defending them against this unjust accusation.

*Court.* Dr. Franklin may have the assistance of counsel, or go on without it, as he shall choose.

*Dr. Franklin.* I desire to have counsel.

*Court.* What time do you want ?

*Dr. Franklin.* Three weeks.

*Ordered* that the further proceedings be on Saturday, 29th instant.

The privy council accordingly met on the 29th of January, 1774 ; when Mr. Dunning and Mr. John Lee appeared as counsel for the assembly, and Mr. Wedderburn as counsel for the governor and lieutenant-governor. Mr. Wedderburn was very long in his answer ; which chiefly related to the mode of obtaining and sending away Mr. Whately's letters ; and spoke of Dr. Franklin in terms of abuse, which never escape from one gentleman towards another.—In the event, the committee of the privy council made a report, in which was expressed the following opinion. 'The Lords of the committee do agree humbly to report, as their opinion to your Majesty, that the petition is founded upon resolutions formed on false and erroneous allegations ; and is groundless, vexatious, and scandalous ; and calculated only for the seditious purposes of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the said province. And the Lords of the committee do further humbly report to your majesty, that nothing has been laid before them which does or can, in their opinion, in any manner, or in any degree, impeach the honour, integrity, or conduct of the said governor or lieutenant-governor ; and their Lordships are humbly of opinion, that the said petition ought to be dismissed.'

Feb. 7th, 1774. 'His Majesty taking the said report into consid-



eration, was pleased, with the advice of his privy council, to approve thereof; and to order that the said petition of the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay be dismissed the board—as groundless, vexatious, and scandalous; and calculated only for the seditious purpose of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the said province.\*—A former petition against Governor Bernard met with a dismissal couched in similar terms.

*To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.\**

SIR,

Finding that two gentlemen have been unfortunately engaged in a duel about a transaction and its circumstances, of which both of them are totally ignorant and innocent; I think it incumbent upon me to declare (for the prevention of farther mischief, as far as such a declaration may contribute to prevent it) that I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question. Mr. W. could not communicate them, because they were never in his possession; and for the same reason, they could not be taken from him by Mr. T.—They were not of the nature of *private* letters between friends. They were written by public officers to persons in public stations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were therefore handed to other public persons who might be influenced by them to produce those measures. Their tendency was to incense the mother-country against her colonies, and, by the steps recommended, to widen the breach; which they effected.—The chief caution expressed with regard to privacy, was, to keep their contents from the colony agents; who the writers apprehended might return them, or copies of them to America. That apprehension was, it seems, well founded; for the first agent who laid his hands on them, thought it his duty to transmit them to his constituents.

*Craven Street, Dec. 25, 1773.*

B. FRANKLIN,

*Agent for the House of Representatives  
of the Massachusetts Bay.*

“It was in consequence of this letter that Mr. Wedderburn ventured to make the most odious personal applications. Mr. Mauduit has prudently omitted part of them, in his account of the proceedings

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\*Some letters had passed in the public prints between Mr. Thomas Whately's brother and Mr. John Temple, concerning the manner in which the letters of Governor Hutchinson, &c. had escaped from among the papers of Mr. Thomas Whately, at this time deceased.

The one gentleman wished to avoid the charge of having given them; the other of having taken them. At length the dispute became so personal and pointed, that Mr. Temple thought it necessary to call the brother into the field. The letter of provocation appeared in the morning, and the parties met in the afternoon. Dr. Franklin was not then in town; it was after some interval that he received the intelligence. What had passed he could not foresee; he endeavoured to prevent what still might follow.

before the privy council. They are given here altogether however, (as well as they could be collected,) to mark the politics of the times, and the nature of the censures passed in England upon Dr. Franklin's character.

'The letters could not have come to Dr. Franklin,' said Mr. Wedderburn, 'by fair means. The writers did not give them to him; nor yet did the deceased correspondent, who from our intimacy would otherwise have told me of it: Nothing then will acquit Dr. Franklin of the charge of obtaining them by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes; unless he stole them, from the person who stole them. This argument is irrefragable.'—

'I hope, my lords, you will mark [and brand] the man, for the honour of this country, of Europe, and of mankind. Private correspondence has hitherto been held sacred, in times of the greatest party rage, not only in politics but religion.—'He has forfeited all the respect of societies and of men. Into what companies will he hereafter go with an unembarrassed face, or the honest intrepidity of virtue. Men will watch him with a jealous eye; they will hide their papers from him, and lock up their escrutoires. He will henceforth esteem it a libel to be called *a man of letters*; *homo trium literatum*!'

'But he not only took away the letters from one brother; but kept himself concealed till he nearly occasioned the murder of the other. It is impossible to read his account, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malice, without horror.' [*Here he read the letter above; Dr. Franklin being all the time present.*] 'Amidst these tragical events, of one person nearly murdered, of another answerable for the issue, of a worthy governor hurt in his dearest interests, the fate of America in suspense; here is a man, who with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare it only to Zanga in Dr. Young's *Revenge*.

"Know then 'twas—I:  
I forged the letter, I disposed the picture;  
I hated, I despised, and I destroy."

'I ask, my Lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed, by poetic fiction only, to the bloody African, is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?'

These pleadings for a time worked great effect: The lords assented, the town was convinced, Dr. Franklin was disgraced,\* and Mr. Wedderburn seemed in the road for every kind of advancement.—Unfortunately for Mr. Wedderburn, the events of the war did not correspond with his systems. Unfortunately too for his "irrefragable argument," Dr. Franklin afterwards took an oath in chancery, that at the time that he transmitted the letters, he was ignorant of the party to whom they had been addressed; having himself received them from a third person, and for the express purpose of their being conveyed to America. Unfortunately also for Mr. Wedderburn's "worthy governor," that governor himself, *before* the arrival of Dr.

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\* He was dismissed from his place in the Post-office.

Franklin's packet in Boston, sent over one of Dr. Franklin's own "private" letters to England; expressing some little coyness indeed upon the occasion, but desiring secrecy, lest he should be prevented procuring *more* useful intelligence from the same source. Whether Mr. Wedderburn in his speech intended to draw a particular case and portraiture, for the purpose only of injuring Dr. Franklin; or meant that his language and epithets should apply generally to all, whether friends or foes, whose practice should be found similar to it; is a matter that must be left to be adjusted between Governor Hutchinson and Mr. Wedderburn.

But to return to Dr. Franklin. It was not singular perhaps that as a man of honour, he should surrender his name to public scrutiny in order to prevent mischief to others, and yet not betray his coadjutor (even to the present moment,) to relieve his own fame from the severest obloquy; but perhaps it belonged to few besides Dr. Franklin, to possess mildness and magnanimity enough, to refrain from intemperate expressions and measures, against Mr. Wedderburn and his supporters, after all that had passed."

Soon after this Dr. Franklin returned to America.

Mr. Walsh, in his usual style of classical eloquence, referring to this singular affair, says,—

"The discussion of the merits of the petition before the Privy Council, took place on the 29th of January, 1774; Franklin was present, accompanied by some few friends, and the lawyers employed for the colony. Mr. Wedderburn, the Solicitor General of the Crown, appeared as counsel for Hutchinson and his accomplices; or, rather, as the gladiator of the ministers, who had fixed upon this occasion for the prostration of the American advocate, and had assembled a number of their friends to witness the edifying spectacle. Wedderburn gave himself little trouble about vindicating his nominal clients, but assailed the intended victim with the most opprobrious charges, and the most vehement invective. He held him forth as 'a thief and a murderer;' as, 'having forfeited all the respect of societies and of men.' As he alternated his abuse with humorous sarcasms, the members of the council universally laughed aloud and the retainers of the ministry joined in the chorus. Franklin betrayed not the least emotion; he saw and heard with calm dignity; he only remarked to one of his lawyers, after the predetermined absolution of the culprits, that he was sincerely sorry to observe the lords of council behave so indecently, and to find 'that the coarsest language could be grateful to the politest ear.' This scene is one which calls for national commemoration, by the pencil of a Trumbull. It overwhelms us with astonishment, when we reflect that the proper question for consideration, was no other than the solemn complaint and prayer of an important province; that the man thus treated was the representative of that, and three other considerable provinces; the boast and idol of all the colonies, then in a state of fearful incalcescence; venerable for his age, his genius, his discoveries and writings as a philosopher and a moralist; one whom all Europe besides was



emulously seeking to honour; and of whom the exalted countryman of Wedderburn, Lord Kames, wrote not long after his *Sketches of the History of Man*.—"Dr. Franklin, of Philadelphia, a man who makes a great figure in the learned world, and who would make a still greater figure for benevolence and candour, were virtue as much regarded in this declining age as knowledge"

In a letter on this subject, addressed to a friend, he also observes: "On this occasion I think fit to acquaint you, that there has lately fallen into my hands, part of a correspondence, that I have reason to believe laid the foundation of most, if not all, of our present grievances. I am not at liberty to tell through *what channel* I received it; and I have engaged that it shall not be printed, nor any copies taken of the whole, or any part of it; but I am allowed to let it be seen by some men of worth in the province, for their satisfaction only. In confidence of your preserving inviolably my engagement, I send you enclosed the original letters, to obviate every pretence of unfairness in copying, interpolation, or omission."

"Thus," says Dr. Hosack, "Dr. Franklin performed a service which his situation as a public agent required of him. But notwithstanding the secrecy with which it had been conducted, the letters were soon after published by the assembly of Massachusetts; not however until after the appearance of other copies in Boston, produced by a member who, it was reported, had just received them from England."\*

"The celebrated affair of Oliver and Hutchinson's letters," says Mr. Walsh, again "exemplified the complete predominance in the mind of Franklin, of love of country, and the sense of official duty, over every suggestion of a temporising prudence, and every consideration of personal advantage. When accident put into his hands the libellous and treacherous letters of the governor, lieutenant-governor, and other royal servants at Boston, it was enough for him to believe that they ought to be communicated to those whom they particularly concerned, to fulfil the obligation at once, fearlessly committing the ulterior results to Providence. He took, however, in pursuance of the high motives upon which he acted, every precaution in his power against sinister consequences. He kept inviolably, to the end of his life, under a severe trial of fortitude, the engagement of secrecy which he had contracted, as to the names of the individuals from whom he had received the letters; but though he foresaw a tempest of obloquy, he did not hesitate a moment to disclose, in the most public manner, his own share in the transaction, as soon as he knew the disclosure to be necessary for the prevention of mischief to an individual erroneously implicated."†

"But it is time that I should declare to you, that this *third person* from whom Dr. Franklin received these famous letters, (and permit me to add, that this is the first time the fact has been publicly disclosed,) was Dr. HUGH WILLIAMSON.

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\* Dr. Hosack's Memoir of Dr. Williamson, p. 38. † Delaplaine's Repository, vol. 2.

I have before stated his mission in behalf of the academy. Dr. Williamson had now arrived in London. Feeling a lively interest in the momentous questions then agitated, and suspecting that a clandestine correspondence, hostile to the interest of the colonies, was carried on between Hutchinson and certain leading members of the British Cabinet, he determined to ascertain the truth by a bold experiment.

He had learned that Governor Hutchinson's letters were deposited in an office different from that in which they ought regularly to have been placed; and having understood that there was little exactness in the transaction of the business of that office, (it is believed it was the office of a particular department of the treasury,) he immediately repaired to it, and addressed himself to the chief clerk, not finding the principal within. Assuming the demeanour of official importance, he peremptorily stated, that he had come for the last letters that had been received from Governor Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver, noticing the office in which they ought regularly to have been placed. Without a question being asked, the letters were delivered. The clerk, doubtless, supposed him to be an authorized person from some other public office. Dr. Williamson immediately carried them to Dr. Franklin, and the next day left London for Holland.\*

The Americans, determined to oppose the revenue system of the English Parliament in every possible shape, considered the attempt of the East-India Company to evade the resolutions of the colonies, and dispose of teas in America, as an indirect mode of taxation, sanctioned by the authority of Parliament. The people assembled in various places, and in the large commercial towns, took measures to prevent the landing of the teas. Committees were appointed, and armed with extensive powers to inspect merchants' books, to propose tests, and make use of other expedients to frustrate the designs of the East-India Company. The same spirit pervaded the people from New-Hampshire to Georgia. In some places the consignees of the teas were intimidated so far as to relinquish their appointments, or to enter into an agreement not to act in that capacity. The cargo sent to South Carolina was stored, the consignees being restrained from offering the teas for sale. In other provinces, the ships returned back without discharging their cargoes.

It was otherwise in Massachusetts. The tea ships designed for the supply of Boston, were consigned to the sons, cousins and particular friends of Governor Hutchinson. When they were called upon to resign, they answered, "that it was out of their power." The collector refused to give a clearance, unless the vessels were discharged of dutiable articles. The governor refused to give a pass for the vessels, unless properly qualified from the custom-house. The governor likewise requested admiral Montague to guard the passages out of the harbour, and gave orders to suffer no vessels, coasters



excepted, to pass the fortress from the town, without a pass signed by himself. From a combination of these circumstances, the return of the tea vessels from Boston was rendered impossible. The inhabitants then had no alternative, but to prevent the landing of the tea, or to suffer it to be landed, and depend on the unanimity of the people not to purchase it, or to destroy the tea, or to suffer a deep-laid scheme against their sacred liberties to take effect. The first would have required incessant watching by night, as well as by day, for a period of time, the duration of which no one could compute. The second would have been visionary to childishness, by suspending the liberties of a growing country, on the self-denial and discretion of every tea-drinker in the province. They viewed the tea as a vehicle of an unconstitutional tax, and as inseparably associated with it.

Immediately upon the arrival of the tea-ships in the harbour of Boston, the first step taken was to request the consignees to refuse the commission. The inhabitants warmly remonstrated against the teas being landed in any of their ports, and urged the return of the ships without permitting them to break bulk. Resolved not to yield to the smallest vestige of parliamentary taxation, however disguised, a numerous assembly of the most respectable people of Boston and its neighbourhood, repaired to the public hall, and drew up a remonstrance to the governor, urging the necessity of his order, to send back the ships without suffering any part of their cargoes to be landed. His answer confirmed the opinion, that he was the instigator of the measure.

The storage or detention of a few cargoes of teas is not an object in itself sufficient to justify a detail of several pages; but as the subsequent severities towards the Massachusetts were grounded on what the ministry termed their *refractory behaviour* on this occasion; and as those measures were followed by consequences of the highest magnitude both to Great Britain and the colonies, a particular narration of the transactions of the town of Boston is indispensable. There the sword of civil discord was first drawn, which was not sheathed until the emancipation of the thirteen colonies from the yoke of foreign domination was acknowledged by the diplomatic seals of the first powers of Europe. Upon the people of Massachusetts the bitterest cup of ministerial wrath was poured.

Amidst the suspense of the time, a rumour was circulated that Admiral Montague was about to seize the ships, and dispose of their cargoes at public auction, within twenty-four hours. This step would have as effectually secured the duties, as if sold at the stores of the consignees, and was judged to be only a *finesse* to place them there on their own terms. On this report, convinced of the necessity of preventing so bold an attempt, a vast body of people convened suddenly, and repaired to one of the largest and most commodious churches in Boston; where, previous to any other steps, many fruitless messages were sent to the governor and the consignees, whose timidity had prompted them to a seclusion from the public eye. Yet



they continued to refuse any satisfactory answer; and while the assembled multitude were in quiet consultation on the safest mode to prevent the sale and consumption of an herb, *noxious* at least to the political constitution, the debates were interrupted by the entrance of the sheriff with an order from the governor styling them an illegal assembly, and directing their immediate dispersion.

This authoritative mandate was treated with great contempt, and the sheriff instantly hissed out of the house. A confused murmur ensued, both within and without the walls; but in a few moments all was again quiet, and the meeting adjourned without day.

Within an hour after this was known abroad, there appeared a great number of persons, clad like the aborigines of the wilderness, with tomahawks in their hands and clubs on their shoulders, who, without the least molestation, marched through the streets with silent solemnity, and amidst innumerable spectators, proceeded to the wharves, boarded the ships, demanded the keys, and without much deliberation knocked open the chests, and emptied several thousand weight of the finest teas into the ocean. No opposition was made, though surrounded by the king's ships; all was silence and dismay.

This done, the procession returned through the town in the same order and solemnity, as observed in the outset of their attempt. No other disorder took place, and it was observed, the stillest night ensued that Boston had enjoyed for several months.

The number of persons disguised as Indians is variously stated—none put it lower than 60, none higher than 80. The destruction was effected by the disguised persons, and some young men who volunteered; one of the latter collected the tea which fell into the shoes of himself and companions, and put it into a phial, and sealed it up;—which phial is now in his possession,—containing the same tea.—The contrivers of this measure, and those who carried it into effect, will never be known; some few persons have been mentioned as being among the disguised; but there are many and obvious reasons why secrecy then, and concealment since, were necessary. None of those persons who were confidently said to have been of the party, (except some who were then minors or very young men,) have ever admitted that they were so. Mr. Samuel Adams is thought to have been in the counselling of this exploit, and many other men who were leaders in the political affairs of the times;—and the hall of council is said to have been in the back room of Edes and Gill's printing office, at the corner of the ally leading to Brattle-Street church from Court-Street. There are very few alive now, who helped to empty the chests of tea, and these few will probably be as prudent as those who have gone before them.

“This duty on tea was reserved (professedly so) as a standing claim and exercise of the right assumed by parliament of laying such duties.\*—The colonies, on the repeal, of the stamp-act retracted

\* Mr. Burke tells us (in his speech in 1774) that this preambulatory tax had lost us at once the benefit of the west and of the east; had thrown open folding-doors to contrab-

their agreement, so far as related to all other goods, except that on which the duty was retained. This was trumpeted here by the minister for the colonies as a triumph; there it was considered only as a decent and equitable measure, shewing a willingness to meet the mother country in every advance towards a reconciliation; and a disposition to a good understanding was so prevalent, that possibly they might soon have relaxed in the article of tea also. But the system of commissioners of customs, officers without end, with fleets and armies for collecting and enforcing those duties, being continued; and these acting with much indiscretion and rashness, (giving great and unnecessary trouble and obstruction to business, commencing unjust and vexatious suits, and harassing commerce in all its branches, while that minister kept the people in a constant state of irritation by instructions which appeared to have no other end than the gratifying his private resentments,\*) occasioned a persevering adherence to their resolutions in that particular: and the event should be a lesson to ministers, not to risque through pique, the obstructing any one branch of trade; since the course and connection of general business may be thereby disturbed to a degree, impossible to be foreseen or imagined. For it appears that the colonies, finding their humble petitions to have this duty repealed, were rejected and treated with contempt; and that the produce of the duty was applied to the rewarding, with undeserved salaries and pensions, every one of their enemies; the duty itself became more odious, and their resolution to starve it, more vigorous and obstinate.—The Dutch, the Danes, and French, took this opportunity thus offered them by our imprudence, and began to smuggle their teas into the plantations. At first this was something difficult; but at length, as all business is improved by practice, it became easy. A coast fifteen hundred miles in length could not in all parts be guarded, even by the whole navy of England; especially where their restraining authority was by all the inhabitants deemed unconstitutional, the smuggling of course considered as patriotism.

It is supposed that at least a million of Americans drink tea twice a day, which, at the first cost here, can scarce be reckoned, at less than half-a-guinea a head per annum. This market, that in the five years which have run on since the act passed, would have paid 2,500,000 guineas for tea alone, into the coffers of the company, we have wantonly lost to foreigners.—Meanwhile it is said the duties have so diminished, that the whole remittance of the last year

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band; and would be the means of giving the profits of the colony trade to every nation, but ourselves. He adds in the same place, "It is indeed a tax of sophistry, a tax of pedantry, a tax of disputation, a tax of war and rebellion, a tax for any thing but benefit to the imposers, or satisfaction to the subject." (Ed. note to Franklin.)

\* Some of his circular letters had been criticized, and exposed by one or two of the American assemblies,



amounted to no more than the pitiful sum of 351.\* for the expence of some hundred thousands, in armed ships and soldiers, to support the officers. Hence the tea, and other India goods, which might have been sold in America, remain rotting in the company's warehouses; while those of foreign ports are known to be cleared by the American demand. Hence in some degree, the company's inability to pay their bills; the sinking of their stock, by which millions of property have been annihilated; the lowering of their dividend, whereby so many must be distressed; the loss to government of the stipulated 400,000*l.* a year, which must make a proportionable reduction in our savings towards the discharge of our enormous debt: and hence in part the severe blow suffered by credit in general, to the ruin of many families; the stagnation of business in Spitalfields and at Manchester, through want of vent for their goods;—with other future evils, which, as they cannot, from the numerous and secret connections in general commerce, easily be foreseen, can hardly be avoided.”†

No sooner did the news of the destruction of the tea reach Great Britain, than the Parliament determined to crush that devoted town. On the king's laying the American paper before them, a bill was brought in and passed, to “discontinue the lading and discharging, landing and shipping of goods, wares and merchandizes at the town of Boston, or within the harbour.”

This act, passed March 25, 1774, and called *The Boston Port Bill*, threw the inhabitants into the greatest consternation. The town of Boston passed a resolution, expressing their sense of this oppressive measure, and a desire that all the colonies would concur to stop all importations from Great Britain. Most of the colonies entered into spirited resolutions, on this occasion, to unite with Massachusetts in a firm opposition to the unconstitutional measures of the Parliament. The first of June, the day on which the Port Bill was to take place, was appointed to be kept as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer throughout the colonies, to seek the divine direction and aid, in that critical and gloomy juncture of affairs.

It ought here to be observed, that this rational and pious custom of observing fasts in times of distress and impending danger, and of celebrating days of public thanksgiving, after having received special tokens of divine favour, has ever prevailed in New-England since its first settlement, and in some parts of other states. These public supplications and acknowledgments to Heaven, at the commencement of hostilities, and during the whole progress of the war, were more frequent than usual, and were attended with uncommon fervour and solemnity. They were considered by the people, as an humble appeal to Heaven for the justness of their cause, and design-

\* Eighty-five pounds I am assured, my lords, is the whole equivalent, we have received for all the hatred and mischief, and all the infinite losses this kingdom has suffered during that year, in her disputes with North America.’ See the Bishop of St. Asaph's intended speech.

† Franklin's works, p. 325.



ed to manifest their dependence on the GOD OF HOSTS for aid and success in maintaining it against their hostile brethren. The prayers and public discourses of the clergy, as has already been suggested, who were friends to their suffering country, (and there were few who were not) breathed the spirit of patriotism; and as their piety and integrity had generally secured to them the confidence of the people, they had great influence and success in encouraging them to engage in its defence. In this way, that class of citizens aided the cause of their country; and to their pious exertions, under the GREAT ARBITER of human affairs, has been justly ascribed no inconsiderable share of the success and victory that crowned the American arms.

During the height of the consternation and confusion which the Boston Port Bill occasioned, and at the very time when a town meeting was sitting to consider of it, General Gage, who had been appointed to the government of Massachusetts, arrived in the harbour. His arrival, however, did not allay the popular ferment, or check the progress of the measures then taking to unite the colonies in opposition to the oppressive acts of Parliament. He was received with all the honours usual on such occasions.

But the Port Bill was not the only act that alarmed the apprehensions of the Americans. Determined to compel the province of Massachusetts to submit to their laws, Parliament passed an act for "the better regulating government in the province of Massachusetts Bay." The object of this act was to alter the government, as it stood on the charter of King William; and to make the judges and sheriffs dependent on the king, and removeable at his will and pleasure.

This act was soon followed by another, which ordained that any person, indicted for murder, or other capital offence committed in aiding the magistrates in executing the laws, might be sent by the governor, either to any other colony, or to Great Britain, for his trial.

This was soon followed by the Quebec Bill; which extended the bounds of that province, and granted many privileges to the Roman Catholics. The object of this bill was, to secure the attachment of that province to the crown of England, and prevent its joining the colonies in their resistance of the laws of Parliament.

But these measures did not intimidate the Americans. On the other hand, they served to confirm their former apprehensions of the evil designs of government, and to unite the colonies in their opposition. A correspondence of opinion with respect to the unconstitutional acts of Parliament, produced a uniformity of proceedings in the colonies. The people generally concurred in a proposition for holding a congress, by deputation from the several colonies, in order to concert measures for the preservation of their rights. Deputies were accordingly appointed, and met at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774.

In this first congress, the proceedings were cool, deliberate and loyal, but marked with unanimity and firmness. Their first act was

a declaration, or state of their claims as to the enjoyment of all the rights of British subjects, and particularly that of taxing themselves exclusively, and of regulating the internal police of the colonies. which we here insert.

“WHEREAS, since the close of the last war, the *British* Parliament, claiming a power, of right, to bind the people of *America* by statutes in all cases whatsoever, hath in some acts expressly imposed taxes on them, and in others, under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these colonies, established a board of commissioners, with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county.

And whereas, in consequence of other statutes, Judges, who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependant on the crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in times of peace : And whereas it has lately been resolved in Parliament, that by force of a statute, made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the eighth. colonists may be transported to *England*. and tried there upon accusations for treasons, and misprisons, or concealments of treasons committed in the colonies, and by a late statute, such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned :

And whereas, in the last session of Parliament, three statutes were made ; one entitled, “An Act to discontinue in such manner and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping of goods, wares, and merchandize, at the town, and within the harbour of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in North America ;” another entitled, “An Act for the better regulating the government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New-England ;” and another entitled, “An Act for the impartial administration of justice, in cases of persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England :” and another statute was then made, “for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec, &c.” All which statutes are impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights :

And whereas, Assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances ; and their dutiful, humble, loyal, and reasonable petitions to the crown for redress, have been repeatedly treated with contempt, by his Majesty’s ministers of state :

The good people of the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and



South Carolina, justly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings of Parliament and Administration, have severally elected, constituted, and appointed Deputies to meet and sit in General Congress, in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties, may not be subverted: Whereupon the Deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these Colonies, taking into their most serious consideration, the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place, as Englishmen their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, **DECLARE,**

That the inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of Nature, the principles of the English Constitution, and the several Charters or Compacts, have the following **RIGHTS.**

*Resolved*, N. C. D. 1. That they are entitled to Life, Liberty, and Property: and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

*Resolved*, N. C. D. 2. That our ancestors, who first settled these Colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born subjects, within the realm of England.

*Resolved*, N. C. D. 3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

*Resolved*, 4. That the foundation of English liberty and of all free government, is, a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English Colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed: But from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British Parliament, as are *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole Empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

*Resolved*, N. C. D. 5. That the respective Colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

*Resolved*, 6. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the



English statutes, as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

*Resolved*, N. C. D. 7. That these, his Majesty's colonies, are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

*Resolved*, N. C. D. 8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the king; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal.

*Resolved*, N. C. D. 9. That the keeping a standing army in these colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

*Resolved*, N. C. D. 10. It is indispensibly necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English Constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power in several colonies, by a council appointed, during pleasure, by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

All and each of which, the aforesaid deputies in behalf of themselves, and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties; which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures.

In the course of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which, from an ardent desire that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

*Resolved*, N. C. D. That the following acts of Parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the American Colonies, viz.

The several Acts of 4 Geo. III. ch. 15. and ch. 34.—5 Geo. III. ch. 25.—6 Geo. III. ch. 52.—7 Geo. III. ch. 41. and ch. 46.—8 Geo. III. ch. 22. which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the power of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorise the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights.

Also 12 Geo. III. ch. 24. intitled, "An Act for the better secur-

ing his Majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorising the trial of any person charged with the committing any offence described in the said Act out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

Also the three Acts passed in the last session of Parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay, and that which is intitled, "An Act for the better administration of justice, &c."

Also the Act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholic Religion in the Province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, (from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government) of the neighbouring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

Also the Act passed in the same session for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North America.

Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

To these grievous acts and measures Americans cannot submit, but in hopes their fellow subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state, in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have for the present only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures; 1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association. 2. To prepare an Address to the people of Great Britain, and a Memorial to the inhabitants of British America: And 3. To prepare a loyal Address to his Majesty, agreeable to resolutions already entered into."

Congress also drew up a petition to the king, complaining of their grievances, and praying for a repeal of the unconstitutional and oppressive acts of Parliament.

*Copy of the petition of Congress to the king of England, to which an answer was refused to be given.*

"To the king's most excellent majesty.—Most gracious sovereign,

We your majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf



of ourselves, and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general congress, intreat your majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such an assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known.

Her rivals, observing that there was no probability of this happy connexion being broken by civil dissensions, and apprehending its future effects if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving such continual and formidable accessions of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of those settlements from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavourable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great Britain and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and exertion immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal colonists, having contributed to its success, by such repeated and strenuous exertions, as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your majesty, of the late king, and of parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest.

While these recent and honourable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the parliament, undefaced by the imputation or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations, adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the danger of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic danger, in their judgment of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were these anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of their mother country. For though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices, practised by many of your majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities, that have from time to time been dealt out by them, in their attempts to



execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing through a series of years past, the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies, that have flowed from this fatal source.

Your majesty's ministers, persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent to the affections of your still faithful colonists. that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and, if it continues, what may be the consequences, our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

Knowing to what violent resentments, and incurable animosities, civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, to your majesty, to our fellow-subjects, and to ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire.

Thus called upon to address your majesty on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office, with the utmost deference for your majesty: and we therefore pray, that your majesty's royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favourable construction of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion. Could we represent in their full force, the sentiments that agitate the minds of us your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect with a just attention to our own preservation against those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority, for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your majesty's person, family, and government with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your majesty, that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory, that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and, by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to assure your majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists, during the course of this present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom

from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare. These, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance ; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief, being once removed, your majesty will find your faithful subjects on this continent ready and willing at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your majesty, and of our mother country.

We therefore beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system before mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions, with all humility submitting to your majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient for facilitating those important purposes, that your majesty be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation ; and that, in the mean time, measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your majesty's subjects ; and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your majesty's colonies may be repealed.

For by such arrangements as your majesty's wisdom can form for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the colonists towards their sovereign and parent state, that the wished-for opportunity would soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects and the most affectionate colonists.

That your majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern your dominions with honour to themselves and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere prayer."

They signed an association to suspend the importation of British goods, and the exportation of American produce, until their grievances should be redressed. They sent an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and another to the people of America ; in the former of which they enumerated the oppressive steps of Parliament, and called on their British brethren not to aid the ministry in enslaving their American subjects ; and in the latter, they endeavoured to confirm the people in a spirited and unanimous determination to defend their constitutional rights.

In the mean time every thing in Massachusetts wore the appearance of opposition by force. A new council for the governor had been appointed by the crown. New judges were appointed and attempted to proceed in the execution of their office. But the juries refused to be sworn under them. In some counties, the people



assembled to prevent the courts from proceeding to business ; and in Berkshire they succeeded, setting an example of resistance that has since\* been followed, in violation of the laws of the state.

About this time, also, the famous *Liberty Tree*, which had been pruned and ornamented with so much care, in the earlier part of the revolution, “fell a victim to British vengeance, or to some individuals to whom its shade had become disagreeable.”†

In this situation of affairs, the day for the annual muster of the militia approached. General Gage, apprehensive of some violence, had the precaution to seize the magazines of ammunition and stores at Cambridge and Charlestown, and lodged them in Boston. This measure, with the fortifying of the neck of land which joins Boston to the main land at Roxbury, caused a universal alarm and ferment.

On this occasion, an assembly of delegates from all the towns in Suffolk country, was called ; and several spirited resolutions were agreed to. These resolutions were prefaced with a declaration of allegiance ; but they breathed a spirit of freedom that does honour to the delegates. They declared that the late acts of Parliament, and the proceedings of General Gage, were glaring infractions of their rights and liberties, which their duty called them to defend by all lawful means.

This assembly remonstrated against the fortification of Boston Neck, and against the Quebec Bill ; and resolved upon a suspension of commerce, an encouragement of arts and manufactures, the holding of a provincial congress, and a submission to the measures which should be recommended by the continental congress. They recommended that the collectors of taxes should not pay any money into the treasury, without further orders ; they also recommended peace and good order, as they meant to act merely upon the defensive.

In answer to their remonstrance, General Gage assured them that he had no intention to prevent the free egress and regress of the inhabitants to and from the town of Boston, and that he would not suffer any person under his command to injure the person or property of any of his majesty's subjects.

Previous to this, a general assembly had been summoned by the governor to meet at Salem ; and notwithstanding the writs had been countermanded by the governor's proclamation, on account of the violence of the times, and the resignation of several of the new counsellors, yet in defiance of the proclamation, 90 of the newly elected members met at the time and place appointed ; and soon after resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress, and adjourned to Concord, 19 miles from Boston, and, after choosing Mr. Hancock President, proceeded to business.

This congress addressed the governor with a rehearsal of their

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\* At the time of the insurrection under Shays and others, in 1786.

† Tudor's Life of Otis.



distresses, and took the necessary steps for defending their rights. They regulated the militia, made provision for supplying the treasury, and furnishing the people with arms ; and such was the enthusiasm and union of the people, that the recommendations of the provincial congress had the force of laws.

General Gage was incensed at these measures. He declared, in his answer to the address, that Britain could never harbour the black design of enslaving her subjects, and published a proclamation, in which he insinuated that such proceedings amounted to rebellion. He also ordered barracks to be erected for the soldiers ; but he found difficulty in procuring labourers, either in Boston or New-York.

In the beginning of 1775, the fishery bills were passed in Parliament, by which the colonies were prohibited to trade with Great Britain, Ireland or the West Indies, or to take fish on the banks of Newfoundland.

In the distresses to which these acts of Parliament reduced the town of Boston, the unanimity of the colonies was remarkable, in the large supplies of provision furnished by the inhabitants of different towns, from New-Hampshire to Georgia, and shipped to the relief of the sufferers.

In March, 1775, the public indignation was greatly excited by the following base and most shameful transactions :—

“ The people from the country, whose business called them into Boston, were suspected by the officers, of purchasing guns from their soldiers. In order to furnish an opportunity to inflict punishment and to raise occasion for a serious quarrel, Lieutenant-Colonel Nesbit, of the forty-seventh regiment, ordered a soldier to offer a countryman an old rusty musket. A man from Billerica was caught by this bait, and purchased the gun for three dollars. The unfortunate man was immediately seized by Nesbit and confined in the guard house all night. Early next morning they stripped him entirely naked, covered him over with warm tar, and then with feathers, placed him on a cart and conducted him through the streets as far as liberty-tree, where the people began to collect in vast numbers, and the military, fearing for their own safety, dismissed the man, and retreated to their barracks. The party consisted of about thirty grenadiers with fixed bayonets, twenty drums and fifes playing the Rogue’s March, headed by the redoubtable Nesbit with a drawn sword ! What an honourable deed for a British field officer and grenadiers ! The selectmen of Billerica remonstrated with General Gage respecting this outrage, but obtained no satisfaction.”\*

It was about this time that the following ludicrous occurrence took place :—

“ Some British Officers, soon after Gage’s arrival in Boston, walking on Beacon Hill after sunset, were affrighted by noises in the air, (supposed to be flying bugs and beetles,) which they took to be

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\*Thacher’s Journal, page 15.

the sound of bullets. They left the hill with great precipitation, spread the alarm in their encampment, and wrote terrible accounts to England of being shot at with air guns, as appeared by their letters, extracts of which were soon after published in London papers. Indeed for some time they really believed that the Americans were possessed of a kind of magic white powder, which exploded and killed without a report." In that much celebrated and admirable poem of the day, M'Fingal, the circumstance is thus satirized :

No more the British colonel runs  
From whizzing beetles as air guns ;  
Thinks horn-bugs, bullets, or through fear  
Musketoos takes for musketeers ;  
Nor 'scapes, as if you'd gained supplies  
From Beelzebub's whole host of flies,  
No bug these warlike hearts appals ;  
They better know the sound of balls.

## SECTION VI.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION, assigned by Dr. Franklin, and the late President Adams.

No men had better opportunities to become acquainted with the *causes* which led to our revolution, and improved them with more assiduity and intelligence, than these two gentlemen. These causes Dr. Franklin has professedly given at considerable length, in a letter which appeared in a London paper of January 7th, 1768, of which we give an abstract :—It is headed,—

“ *Causes of the American Discontents before 1768.\** ”

The Waves never rise but when the winds blow.

*Prov.*

SIR,

As the cause of the present ill humour in America, and of the resolutions taken there to purchase less of our manufactures, does not seem to be generally understood ; it may afford some satisfaction to your readers, if you give them the following short historical state of facts.

From the time that the colonies were first considered as capable of *granting aids to the crown*, down to the end of the last war, it is said, that the constant mode of obtaining those aids was, by requisition made from the crown, through its governors to the several assemblies, in circular letters from the secretary of state, in his Majesty's name ; setting forth the occasion, requiring them to take the matter

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\* This letter first appeared in a London paper, January 7, 1768, and was afterwards reprinted as a postscript to *The true sentiments of America*, printed for Almon, 1768.



into consideration, and expressing a reliance on their prudence, duty and affection to his Majesty's government, that they would grant such sums, or raise such numbers of men, as were suitable to their respective circumstances.

The colonies being accustomed to this method, have from time to time granted money to the crown, or raised troops for its service, in proportion to their abilities; and during all the last war, beyond their abilities; so that considerable sums were returned them yearly by parliament, as they had exceeded their proportion.

Had this happy method of requisition been continued, (a method that left the king's subjects in those remote countries the pleasure of showing their zeal and loyalty, and of imagining that they recommended themselves to their sovereign by the liberality of their *voluntary* grants) there is no doubt, but all the money that could reasonably be expected to be raised from them in any manner might have been obtained, without the least heart-burning, offence, or breach of the harmony of affections and interests that so long subsisted between the two countries.

It was well known, that the colonists universally were of opinion, that no money could be levied from English subjects, but by their own consent, given by themselves or their chosen representatives; that therefore whatever money was to be raised from the people in the colonies, must first be granted by their assemblies, as the money raised in Britain is first to be granted by the house of commons; that this right of granting their own money, was essential to English liberty; and that if any man, or body of men in which they had no representative of their choosing, could tax them at pleasure, they could not be said to have any property, any thing they could call their own. But as these opinions did not hinder their granting money voluntarily and amply, whenever the crown by its servants came into their assemblies (as it does into its parliaments of Britain or Ireland) and demanded aids; therefore that method was chosen; rather than the hateful one of arbitrary taxes.

The person then who first projected to lay aside the accustomed method of requisition, and to raise money on America by *stamps*, seems not to have acted wisely, in deviating from that method (which the colonists looked upon as constitutional) and thwarting unnecessarily the fixed prejudices of so great a number of the king's subjects.—It was not, however, for want of knowledge, that what he was about to do would give them offence; he appears to have been very sensible of this, and apprehensive that it might occasion some disorders; to prevent or suppress which, he projected another bill that was brought in the same session with the Stamp-Act, whereby it was to be *made lawful for military officers in the colonies to quarter their soldiers in private houses*. This seemed intended to awe the people into a compliance with the other act. Great opposition however being raised here against the bill by the agents from the colonies, and the merchants trading thither, (the colonists declaring, that



under such a power in the army, no one could look on his house as his own, or think he had a home, when soldiers might be thrust into it and mixed with his family at the pleasure of an officer,) that part of the bill was dropt; but there still remained a clause, when it passed into a law, to oblige the several assemblies to provide quarters for the soldiers, furnishing them with firing, bedding, candles, small beer or rum, and sundry other articles, at the expence of the several provinces. And this act continued in force when the Stamp-Act was repealed; though if obligatory on the assemblies, it equally militated against the American principle above mentioned—that money is not to be raised on English subjects without their consent.

The colonies nevertheless being put into high good humour by the repeal of the Stamp-Act, chose to avoid a fresh dispute upon the other, it being temporary and soon to expire, never, as they hoped, to revive again; and in the mean time they, by various ways in different colonies, provided for the quartering of the troops; either by acts of their own assemblies, without taking notice of the act of *Parliament*, or by some variety or small diminution, as of salt and vinegar, in the supplies required by the act; that what they did might appear a voluntary act of their own, and not done in due obedience to an *Act of Parliament*, which, according to their ideas of their rights, they thought hard to obey.

It might have been well if the matter had then passed without notice; but a governor having written home an angry and aggravating letter upon this conduct in the assembly of his province, the outed [proposer\*] of the Stamp-Act and his adherents (then in the opposition) raised such a clamour against America, as being in rebellion; and against those who had been for the repeal of the Stamp-Act, as having thereby been encouragers of this supposed rebellion; that it was thought necessary to enforce the Quartering Act by another act of parliament, taking away from the province of New-York (which had been the most explicit in its refusal) all the powers of legislation, till it should have complied with that act. The news of which greatly alarmed the people every where in America, as (it had been said) the language of such an act seemed to them to be—*obey implicitly laws made by the parliament of Great Britain to raise money on you without your consent, or you shall enjoy no rights or privileges at all.*

At the same time a person lately in high office† projected the levying more money from America, by new duties on various articles of our own manufacture, (as glass, paper, painters' colours, &c.) appointing a new board of customs, and sending over a set of commissioners, with large salaries, to be established at Boston, who were to have the care of collecting those duties; which were by the act expressly mentioned to be intended for the payment of the salaries of governors, judges, and other officers of the crown in America:

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\* Mr. George Grenville.

† Mr. Charles Townsend.

it being a pretty general opinion here, that those officers ought not to depend on the people there, for any part of their support.

[The writer of the letter then states at some length, what were the ideas of Americans on this subject.]

The colonists being thus greatly alarmed, as I said before, by the news of the act for abolishing the legislature of New-York, and the imposition of these new duties, professedly for such disagreeable purposes, (accompanied by a new set of revenue officers, with large appointments, which gave strong suspicions, that more business of the same kind was soon to be provided for them, that they might earn their salaries;) began seriously to consider their situation; and to revolve afresh in their minds, grievances which from their respect and love for this country, they had long borne and seemed almost willing to forget.—They reflected how lightly the interest of *all America* had been estimated here, when the interests of a *few* of the inhabitants of *Great Britain* happened to have the smallest competition with it. That the whole *American* people was forbidden the advantage of a direct importation of wine, oil, and fruit, from Portugal; but must take them loaded with all the expence of a voyage one thousand leagues round about, being to be landed first in *England*, to be re-shipped for *America*; expences amounting, in war time, at least to thirty pounds per cent. more than otherwise they would have been charged with; and all this merely, that a few *Portugal* merchants in *London*, may gain a commission on those goods passing through their hands. That on a slight complaint of a few *Virginia* merchants, nine colonies had been restrained from making paper-money, become absolutely necessary to their internal commerce, from the constant remittance of their gold and silver to *Britain*.—But not only the interest of a particular body of *merchants*; but the interest of any small body of British *tradesmen* or *artificers*, has been found, they say, to outweigh that of all the king's subjects in the colonies.—There cannot be a stronger natural right than that of a man's making the best profit he can of the natural produce of his lands, provided he does not thereby hurt the state in general. Iron is to be found every where in America, and the beaver furs are the natural produce of that country: hats, and nails, and steel, are wanted there as well as here. It is of no importance to the common welfare of the empire whether a subject of the king gets his living with making hats on this, or on that side of the water. Yet the hat-ters of *England* have prevailed to obtain an act in their own favour, restraining that manufacture in America; in order to oblige the Americans to send their beaver to England to be manufactured, and purchase back the hats, loaded with the charges of a double transportation. In the same manner have a few nail-makers, and still a smaller body of steel-makers (perhaps there are not half a dozen of these in *England*) prevailed totally to forbid by an act of parliament the erecting of slitting-mills, or steel-furnaces in America; that the Americans may be obliged to take all their nails for their buildings,



and steel for their tools, from these artificers, under the same disadvantages.

Added to these, the Americans remembered the act authorizing the most cruel insult that perhaps was ever offered by one people to another, that of *emptying our gaols* into their settlements ; Scotland too having within these two years obtained the privilege it had not before, of sending its rogues and villains also to the plantations—I say, reflecting on these things, they said one to another, (their newspapers are full of such discourses,) “These people are not content with making a monopoly of us, (forbidding us to trade with any other country of Europe, and compelling us to buy every thing of them, though in many articles we could furnish ourselves ten, twenty, and even to fifty per cent. cheaper elsewhere ;) but now they have as good as declared they have a right to tax us *ad libitum* internally and externally; and that our constitutions and liberties shall all be taken away, if we do not submit to that claim.”

“They are not content with the high prices at which they sell us their goods, but have now begun to enhance those prices by new duties ; and by the expensive apparatus of a new set of officers, appear to extend an augmentation and multiplication of those burthens that shall still be more grievous to us. Our people have been foolishly fond of their superfluous modes and manufactures, to the impoverishing our own country, carrying off all our cash, and loading us with debt ; they will not suffer us to restrain the luxury of our inhabitants, as they do that of their own, by laws : they can make laws to discourage or prohibit the importation of French superfluities : but though those of England are as ruinous to us as the French ones are to them, if we make a law of that kind, they immediately repeal it. Thus they get all our money from us by trade ; and every profit we can any where make by our fisheries, our produce, or our commerce, centers finally with them ;—but this does not signify.—It is time then to take care of ourselves by the best means in our power. Let us unite in solemn resolution and engagements with and to each other, that we will give these new officers as little trouble as possible, by not consuming the British manufactures on which they are to levy the duties. Let us agree to consume no more of their expensive gewgaws. Let us live frugally, and let us industriously manufacture what we can for ourselves : thus we shall be able honourably to discharge the debts we already owe them ; and after that, we may be able to keep some money in our country, not only for the uses of our internal commerce ; but for the service of our gracious sovereign, whenever he shall have occasion for it, and think proper to require it of us in the *old constitutional manner*. For notwithstanding the reproaches thrown out against us in their public papers and pamphlets, notwithstanding we have been reviled in their senate as rebels and traitors, we are truly a loyal people. Scotland has had its rebellions, and England its plots against the present royal family ; but *America is untainted with those crimes ; there is in it*



scarce a man, there is not a single native of our country, who is not firmly attached to his king by principle and by affection. But a new kind of loyalty seems to be required of us, a loyalty to Parliament; a loyalty that is to extend, it is said, to a surrender of all our properties, whenever a house of commons, in which there is not a single member of our choosing, shall think fit to grant them away without our consent; and to a patient suffering the loss of our privileges as Englishmen, if we cannot submit to make such surrender. We were separated too far from Britain by the ocean, but we were united to it by respect and love; so that we could at any time freely have spent our lives and little fortunes in its cause: but this unhappy new system of politics tends to dissolve those bands of union, and to sever us forever."

The letter closes in the style of keen irony:—"These are the wild ravings of the, at present, half-distracted Americans. To be sure, no reasonable man in England can approve of such sentiments, and, as I said before, I do not pretend to support or justify them: but I sincerely wish, for the sake of the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain, and for the sake of the strength which a firm union with our growing colonies would give us; that these people had never been thus needlessly driven out of their senses.

I am yours, &c.

F. S.\*†

The public are well acquainted with the style and character of the writings of the author of the following letters, which throw much new light on the *interior* of the most important period of our national history. We give them without comment, in his own strong, bold, frank, unornamented style. He writes the history of his own times, describes scenes and relates facts which fell under his own observation, of which he might say with Virgil *magna pars fui*. No wonder that this recital of past events, which had once fired his manly soul and drawn into vigorous exercise all its great energies, should rekindle this spirit, and cause it to break forth into expedition, even in his old age, in the language of these letters. The facts which he relates are precious to the historian.

"Quincy, November 29, 1815.

DR. MORSE,  
Dear Sir—

An history of military operations from April 19, 1775, to the 3d of September, 1783, is not an history of the American Revolution, any more than the Marquis of Quincy's military history of Louis 14th, though much esteemed, is a history of the reign of that monarch. The revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people, and in the

\*F. S. possibly means 'Franklin's Seal.' The paper, however, is undoubtedly the production of Dr. Franklin.

† Franklin's Works, page 231.

union of the colonies ; both of which were substantially effected before hostilities commenced.

When, where, by what means, and in what manner was this great intellectual, moral, and political change accomplished ? Undoubtedly it was begun in the towns of Boston and Salem, where the British government first opened their designs, and first urged their pretensions.

In the month of February, 1761, the great cause of Writ of Assistance was argued before the Supreme Judicature of the Province, in the Council Chamber in Boston, and this important question was tainted from the beginning, with an odious and corrupt intrigue. Chief Justice Stephen Sewall, who was an enlightened friend of liberty, having great doubt of the legality and constitutionality of this projected Writ of Assistance, at November Term, 1760, at Salem, where it was solicited by Cockle, a custom-house officer, had ordered the question to be argued before the court the next February term in Boston ; but Sewall in the mean time died, and Bernard, instead of fulfilling the promises of two of his predecessors, Shirley and Pownall, to give the next vacancy on that bench to Col. Otis, appointed Hutchinson for the purpose of deciding the fate of the Writs of Assistance, and all other causes in which the claims of Great Britain might be directly or indirectly implicated, though Hutchinson was then Lieutenant-Governor, Judge of Probate, Member of Council ; his brother Oliver Secretary, and his brother Oliver Judge of the Supreme Court ; and himself furnished with no education to the law, and very little knowledge of it. When the cause came on, however, Mr. Otis displayed so comprehensive a knowledge of the subject, shewed not only the illegality of the writ, its insidious and mischievous tendency, but he laid open the views and designs of Great Britain in taxing us ; of destroying our charters and assuming the powers of our government, legislative, executive and judicial ; external and internal, civil and ecclesiastical, temporal and spiritual ; and all this was performed with such a profusion of learning, such convincing argument, and such a torrent of sublime and pathetic eloquence, that a great crowd of spectators and auditors went away absolutely electrified. The next May Mr. Otis was elected by the town of Boston into the legislature, and for ten years afterwards ; during the whole of which period his tongue and his pen were incessantly employed in enlightening his fellow citizens and countrymen in the knowledge of their rights, and developing and opposing the designs of Great Britain. He governed the town of Boston, and the House of Representatives, notwithstanding a few eccentricities, with a caution, a prudence and sagacity, which astonished his friends and confounded his enemies. His fame soon spread through the continent, and three or four years afterwards was emulated by Mr. Dickinson in his Farmer's Letters, and some other gentlemen in Virginia began to think.



Here then, sir, began the revolution in the principles, views, opinions, and feelings of the American people. Their eyes were opened to a clear sight of the danger that threatened them and their posterity, and the liberties of both in all future generations. From Boston these alarms spread through Massachusetts and all New-England; and in course to New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. A general aspiration for a union of the colonies soon followed, the first attempt at which necessary measure was made in Congress at New-York, in 1765, of which Brigadier Ruggles was President, but Mr. Otis the soul. The President and Col. Patridge, Mr. Otis' colleagues, were devoted Hutchinsonians. The former ran away; Mr. Ogden too, a man of great weight in the middle states, also deserted. Timidity was too general. None supported Otis with more uniformity and decision than Mackean and Rodney of Delaware. Both of those gentlemen have repeatedly told me, and Mr. Rodney more frequently, that of all the members of that body, not one appeared to be so complete a master of every subject, or threw so much light on every question, as Mr. Otis.

The rise and progress of this knowledge, the gradual expansion and diffusion of the great change in the minds of the people, and the growing hopes of an union of the colonies, and their dependence upon it as the future rock of their salvation, cannot be traced but by a diligent perusal of the pamphlets, news-papers and hand-bills of both parties, and the proceedings of the legislatures from 1761 to 1774, when the union of the colonies was formed.

If strength should remain, I may hereafter point to a few periods in which knowledge made the greatest advances, and the revolution in the understandings and affections of the people made the most rapid progress.

But I must conclude at present with an assurance of the respect and regard of your old friend,

JOHN ADAMS.

P. S. I should have candidly added, in its place, that Bernard was not bound by the promises of Shirley and Pownal; but his fault was in appointing a judge so evidently and notoriously partial as Hutchinson. Nor do I approve of Shirley's and Pownal's promises of a vacancy before it happened; a practice very common in Europe, and too frequent in America, before and since the Revolution. I never countenanced it in any one instance."

#### EPISCOPACY A CAUSE OF THE REVOLUTION.

*"Quincy, December 2, 1815.*

REV. DR. MORSE,

If I ever comply with your request, I must make haste and employ the few intervals of light which my eyes afford me.

Where is the man to be found, at this day, when we see Methodistical Bishops, Bishops of the Church of England, and Bishops, Archbishops and Jesuits of the Church of Rome with indifference.



who will believe, that the apprehension of episcopacy contributed, fifty years ago, as much as any other cause, to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of Parliament over the colonies ? This, nevertheless, was a fact as certain as any in the history of North-America.

The objection was not merely to the office of a Bishop, though even that was dreaded, as to the authority of Parliament, on which it must be founded. The reasoning was this :—The Archbishops and Bishops in England can neither locate and limit diocesses in America nor ordain Bishops in any part of the dominions of Great Britain, out of the realm, by any law of the kingdom, or of any of the colonies, nor by any canon law acknowledged by either. The king cannot grant his *conge d'elire* to any people out of his realm. There is no power, or pretended power, less than Parliament, that can create Bishops in America. But if Parliament can erect diocesses and appoint Bishops, they may introduce the whole hierarchy, establish tythes, forbid marriages and funerals, establish religion, forbid dissenters, make schism heresy, impose penalties extending to life and limb, as well as to liberty and property.

Here, sir, opens an extensive field of investigation, even for a young historian, who might be disposed to undertake so laborious an enterprize. The opinions, the principles, the spirit, the temper, the views, designs, intrigues and arbitrary exertions of power, displayed by the Church of England at that time towards the *Dissenters*, as they were contemptuously called, though, to speak correctly, the Churchmen were the real Dissenters—ought to be stated at full length. The truth is, that the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Anabaptists, the Methodists, or even the Quakers or Moravians, were each of them as numerous as the Churchmen ; several of them immensely more numerous, and all of them together, more than fifteen to one.

In Virginia the Church of England was established by law, in exclusion and without toleration of any other denomination. The British statute, called *The Act of Uniformity*, was acknowledged as law, and carried into execution by the magistrates. It is worthy of inquiry, whether the same law was not in force in Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In Pennsylvania, the Quakers, the Presbyterians, the German Lutherans, and Calvinists, the Anabaptists, the Methodists, the Dunkers, the Menonists and the Roman Catholics were so numerous, and the Church of England so few, that the latter found it difficult to support their cause ; and the ridiculous incurvations and tergiversations of the Proteus Dr. Smith, and that other weaker Proteus, Du Shee, and the bigotry of Coombs, shewed their awkward struggles to preserve their cause from contempt. Dr. White, now Bishop, then young, behaved with uniform candour, moderation and decorum.

In New-York, the Church of England displayed its essential character of intolerance. The royal governors, counsellors, judges, &c. had such overbearing influence, that they dared to grant large tracts of fertile lands to the churches of England, and laid the foundation of the ample riches they still hold ; while no other denomination could obtain any. Even Doctor Rogers' congregation, of New-York, numerous and respectable as it was, could never obtain a legal title to a spot to bury their dead. The writings of Livingston and Smith furnish evidence enough of the spirit of those times. Great exertions were made in New-York to propagate Anglican Episcopacy in Connecticut ; and the famous Dr. Cutler, and the more famous Dr. Johnson, and his still more celebrated son, were employed with success in that service. With such success, indeed, that an English church and an Episcopal minister soon appeared in all the towns from New-Haven to New-York.

The efforts in New-Hampshire and Rhode-Island, though they ought to be recorded, I pass over, and hasten to Massachusetts ; and here I want to write a volume. Here the clergy and principal gentlemen among the laity, were high churchmen indeed. Passive obedience and non-resistance in the most unqualified and unlimited sense, were their avowed principles in government, and the power of the church to decree rites and ceremonies, and the authority of the church in controversies of faith, were explicitly avowed. I know not where to begin, nor when to end. The anecdotes which I could relate, as an eye and an ear witness, would be innumerable. This north precinct of the large and ancient town of Braintree, now called Quincy, in which I was born and bred ; and in which my father, grand-father, great-grand-father, and great-great-grand-father lived, died, and lie buried, was a very focus of Episcopal bigotry, intrigue, intolerance and persecution. I could introduce here a *dramatis personæ* of names, which I will not now commit to paper, and entertain you with plots and intrigues, which would compose a comedy, equal to any of Moliere or Shakspeare, if corruption, prostitution and dupery can compose a comedy. Waving this for the present, we will proceed to Cambridge. Several branches of our Braintree family of vassals had removed and planted themselves in the very front of the University, and they must have an Episcopal Church. Our Braintree family of Apthorps instantly turned their attention to that seat of the muses and dissenters. Mr. East Apthorp, hot from Oxford, and still more warmed by holy orders from Episcopal hands, returned to his native country ; and soon after arose a splendid edifice, as it was then thought, which every body immediately concluded was intended for an Episcopal Palace, and in time for a Lambeth. All sensible men knew that this system could not be effected, but by act of Parliament, and if Parliament could do this they could do all things ; and what security could Americans have for life, liberty, property, or religion ?



The society for propagating the gospel, had long perverted their resources from their original design, to the support of Church of England ministers. Upon the death of Dr. Miller of Braintree, a satirical irony appeared in a news-paper, the point of which turned upon this abuse of the society's resources. This *jeu d'esprit* soon produced an explosion. Mr. Apthorp came out with an eloquent and zealous pamphlet. Dr. Mayhew appeared with his comparison between the charter and conduct of the society, shewing their non-conformity with each other. The controversy soon interested all men, spread through America and in Europe, brought forward the aged Dr. Johnson, and at last the Archbishop of Canterbury. All denominations in America became interested in it, and began to think of the secret, latent principle, upon which all encroachments upon us must be founded, the power of Parliament. The nature and extent of the authority of Parliament over the colonies was discussed every where, till it was discovered that it had none at all: a conclusion still more forcibly impressed upon the people by the Canada Bill, by which the Roman Catholic religion, and Popish Bishops were established in that province, by authority of a British Parliament. The people said, if Parliament can do this in Canada, they can do the same in all the other colonies: and they began to see, and freely to say, that Parliament had no authority over them in any case whatsoever.

JOHN ADAMS.

Quincy, December 5, 1815.

REV. DR. MORSE,

If such was the spirit of the English Church in America, and especially in Virginia before the Revolution, can you wonder that men so enlightened as Richard Henry Lee and his brothers, Patrick Henry, Chancellor Wythe, Chief Justice Pendleton, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, &c. though they had been all educated in that church, became afterwards disciples of Lock, Blackburne, Fourneaux, and William Penn, and united in destroying all ecclesiastical establishments in that state? But to return to the narration of the progress of investigation into the nature and extent of the jurisdiction of Great Britain, and especially of the authority of Parliament over these North American colonies.

From 1761 to 1764, America was all alive with jealousies and apprehensions of the designs of the British ministry, and their own governors, and their adherents. In 1764 Mr. George Grenville moved and carried in the house of commons, a number of fifty-five resolutions, that it would be expedient to lay taxes, particularly stamp duties, upon the colonies. Here the cloak was thrown off, and the masque trampled under foot. Nothing in religion or government ever touched to the quick the people of all classes in any country, like taxation. The cry was, if parliament can tax us, we are undone forever in soul, body, and estate. They can give us what religion and government they please, and do what they will with our property, persons and



consciences. Resistance to the last extremity, at whatever risque, must be made. How often have I heard in conversation in private companies, and how often was it said in the streets, "I will never live to see such acts of parliament executed in this country;" and how constantly was it echoed from man to man, "Nor I," "Nor I," "Nor I;" and no man thought it expedient to say "I will."

I remember to have read somewhere, I believe in the writings of Doctor Tillotson, that Providence had been pleased in the person of Martin Luther, to raise up a bold and daring genius, a proper wedge for splitting so hard and knotty a block, as the Papal usurpation upon mankind. Providence was now raising up, in the person of Mr. Otis, a genius equally bold and daring, equally well tempered and qualified as a wedge, to split the knotty lignum vitæ block of parliamentary usurpation over the colonies.

Mr. Otis, whose tongue and whose pen had never been idle in the cause of his country from 1761, now printed his "Rights of the Colonies asserted and proved," a work that was so popular that it was read in the house of representatives, and went out to the public under a kind of sanction from that body, who by their resolutions solemnly denied the right of parliament to tax the colonies. The next year, on the 29th of May, 1765, the same resolution was adopted in Virginia, and not long afterwards by all the other colonies. Between the denial of Massachusetts and that of Virginia, viz. on the 22d of March 1765, the stamp-act was passed.

Here then was a declaration of war on both sides. Here were already two nations directly and explicitly at issue, concerning their fundamental laws. For if the sovereignty of the empire was vested in parliament, a denial of its right to tax the colonies, was a declaration of total independence on parliament; and the stamp-act was a declaration of war against the colonies by king, lords and commons. As the king had conspired with his lords and commons, in this treasonable invasion of the legal sovereignties of the colonies, his Majesty was upon their principles a rebel; a traitor; and a declared enemy; and they had a right if they pleased to "*cashier him.*" (notwithstanding the musical condolence of Mr. Burke against Dr. Price,) in the strictest sense of the Doctor's expression. Nay, they had as clear a right to hang, draw and quarter him, upon their principles, as he had upon his, notwithstanding his anointment with holy oil, to practice a similar inhumanity upon Samuel Adams and John Hancock, for which he has recorded to endless ages, so ardent a desire.

At this period, events crowd upon my memory in such numbers, that I can only refer you to the records and journals of 1764 and 1765. Massachusetts wrote circular letters to all the colonies, requesting a general congress. Ministerial monkery was practised in New-Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, to prevent those colonies from sending delegates. Nine colonies only were represented in the congress, who met on the 7th of October, 1775.

While Mr. Otis was absent upon this legation, Mr. Samuel Adams was chosen by the town of Boston, a member of the legislature of the province. If Otis was Martin Luther, Samuel Adams was John Calvin. If Luther was rough, hasty, and loved good cheer, Calvin was cool, abstemious, polished and refined, though more inflexible, uniform and consistent. The people in Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, Charleston and every where else, arose like a hurricane, and bore down the stamp-act, the stamps, their officers and principal abettors as nullities.

This open resistance by force was a virtual declaration by the people of all the colonies, of their independence on parliament and on the crown too, whenever that crown should cease to defend and protect their fundamental laws and essential liberties, and especially when it united with lords and commons, in a plan to destroy them all. For this resistance was as decided to the executive, as it was to the legislative power of Great Britain.

The violent sensation, and the profound reflections, excited by this universal hostility to the whole authority of Great Britain, setting at open defiance all its boasted power, disseminated the freedom of inquiry, and the spirit of investigation, into the four corners of the colonies. The principles, the objects, and the ends of government, became the topics of discussion in all companies, and at the firesides of private families. Writers on the law of nations were more read, and more definite notions of our relations to Great Britain were formed, than ever had prevailed. The opinions of the people were more unanimous at that epoch, than they ever have been since. No party was yet formed against their country. A great majority of the partial friends of Great Britain, would acknowledge the rectitude of the American cause, and would vote against the authority of parliament. Their last resort was to the omnipotence of Great Britain, and the imbecility of the colonies. It was a child of five years old challenging his father to single combat. The boy was right, and the man wrong, arbitrary, cruel; but resistance was vain, and would only provoke the old gentleman to greater moroseness, and more cruel severity.

It has been a question, long since forgotten, whether, if Great Britain had persevered in support of the stamp-act, and sent a military force of ships and troops to enforce its execution, the people of the Colonies would then have resisted? Dr. Chauncy and Dr. Mayhew, in sermons which they preached and printed after the repeal of the stamp-act, have left to posterity their explicit opinions upon this question. If my more extensive familiarity with the sentiments and feelings of the people in the eastern, western and southern counties of Massachusetts, may apologize for my presumption, I subscribe without a doubt, to the opinions of Chauncy and Mayhew. What would have been the consequence of resistance in arms? Here opens an unbounded field of speculation. The condition of Britain, the state of parties in it; the state of France and Spain; the ungristled youth of George 3d, the unpopularity of his mother and

preceptor, would have forced Chatham into power ; and Chatham might have fallen from a more enviable height than Napoleon has in 1815.

JOHN ADAMS.

Quincy, December 22, 1815—Feast of the Pilgrims.

DEAR SIR,

You are examining me upon interrogatories. I must tell you the truth, and nothing but the truth. But to tell you the whole truth is impossible. It would require more volumes than I can calculate. I am as incapable of composing or writing them, as I am of commanding the sun to stand still. I can only note a few broken hints.

In 1765 the colonies were more unanimous, than they ever have been since, either as colonies or states. No party was formed against their country. The few who voted against the general sentiment, were but an handful. The resistance in America was so universal, and so determined, that Great Britain, with all her omnipotence, dared not attempt to enforce her pretensions. She retreated, and resorted to an insidious policy. She was, by too long practice and habit, too perfect a mistress of the maxim, "*In bello, stratagemata sunt licita*," to forget it upon this critical emergency. She saw, she felt that she could do nothing without her Chatham. He was called in to command the forlorn hope, and at the same time to invent the "*ruse de guerre*." Ducente Chatham, the stamp-act was repealed; and the statute passed, that "Parliament was sovereign over the colonies, in all cases whatsoever." Such was the great Chatham, a great national minister, because he always flattered and gratified the national passion for war, victory and conquest ; but he was not a wise minister. He was not an Elizabeth's minister. He was not a Cecil.—He died a martyr to his idol. He fell in the House of Lords, with the sovereignty of Parliament in his mouth.

Who, or which was the most extravagant, Great Britain in openly and avowedly asserting the sovereignty of the seas ; Napoleon, without asserting, yet attempting to exercise, the sovereignty of Europe by land ; or Chatham, perishing with the sovereignty of Parliament over the whole globe ? For, if Parliament had any sovereignty beyond the realm, they had it wherever they could carry their arms and conquests in Europe, Asia, Africa and America. A more universal empire than Napoleon, Louis XIV. Henry IV. or Charlemagne ever usurped or assumed.

When the immortal Chatham had established, in the laws of his kingdom, and in the minds of his people, (for they were his in a stricter sense than they were those of George the Third) his fundamental principle, that "*Parliament was sovereign, supreme, unlimited and uncontrollable over the colonies, in all parts of the world*," the ministry had recourse to address, intrigue, artifice and stratagem. Hopes and fears, promises and threatenings, avarice and ambition were excited. Promotion, advancement, honour, glory, wealth and power were promised ; disgrace, ruin, poverty, contempt, torture and death



were threatened. And this pious, moral system was pursued, with steady and invariable perseverance, for ten years, i. e. from 1765 to 1775. And what was their success ?—Blot it out, my tears ! But the recording angel has noted it, and my lamentations would be vain. In the course of these ten years they formed, and organised, and drilled, and disciplined a party in favour of Great Britain, and they seduced and deluded, nearly one third of the people of the colonies.

If you can spare the time, and take the pains to inquire, you may find a catalogue in New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, of names, among whom were many men of the first rank, station, property, education, influence and power, who, in 1765, had been real or pretended Americans, converted, during this period, to real Britons.

Let me confine myself to Massachusetts, and here to a few only of individuals. In 1764 and 1765, Harrison Gray, Esq. Treasurer of the Province, and member of his majesty's council, and Col. Brattle, of Cambridge, also a member of his majesty's council, and colonel of a regiment of militia, were both as open and decided Americans as James Otis. In 1766, Dr. Mayhew, who had been an oracle to the treasurer, died, and left him without a Mentor. Had Mayhew lived, it is believed that Gray would never have been a refugee. But the seducers prevailed, though he had connected his blood with an Otis, by marrying his beautiful daughter, to a brother of the *great patriot*, James Otis, Jr.

Brattle was a divine, a lawyer, and a physician, and however superficial in each character, had acquired great popularity by his zeal, and I must say by his indiscreet and indecorous ostentation of it, against the measures of the British government. The two subtle spirits, Hutchinson and Sewall, saw his character, as well as Trowbridge, who had been his rival at the bar, for many years. Sewall was the chosen spirit, to convert Brattle. Sewall became, all at once, intimate with Brattle. Brattle was soon converted, and soon announced a *Brigadier-General* in the militia. From this moment the tories pronounced Brattle a convert, and the whigs, an apostate. This rank in the militia, in time of peace, was an innovation, and it was instantly perceived to have been invented to take in the gudgeon.

Jonathan Sewall, Daniel Leonard, and Samuel Quincy, were my brother barristers at the bar, and my cordial, confidential and bosom friends. I never, in the whole course of my life, lived with any men in more perfect intimacy. They had all been patriots, as decided, as I believed, as I was. I have already hinted at the manner and means of Sewall's conversion.

Daniel Leonard was the only child of Col. Ephraim Leonard, of Norton. He was a scholar, a lawyer, and an orator, according to the standard of those days. As a member of the House of Representatives, even down to the year 1770, he made the most ardent speeches, which were delivered in that house, against Great Britain,

and in favour of the colonies. His popularity became alarming. The two sagacious spirits, Hutchinson and Sewall, soon penetrated his character, of which, indeed, he had exhibited very visible proofs. He had married a daughter of Mr. Hammock, who had left her a portion, as it was thought, in that day. He wore a broad gold lace, round the rim of his hat; he had made his cloak glitter, with laces still broader. He had set up his chariot and pair, and constantly travelled in it from Taunton to Boston. This made the world stare. It was a novelty. Not another lawyer in the province, attorney or barrister, of whatever age, reputation, rank or station, presumed to ride in a coach or chariot. The discerning ones soon perceived that wealth and power must have charms to a heart that delighted in so much finery, and indulged in such universal expense. Such marks could not escape the vigilant eyes of the two arch-tempters, Hutchinson and Sewall, who had more art, insinuation and address, than all the rest of their party. Poor Daniel was beset, with great zeal for his conversion. Hutchinson sent for him, courted him with the ardour of a lover, reasoned with him, flattered him, overawed him, frightened him, invited him to come frequently to his house. As I was intimate with Mr. Leonard, during the whole of this process, I had the substance of this information from his own mouth; was a witness to the progress of the impression made upon him, and to many of the labours and struggles of his mind, between his interest, or his vanity, and his duty.

Samuel Quincy was born in the same town and parish with me. I was three years at college with him, and as intimate with him as with any one there. We were sworn at the bar in October, 1758, together on the same day. He was upright at first in his views, though he meddled not much in politics; but he belonged to a club who affected to be thought neutral, though their real propensities were all on one side. This gentleman could not escape the notice of Hutchinson, and Sewall, who had married his cousin. History must search the human heart. Josiah Quincy, Jr. who was by many years younger than Samuel, his brother; many years after him at college and at the bar; possessing more energy of character, more ardour of spirit, more obstinate, and patient, and persevering application to study, and to business, and an eloquence more popular and imposing than all his other qualities, and openly espousing the cause of his country: soon eclipsed his brother, and attracted and commanded much more business and much more important and lucrative business in his profession, than his elder brother. Such a rivalry and such a jealousy, was more than human nature could bear, at least in this instance. Hutchinson and Sewall perceived it. They accordingly applied their magic arts to him. He was made Solicitor-General as successor to Sewall; and became henceforward, a tory and a refugee.

My class-mate Brown, a solid, judicious character, was once a disciple of James Otis, and a cordial supporter of him and his cause

in the House of Representatives. This I know from his own lips, as well as from his recorded votes. But they made him a Judge of the Superior Court, and that society made him a refugee. A tory, I verily believe, he never was.

I know the grief, the resentment and the rage, that this narration will excite in many families. But I owe nothing to them, and every thing to truth. I could descend to minuter details, and to many inferior examples, in Boston and Massachusetts ; but these may suffice, for the present, as specimens or exemplifications of the arts that were employed in all the colonies for ten years, i. e. from 1765 to 1775, to divide the people, and form a party in favour of Great Britain. Where is the historian, who can and will travel through the United States and investigate all the similar intrigues in each of them for the same purpose ? Yet, without this, the real history of the United States, and especially of their revolution, never can be written. I could crowd sheets of paper with anecdotes and names which would surprise you, of conversions in the other states. If you insist upon it, I may hereafter give you a few of the most conspicuous names and characters. But I give you notice, that not one of your friends, the federalists, through the continent, will thank you for your curiosity.

There is another very remarkable source of historical information, now totally forgotten. So unanimous were the sentiments, and so universal the congenial feelings of the people of Massachusetts, in 1764 and 1765, that almost, if not quite, every town in the province, was aroused to instruct their representatives in General Court ; all breathing the same spirit ; all decided against submission. These instructions were read in the house, and it was proposed and expected, that they should be published in volumes. But the expense, and especially the repeal of the stamp-act, prevented it. I know not how well, or how ill, the records and files of our legislature have been preserved ; but these documents ought now to be found somewhere. Still less do I know how the records of towns have been kept or preserved ; but these instructions ought to be in the hands of the Town-Clerks.

There is another large tract of inquiry to be travelled, in the correspondence of the committees of the town of Boston, with the other towns and states, commonly called the committees of correspondence. For reasons too numerous to be stated at present, I never belonged to any of these committees, and have never seen one of their letters sent or received. None of them have ever been published, at least I have never seen one. Nevertheless, I doubt not they exist. Where they are I know not, and I never knew. Indeed I never inquired. But in my opinion, the history of the United States never can be written, till they are discovered. What an engine ! France imitated it, and produced a revolution. England and Scotland were upon the point of imitating it, in order to produce



another revolution ; and all Europe was inclined to imitate it, for the same revolutionary purpose.

The history of the world for the last thirty years, is a sufficient commentary upon it. That history ought to convince all mankind, that committees of secret correspondence, are dangerous machines ; that they are caustics, and incision knives ; to which recourse should be had but in the last extremities of life—in the last question between life and death.

In this year, 1765, the congress met at New-York. Their proceedings must be stated : but it must also be remembered, that a part of that body, very important at that time, was hostile to the business ; and their influence is visible in the complexion of the results. The assembly, nevertheless, was so prominent a phenomenon, as to draw the attention of other nations, as well as this, to the question concerning the authority of parliament, and raised the hopes of the people to a union of the colonies, to be accomplished and perfected by future more universal congresses, for their defence, protection, and security.

I am sir, as ever,

JOHN ADAMS.

*Quincy, January 5th, 1816.*

DR. MORSE,

The trials of the officer and soldiers who were indicted for the slaughter in King-street, were pending for the greatest part of the year 1770, and when they came on, consumed six or seven days each. The discussions and decisions in those cases convinced the people, that they could depend on no protection against the sovereignty of Parliament, but Providence and their own arms. Accordingly they were found in Boston and all the neighbouring towns, forming companies for voluntary military exercises. Even Salem, Marblehead, and Newbury caught the flame, though the county of Essex, next to Worcester and Hampshire, was the last to abandon the ministry and their governors.

These trials, as important in the history of mankind, as any that are recorded in the history of jurisprudence, never have been and never can be truly, impartially and faithfully, represented to posterity. The first was taken down and transmitted to England by a Scottish or English stenographer, without any known authority but his own. The British government have never permitted it to see the light, and probably never will.

The second trial was taken by the same stenographer by permission of the court, and allowed to be published. The court allowed him to shew his manuscript to the council. He brought it to me. Upon reading it over, I found so much inaccuracy and so many errors, that I scratched out every thing but the legal authorities, and the testimonies of the witnesses. Mr. Quincy and Mr. Paine were consulted, and the result of their deliberations appears in the printed trial. Mr. Sewall, the attorney-general, who ought at the hazard of his exist-

ence to have conducted those prosecutions, disappeared : and Mr. Paine and Mr. Samuel Quincy were substituted, no body knew whether by the court or the attorney-general. I leave to the masters of chess, to make their reflections on this curious arrangement of kings, knights and pawns, upon the board. I speculated little on these puppet shows and idle games. To the law and the testimony, was my only maxim. The law and the testimony prevailed, and destroyed as much of my popularity, as Mr. Pitt lost by accepting a peerage and a pension. It was instantly propagated, that I had been bribed by an immense fee to sell my country. I never uttered a word, or suggested a hint alluding to fees, from first to last. A single guinea was put into my hand by the Irish infant, for a retaining fee ; ten guineas were offered on the first trial, and eight at the second, and accepted without looking at them, or uttering a word. These nineteen guineas were all the fees I ever received for a whole year of distressing anxiety, and for thirteen or fourteen days of the hardest labour, in the trials, that I ever went through. Add to all this, the taunts, and scoffs, and bitter reproaches of the whigs ; and the giggling and tittering of the tories, which was more provoking than all the rest.

This great event turned the attention of all the colonies to it, and the supremacy of Parliament stared all men in the face. If Parliament was omnipotent, could enact what statutes they pleased, and employ armies and navies, governors, counsellors and judges to interpret them, and carry them into execution ; of what use could our house of representatives be ? And what were our religion, liberties, properties or existence worth ? I recollect no event, which increased the horror of Parliamentary usurpation so much as this. The journals, the pamphlets, and the records of this period ought to be collected, and examined with patient attention. About this period, parties in England were as angry as in America. Wilkes and Junius agitated king, ministry, parliament and nation. Oppositions pretended friendship for America : but no members of either house, of administration or opposition, ever dared to avow the true American principle, or to express a doubt of the supreme, unlimited authority of Parliament, over all the dominions of the crown.

Standing armies in time of peace, stationed in populous cities to preserve internal peace, Cato's letters, and the Independent Whig, and all the writings of Trenchard and Gordon, Mrs. Macauley's history, Burgh's political disquisitions, Clarendon's history of the civil war, and all the writings relative to the revolutions in England, became fashionable reading.

Hutchinson, whose ambition made him as weak as water, had declared publicly in council, that he had no authority over the king's troops : that the military force had a separate command, and he could do nothing without Dalrymple. Good God ! said the public, is this our situation already ? Is a military authority already erected over the civil authority ? Or independent of it ? Is a lieutenant-

colonel of a regiment, commander in chief of the commander in chief of the province? Or even independent upon him? We remember the time when Brigadier Timothy Ruggles, commander in chief of Massachusetts troops, was put under the command of a British ensign for a whole campaign. Is the whole civil authority of the province, now to be placed under the command of a lieutenant-colonel of a British regiment? To talk or think of liberty or privileges, under a military government, is as idle and absurd, as under an ecclesiastical government.

How slightly soever historians may have past over this event, the blood of the martyrs, right or wrong, proved to be the seeds of *the congregation*. Not the battle of Lexington or Bunkers' Hill: not the surrender of Burgoyne or Cornwallis, were more important events in American history, than the battle of King-street, on the 5th of March, 1770.

The town of Boston instituted an annual oration in commemoration of this catastrophe, "Upon the danger of standing armies stationed in populous cities, in time of peace," and among the first orators, were such names as Hancock, Warren and Lovel.

These orations were read, I had almost said, by every body that could read, and scarcely ever with dry eyes. They have now been continued for forty-five years. Will you read them all? They were not long continued in their original design: but other gentlemen, with other views, had influence enough to obtain a change from "standing armies" to "feelings which produced the revolution." Of these forty-five orations, I have read as many as I have seen. They have varied with all the changes of our politics. They have been made the engine of bringing forward to public notice, young gentlemen of promising genius, whose connections and sentiments were tolerable to the prevailing opinions of the moment. There is juvenile ingenuity in all that I have read. There are few men of consequence among us, who did not commence their career by an oration on the fifth of March. I have read these orations, with a mixture of grief, pleasure and pity. Young gentlemen of genius describing scenes they never saw, and descanting on feelings they never felt,—and which great pains had been taken that they never should feel.—When will these orations end? And when will they cease to be monuments of the fluctuations of public opinion, and general feeling in Boston, Massachusetts, New-England and the United States? They are infinitely more indicative of the feelings of the moment, than of the feelings that produced the revolution.

Remember, Sir, that I am not writing history, or annals. I am only stating a few facts, and suggesting a few hints. If I could be 50 years younger, and had nothing better to do, I would have these orations collected and printed in volumes; and then write the history of the last forty-five years in commentaries upon them.

JOHN ADAMS.



Quincy, January 1st, 1818.

DR. MORSE,

From 1760 to 1766, was the purest period of patriotism. From 1766 to 1776, was the period of corruption. From 1775 to 1783 was the period of war, not a revolutionary war, for the revolution was completed in the minds of the people, and the union of the colonies, before the war commenced in the skirmishes of Concord and Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775. In 1766 commenced the separation of parties. The stamp-act was repealed; universal rejoicings had run like wild fire through the continent; but Chatham's declaratory act of the sovereignty of Parliament hung like a cloud over the whole American continent; thinking men and discerning eyes saw it, and amidst all the popular rejoicings, dreaded its ominous appearance. The public opinion thought it a *brutum fulmen*, a mere device to preserve the nominal dignity of Great Britain, without any intention of ever bringing it forward into action. When the general court met in May, Mr. Otis's services, sacrifices and exertions had been so splendid, that the house of representatives, by a spontaneous and almost unanimous feeling of gratitude, chose him their speaker. Bernard negatived him. Hutchinson, without whom Bernard was nothing, was instantly believed to be the adviser to this declaration of hostility. The conviction flashed like lightning through the community, that the sovereignty of parliament was not to be relinquished, and that future calamities must be expected. The house of representatives was electrified to such a degree, that when the election of counsellors came upon the carpet, Hutchinson, though lieutenant-governor and chief justice, and all his brother judges of the superior court of judicature, court of assizes, and general gaol delivery, were turned out of the counsel, and a general looking for future troubles took place. It was now seen that every man who espoused the cause of his country, must prepare himself for the fate of a martyr, or confessor; and that every man, of any consequence, who would betray his country, might expect lucrative, as well as honourable rewards. Honourable, I mean, in the common sense of the word in the world. It was not long, before these apprehensions were confirmed. A bill was brought into parliament, imposing taxes on glass, tea, paper, colours, &c. imported into the colonies.

The great Chatham was destined to

“Close his long glories with a sigh to find

“The unwilling gratitude of base mankind.”

Although his name still carried great power; the mortification arising from the loss of so much of his popularity, by his acceptance of a peerage and a pension: the unbounded licentiousness of the press in abusing him for it; and perhaps above all, the embarrassments he had found in forming a ministry among the factions of Rockingham, and Bedford, and Bute, when his brother, Lord Temple, and even the Duke of Portland, deserted him; aggravated the natural

and habitual infirmity of his constitution, and rendered him incapable of that activity in business, and that fire, which inspired every body with his own enthusiasm, and which had been so conspicuous in all parts of his former life.

This new act of tyrannical taxation, rekindled all the fires of opposition and resistance, on this side the water. The associations against its execution were universal through all the colonies, and ought to be stated and related in detail; because they illustrate the progress of the revolution in the minds of the people against the authority of parliament, towards a union of the colonies, and total independence on the one hand; and the progress of corruption and seduction on the other. Another innovation was contrived, and a board of commissioners of the customs erected; but the remonstrances and associations against the execution of the acts were so formidable, that the ministry thought it necessary to send a fleet and army to protect Temple, Hallowell, Faxon, Birch and Robertson, and their adherents and followers. In 1768 there appeared a general disposition to oppose their landing, by force. But many gentlemen apprehending confusion from unconcerted resistance, took measures, for inviting a convention of the province. The circumstances of this year ought to be distinctly developed, and the result of the convention stated. The fleet was drawn up to fire upon the town, and protect the landing of those illustrious personages, the commissioners, and their drunken secretary, and their defenders, the troops, which were given out to be four thousand men, though probably they were not half the number. These poor creatures, the soldiers, were in a forlorn condition. No barracks, no shelter, hungry and cold. The inhabitants shut their doors, and would admit panthers and serpents as soon. The address of their officers upon this dangerous crisis, I shall never forget. They became suppliants, and appealed to humanity. Had the door of a citizen been broken to let in the soldiers, such was the inflammation of spirits, that they would all have been made prisoners before morning. But the officers had too much sense. They put themselves and their men upon the compassionate list. "The poor soldiers were innocent; they knew not why they were sent here. Can you see your fellow creatures perish in your streets, for want of shelter?" Humanity prevailed. The troops were paraded on the common; one regiment appeared every day in Brattle-square, with their left flank before the front of the white house, where I then lived. Every morning I saw from my front windows Major Small, exercising his battalion or his regiment, and admired his patient, persevering assiduity no less than the regularity of his men. What were my reflections and feelings at these sights! Poor puppets! You know nothing of the invisible hand which dances you upon its wires! no more than the cogs and wheels of a clock, of the weights that move them, or the hand which they point to. The men who understand the machinery, and are the first springs of its movements, know no more of what they are doing.



than you do. They are heaping up vengeance against the day of vengeance, against you, against themselves, and against unnumbered thousands of others, as innocent as you. Major Small and I passed each other every day, but never spoke. Twenty years afterwards, we passed each other at public places of amusements in London, as Dido and Æneas passed each other in the shades, but never spoke. The troops lived in Boston for a few months more than a year, as the allied forces now reside in France, the blood of the inhabitants boiling with indignation, and the continent sympathizing with them. Wrangles and quarrels frequently occurred between the citizens and the soldiers ; exasperation increased on both sides, till it broke out in the melancholy catastrophe of the 8th of March, 1770. Now appeared the spirit of freemen. Multitudes from Boston, and the neighbouring towns, assembled spontaneously the next day, and from day to day. Strong guards were placed in the state-house, and every man appeared to be ready at the toll of a bell, or the sound of a gun, to turn out with his arms. The assembly applied to the governor and council ; Mr. Hutchinson was lieutenant-governor and commander in chief.—Collard Dalrymple was sent for. Samuel Adams appeared in his true character. His caution, his discretion, his ingenuity, his sagacity, his self command, his presence of mind, and his intrepidity, commanded the admiration and loud applauses of both parties. The troops were ordered to the castle, and Lord North called them from this time, “ Samuel Adams’ two regiments.”

JOHN ADAMS.

Quincy, January 20, 1816.

DEAR SIR,

In the order of time, I have passed over a tragical event, which excited much interest, and contributed largely to render the sovereignty of Parliament odious, detestable, and horrible to the people ; and I can conscientiously add, accelerated the catastrophe of the fifth of March, 1770.

In 1769, a little before the recal of Governor Bernard, the British frigate, *The Rose*, sent a lieutenant, a midshipman, and a press-gang of sailors, on board a ship of Mr. Hooper, of Marblehead, then returning from Bilboa, upon the recruiting service. The lieutenant demanded of the captain a sight of his crew. The crew were called. “ Are here all ? ” No answer. “ Search the ship,” said the imperious lieutenant. Away flew the midshipman, and his gang of loyal sailors, through every part of the ship, to search for hidden seamen. At last the cry was heard, “ here they are.” Four sailors had hid themselves in the fore-peak of the ship, the place most likely to be overlooked in a search. The fore-peak was immediately invaded by the lieutenant, the midshipman, and the whole press-gang, armed with swords and pistols. Michael Corbett and Lieutenant Panton argued the cause ; but neither being convinced, resort was had to the ratio ultima, and an amiable youth was laid dead at the feet of Mi-



chael Corbett. A boat was sent to the *Rose*, and a strong reinforcement to the press-gang, who soon broke down all before them, seized the four sailors, one of whom was bleeding, with an arm broken by a pistol-ball, shot by the midshipman, at random, among the four, in the first assault upon the fore-peak.

A special Court of Admiralty was summoned, according to act of Parliament, to try these four sailors for piracy and murder on the high seas, in killing Lieutenant Panton; when in law, truth, and conscience, the commander of the *Rose* frigate ought to have been prosecuted for piracy and murder on the high seas, in illegally sending a press-gang to enslave freemen, and compelling them, in self-defence, to destroy their invader and intended destroyer; or, in the better language of the boatswain of the *Rose* frigate, "to deprive honest men of their liberty."

The constitution of this court ought to be stated by an historian. It consisted of the governors of Massachusetts, Bernard, and New-Hampshire, Wentworth; Judge of Admiralty, Auchmuty; Commander of the Navy, Commodore Hood; and Counsellors from several colonies, to the number of fifteen. Whether Hutchinson sat as Lieutenant-Governor or as Chief Justice, I know not. When the court opened, the counsel of the poor prisoners presented pleas to the jurisdiction of the court, and if that should be overruled, requesting and demanding that a jury should be summoned, to try the facts, according to the course of the common law.

What has become of the records of this court; whether they have been sent to Halifax, or to London; whether they remain in any repository in Boston, or whether they have been burned, like most of the records of this world, I know not. But if they exist, they will show four pleas, drawn at great length, stating the laws, principles and reasonings on which they were founded, and each of them signed by one of the four prisoners, or by his counsel. These pleadings, contemptible as they may appear, at this day, cost the counsel many days of painful research, and the mere composition, and draught of them, cost more than one sleepless night, in the handwriting.

When the prisoners were arraigned, they presented these four pleas to the court; and their counsel appeared, to support them, with his arguments and books of authority, against Mr. Sewall himself, and the other counsel for the crown. But the counsel, on neither side, were permitted to say a word. Hutchinson started up, and with a countenance, which remains deeply engraven on my retina to this hour, expressive of the designs and passions, the fears and apprehensions, that agitated and tormented his soul, moved that the court should adjourn to the Council Chamber. No opposition! No reason pro or con—the countenances of the innocents, and the simple, on the bench, indicating some surprize; but the knowing ones manifesting a knowledge, or at least a pleasing conjecture of the secret. The prisoners were remanded; parties, witnesses, counsel,

audience, dismissed ; and the court adjourned to the Council Chamber, where they remained in secret conclave till late in the evening. When they arose, it was given out, and propagated through the town, that they had decided in favour of the pleas, and that jurors were to be summoned the next morning, to try the prisoners.

Whether this rumour had any foundation in truth, or whether it was invented, and circulated, to soften the keen asperity of the public feeling, I know not ; but this is certain, the court met again early next morning, in secret conclave, in the Council Chamber ; and then it was believed, by many, conjectured by more, and reported generally, that Hutchinson, and his confidential few, had been alarmed at the decision of the preceding evening, and had contrived a secret meeting, in the morning, to reconsider the vote. Whether there was any truth in these whispers, rumours, and murmurs, I know not ; but one thing is certain, that when the court opened in form, the four pleas, without permitting one word to be said for them, or against them, by the counsel, on either side, were pronounced by the president, Bernard, to be overruled.

The prisoners were now at the bar, and the trial commenced. The witnesses, on both sides, examined, and cross-examined. All agreed, in every fact and circumstance. No contradictory testimony. British sailors, and American sailors, all agreed. What morality, and what religion, Dr. Morse, in these sons of Neptune ! Oh ! for the honour of human nature, that I could say the same of the court !

When the examination was ended, and taken down by the clerk, and the counsel, in writing, the argument of counsel was expected. The counsel, for the prisoners, had taken great pains to search, and research, through every law, human and divine, the doctrine of homicide, in all its divisions, distinctions, and limitations. As this was said to be a civil law court, he had ransacked every writer, on the civil law, that the town of Boston possessed ; he had examined every authority, in the laws of England, upon the subject ; and, superadded to all, he had brought forward that volume of the British statutes at large, which contained the "*act of Parliament, which expressly prohibited the impressment of seamen in America.*" All these books were piled up, on the table, before him, in the sight of the court, when the counsel arose, in the ordinary course of proceedings, to argue the cause of his clients, the poor prisoners at the bar. After addressing the court, in the usual style of respect, he begged their attention to the authorities in law, and to the testimonies, which he should apply, to shew that the action of the prisoners, in killing Lieutenant Panton, could amount to nothing more than *justifiable homicide, in necessary self-defence.*

The words, "justifiable homicide," were scarcely out of his mouth, before Hutchinson started up, in very indecorous haste, and moved that the prisoners be remanded, and the court adjourned to the Council Chamber. The prisoners, the crowded audience, the bar, the



counsel, were all thunder-struck. But what were prisoners, audience, bar, or counsel, against "sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas?" The court was adjourned to the Council Chamber, and there enclosed, like a conclave of cardinals, in secret intrigues, for the rest of the day.

When the court opened, the next day, and the prisoners ordered to the bar, all the world expected that the trial would commence, and the argument, on the law, and the evidence, proceed. But, after a solemn pause, and total silence, Governor Bernard, the president of the court, arose, and, with a countenance so solemn, and so gloomy, as made the audience shudder, as if a sentence of death was coming, addressed himself to the prisoners, by name, and pronounced,— "The court have considered the evidence, in support of the libel against you, and are unanimously of opinion, that it amounts only to *justifiable homicide*. You are accordingly acquitted, and discharged from your imprisonment." Not another word was said, except by Mr. Auchmuty, the Judge of Admiralty, who cried out, "the court is unanimous in this opinion."

I will leave to poets, and writers of romance, to describe the joy that glowed in every heart, and lighted every countenance at this denouement of the tragedy. One circumstance is too characteristic to be omitted. The counsel for the prisoners,\* descending from the chamber, where the court sat, to the lower floor of the court-house, was met, at the bottom of the stairs, by the boatswain of the *Rose*. "Sir," said he, "we are all greatly obliged to you for your noble conduct, in defence of these brave fellows; yet, sir, this is the employment in which I have been almost constantly engaged for twenty years, fighting with honest men, to deprive them of their liberty; I always thought I ought to be hanged for it; and now I know it."

This trial, Dr. Morse, is a mystery, never yet explained—a labyrinth, without a clue!—an enigma that never can be unriddled! Though all hypothesis must be unavailing, in investigating this phenomenon, so strange, so unprecedented in the history of jurisprudence—I must be permitted to suggest a few hints for your consideration and inquiry.

1st. Where can you find a secret Court of Judicature? In Courts Martial? In the Inquisition? or in the Lion's Mouth at Venice? The Star-Chamber, and the High Commission Court, in England; even Jeffries' Courts were open, and public.

2d. Here were the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Justice, the Judge of Admiralty of Massachusetts, the Governor and Counsellors from New-Hampshire, Counsellors from Rhode-Island, and the Commander in Chief of the Royal Navy, Commodore Hood, now, if alive, Lord Bridport, sculking and hiding, in total silence, from open court to secret council-chamber, like Indians, fighting

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\*Mr. Adams himself, whose modesty induced him to conceal it.



behind bushes, and running, in the dark, from one bush to another, to avoid detection.

3d. Upon what law, upon what principle, were the prisoners acquitted of piracy and murder? Nobody knew; nobody could conjecture. Every honest soul was delighted with the decision; but none knew, or could surmise, upon what grounds it was made.

4th. Was the decision according to the law of nature, the law of nations, the civil law, the common law, or the statute law? No man could answer any of these questions. All was darkness, mystery, uncertainty, and confusion. The honest lawyers said, "*Misera servitus est ubi jus est vagum aut incognitum.*"

5th. There was an act of Parliament, expressly forbidding impressments in America, then lying on the table before the judges, produced by the counsel for the prisoners, and ready to be read at a moment's warning, which would have justified the decision of the court to the king, the English nation, and the American public, without any other authority, or argument. Why did not the court permit this statute to be read, or mentioned? Why did they not produce it, and read it themselves, if the counsel had, through ignorance or forgetfulness, omitted it.

6th. Can it be credible, that this court, and all the counsel for the crown, and all the naval and custom-house officers, were ignorant of the statute? However incredible it may appear, I have always believed, and still believe, that not one of them all had the least knowledge, or suspicion, that such an act existed. There was, at that time, but one copy of the statutes at large, in Massachusetts, and that set had been imported by the counsel for the prisoners.

7. Was the sentence of the court founded on the principle of the universal illegality of impressment? I sincerely believe it was; and, moreover, that not one judge, upon that bench, would have dared to give an opinion of its legality. The oracular and equivocal dictum of Lord Chatham had not then been pronounced, nor the opinion of the first Pitt, as ignorant as it was dogmatical, that it was a common law prerogative of the crown.

Candour obliges me to acknowledge that Mr. Sewall conducted this prosecution like a judicious lawyer, and polite gentleman; but Hutchinson appeared hurried between his terror of the crown, and its officers, on one hand, and his dread of unpopularity on the other.

No trial had ever interested the community so much before; excited so much curiosity and compassion, or so many apprehensions of the fatal consequences of the supremacy of parliamentary jurisdiction, or the intrigues of parliamentary courts. No trial had drawn together such crowds of auditors from day to day. They were as numerous as those in the next year, at the trials of Preston and the soldiers.

Nevertheless, every thing relative to this great event, must remain mysterious. The whole transaction seems totally forgotten. None of our historians appear to have ever heard of it. Mrs. Warren has

not remembered it ; and Dr. Gordon has taken no notice of it ; yet Dr. Gordon has minutely related the action of " Mr. Richardson," in shooting young Sneider, and its effects. " Mr. Richardson," and his exploit, were thought worthy to be recorded, while Panton and Corbett were to be forgotten ! And who was Richardson ? If there was even a colour of justice in the public opinion, he was the most abandoned wretch in America. Adultery, incest, perjury, were reputed to be his ordinary crimes. His life would exhibit an atrocious volume. This man was selected, by the Board of Commissioners, for a custom-house officer. His *name* was sufficient to raise a mob ; and I had almost said, to the *honour* of the mob, " Mr. Richardson," and the innocent victim, Sneider, ought to have been remembered ; but Panton and Corbett ought not to have been forgotten. Preston and his soldiers, ought to have been forgotten sooner.

JOHN ADAMS.

Quincy, February 13, 1818.

MR. NILES,

The American Revolution was not a common event. Its effects and consequences have already been awful over a great part of the globe. And when and where are they to cease ?

But what do we mean by the American Revolution ? Do we mean the American War ? The revolution was effected, before the war commenced. The revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people. A change in their religious sentiments, of their duties and obligations. While the king, and all in authority under him, were believed to govern in justice and mercy, according to the laws and constitution derived to them from the God of nature, and transmitted to them by their ancestors—they thought themselves bound to pray for the king, and queen, and all the royal family, and all in authority, under them, as ministers ordained of God for their good. But when they saw those powers renouncing all the principles of authority, and bent upon the destruction of all the securities of their lives, liberties and properties, they thought it their duty to pray for the Continental Congress, and all the thirteen state congresses, &c.

There might be, and there were others, who thought less about religion and conscience, but had certain habitual sentiments of allegiance and loyalty derived from their education ; but believing allegiance and protection to be reciprocal, when protection was withdrawn, they thought allegiance was dissolved.

Another alteration was common to all. The people of America had been educated in an habitual affection for England, as their mother country ; and while they thought her a kind and tender parent, (erroneously enough, however, for she never was such a mother,) no affection could be more sincere. But when they found her a cruel beldam, willing like lady Macbeth, to " dash their brains out," it is no wonder if their filial affections ceased, and were changed into indignation and horror.

*This radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments and affections of the people, was the real American Revolution.*

By what means, this great and important alteration in the religious, moral, political and social character of the people of thirteen colonies, all distinct, unconnected and independent of each other, was begun, pursued and accomplished, it is surely interesting to humanity to investigate, and perpetuate to posterity.

To this end it is greatly to be desired that young gentlemen of letters, in all the states, especially in the thirteen original states, would undertake the laborious, but certainly interesting and amusing task, of searching and collecting all the records, pamphlets, newspapers, and even hand-bills, which in any way contributed to change the temper and views of *the people*, and compose them into an independent nation.

The colonies had grown up under constitutions of government so different, there was so great a variety of religions, they were composed of so many different nations, their customs, manners and habits had so little resemblance, and their intercourse had been so rare, and their knowledge of each other so imperfect, that to unite them in the same principles in theory, and the same system of action, was certainly a very difficult enterprise. The complete accomplishment of it, in so short a time and by such simple means, was, perhaps, a singular example in the history of mankind.—Thirteen clocks were made to strike together; a perfection of mechanism which no artist had ever before effected.

In this research, the glories of individual gentlemen, and of separate states, is of little consequence. The MEANS AND THE MEASURES are the proper objects of investigation. These may be of use to posterity, not only in this nation, but in South America, and all other countries. They may teach mankind that revolutions are no trifles; that they ought never to be undertaken rashly; nor without deliberate consideration and sober reflection; nor without a solid, immutable, eternal foundation of justice and humanity; nor without a people possessed of intelligence, fortitude and integrity sufficient to carry them with steadiness, patience, and perseverance, through all the vicissitudes of fortune, the fiery trials and melancholy disasters they may have to encounter.

The town of Boston early instituted an annual oration on the fourth of July, in commemoration of the principles and feelings which contributed to produce the revolution. Many of those orations I have heard, and all that I could obtain I have read. Much ingenuity and eloquence appears upon every subject, except those principles and feelings. That of my honest and amiable neighbour, Josiah Quincy, appeared to me the most directly to the purpose of the institution. Those principles and feelings ought to be traced back for two hundred years, and sought in the history of the country from the first plantations in America. Nor should the principles and feelings of the English and Scotch towards the colonies, through



that whole period ever be forgotten. The perpetual discordance between British principles and feelings, and of those of America, the next year after the suppression of the French power in America, came to a crisis, and produced an explosion.

It was not until after the annihilation of the French dominion in America, that any British ministry had dared to gratify their own wishes, and the desire of the nation, by projecting a formal plan for raising a national revenue from America, by parliamentary taxation. The first great manifestation of this design, was by the order to carry into strict execution those acts of parliament, which were well known by the appellation of the *acts of trade*, which had lain a dead letter, unexecuted for half a century, and some of them, I believe, for nearly a whole one.

This produced, in 1760 and 1761, AN AWAKENING and a REVIVAL of American principles and feelings, with an enthusiasm which went on increasing, till in 1775 it burst out in open violence, hostility and fury.

The characters, the most conspicuous, the most ardent and influential in this revival, from 1760 to 1766, were—first and foremost, before all and above all, JAMES OTIS; next to him was OXENBRIDGE THATCHER; next to him, SAMUEL ADAMS; next to him, JOHN HANCOCK; then Dr. Mayhew, then Dr. Cooper and his brother. Of Mr. Hancock's life, character, generous nature, great and disinterested sacrifices, and important services, if I had forces, I should be glad to write a volume. But this I hope will be done by some younger and abler hand. Mr. Thatcher, because his name and merits are less known, must not be wholly omitted. This gentleman was an eminent barrister at law, in as large practice as any one in Boston.—There was not a citizen of that town more universally beloved for his learning, ingenuity, every domestic and social virtue, and conscientious conduct in every relation of life. His patriotism was as ardent, as his progenitors had been ancient and illustrious in this country. Hutchinson often said, "Thatcher was not born a Plebeian, but he was determined to die one." In May 1763, I believe he was chosen by the town of Boston one of their representatives in the legislature, a colleague with Mr. Otis, who had been a member from May 1761, and he continued to be re-elected annually till his death in 1765, when Mr. Samuel Adams was elected to fill his place, in the absence of Mr. Otis, then attending the congress at New-York.—Thatcher had long been jealous of the unbounded ambition of Mr. Hutchinson, but when he found him not content with the office of lieutenant-governor, the command of the castle and its emoluments, of judge of probate for the county of Suffolk, a seat in his majesty's council in the legislature; his brother-in-law secretary of state by the king's commission; a brother of that secretary of state, a judge of the supreme court and a member of council, now in 1760 and 1761, soliciting and accepting the office of chief justice of the superior court of judicature, he concluded, as Mr. Otis did, and as every other en-

lightened friend of his country did, that he sought that office with the determined purpose of determining all causes in favour of the ministry at St. James' and their servile parliament.

His indignation against him henceforward, to 1765, when he died, knew no bounds but truth. I speak from personal knowledge. For, from 1758, to 1765, I attended every superior and inferior court in Boston, and recollect not one in which he did not invite me home to spend evenings with him, when he made me converse with him as well as I could, on all subjects of religion, morals, law, politics, history, philosophy, belles-lettres, theology, mythology, cosmogony, metaphysics,—Lock, Clark, Leibnits, Bolinbroke, Berkley,—the pre-established harmony of the universe, the nature of matter and of spirit, and the eternal establishment of coincidences between their operations, fate, foreknowledge absolute—and we reasoned on such unfathomable subjects as high as Milton's gentry in pandemonium; and we understood them as well as they did, and no better. To such mighty mysteries he added the news of the day, and the tittle tattle of the town. But his favourite subject was politics, and the impending threatening system of parliamentary taxation, and universal government over the colonies. On this subject he was so anxious and agitated, that I have no doubt it occasioned his premature death.—From the time when he argued the question of writs of assistance, to his death, he considered the king, ministry, parliament and nation of Great Britain, as determined to new-model the colonies from the foundation; to annul all their charters; to constitute them all royal governments; to raise a revenue in America by parliamentary taxation; to apply that revenue to pay the salaries of governors, judges, and all other crown officers; and, after all this, to raise as large a revenue as they pleased, to be applied to national purposes at the exchequer in England; and further to establish bishops, and the whole system of the Church of England, tythes and all, throughout all British America. This system, he said, if it was suffered to prevail, would extinguish the flame of liberty all over the world; that America would be employed as an engine to batter down all the miserable remains of liberty in Great Britain and Ireland, where only, any semblance of it was left in the world. To this system he considered Hutchinson, the Olivers, and all their connections—dependants—adherents—shoelickers—and entirely devoted. He asserted that they were all engaged with all the crown officers in America, and the understrappers of the ministry in England, in a deep and treasonable conspiracy to betray the liberties of their country, for their own private, personal and family aggrandisement. His Philip-picks against the unprincipled ambition and avarice of all of them, but especially of Hutchinson, were unbridled; not only in private, confidential conversations, but in all companies and on all occasions. He gave Hutchinson the sobriquet of “*Summa Potestatis*,” and rarely mentioned him but by the name of “*Summa*.” His liberties of speech were no secrets to his enemies. I have sometimes won-

dered that they did not throw him over the bar, as they did soon afterwards Major Hawley. For they hated him worse than they did James Otis, or Samuel Adams, and they feared him more,—because they had no revenge for a father's disappointment of a seat on the superior bench to impute to him, as they did to Otis ; and Thatcher's character through life had been so modest, decent, unassuming—his morals so pure, and his religion so venerated, that they dared not attack him. In his office were educated to the bar, two eminent characters, the late Judge Lowell, and Josiah Quincy, aptly called the Boston Cicero. Mr. Thatcher's frame was slender, his constitution delicate : whether his physicians overstrained his vessels with mercury, when he had the small pox by inoculation at the castle, or whether he was overplyed by public anxieties and exertions, the small pox left him in a decline from which he never recovered. Not long before his death, he sent for me to commit to my care some of his business at the bar. I asked him whether he had seen the Virginia resolves ? “ Oh yes—they are men ! they are noble spirits ! It kills me to think of the lethargy and stupidity that prevails here. I long to be out. I will go out. I will go out. I will go into court, and make a speech which shall be read after my death, as my dying testimony against this infernal tyranny which they are bringing upon us.” Seeing the violent agitation into which it threw him, I changed the subject as soon as possible, and retired. He had been confined for some time. Had he been abroad among the people, he would not have complained so pathetically of the “ lethargy and stupidity that prevailed,” for town and country were all alive ; and in August became active enough, and some of the people proceeded to unwarrantable excesses, which were more lamented by the patriots than by their enemies. Mr. Thatcher soon died, deeply lamented by all the friends of their country.

Another gentleman who had great influence in the commencement of the revolution, was Doctor Jonathan Mayhew, a descendant of the ancient governor of Martha's Vineyard. This divine had raised a great reputation both in Europe and America, by the publication of a volume of seven sermons, in the reign of king George the second, 1749, and by many other writings, particularly a sermon in 1750, on the thirtieth of January, on the subject of passive obedience and non-resistance ; in which the saintship and martyrdom of king Charles the first are considered seasoned with wit and satire, superior to any in Swift or Franklin. It was read by every body ; celebrated by friends, and abused by enemies. During the reigns of King George the first, and King George the second ; the reigns of the Stuarts, the two Jameses, and the two Charleses, were in general disgrace in England. In America they had always been held in abhorrence. The persecutions and cruelties suffered by their ancestors under those reigns, had been transmitted by history and tradition ; and Mayhew seemed to be raised up to revive all their animosities against tyranny in church and state, and at the same time to



destroy their bigotry, fanaticism and inconsistency. David Hume's plausible, elegant, fascinating and fallacious apology, in which he varnished over the crimes of the Stuarts, had not then appeared. To draw the character of Mayhew, would be to transcribe a dozen volumes. This transcendent genius, threw all the weight of his great fame into the scale of his country, in 1761, and maintained it there with zeal and ardor, till his death, in 1766. In 1763 appeared the controversy between him and Mr. Apthorp, Mr. Caner, Dr. Johnson and Archbishop Secker, on the charter and conduct of the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. To form a judgment of this debate, I beg leave to refer to a review of the whole, printed at the time, and written by Samuel Adams; though by some, very absurdly and erroneously, ascribed to Mr. Apthorp. If I am not mistaken, it will be found a model of candor, sagacity, impartiality, and close, correct reasoning.

If any gentleman supposes this controversy to be nothing to the present purpose, he is grossly mistaken. It spread an universal alarm against the authority of parliament. It excited a general and just apprehension that bishops and diocesses and churches, and priests and tythes, were to be imposed on us by parliament. It was known, that neither king, nor ministry, nor archbishops, could appoint bishops in America, without an act of parliament; and if parliament could tax us, they could establish the Church of England, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies and tythes, and prohibit all other churches, as conventicles and schism shops.

Nor must Mr. Cushing be forgotten.—His good sense and sound judgment, the urbanity of his manners, his universal good character, his numerous friends and connections, and his continual intercourse with all sorts of people, added to his constant attachment to the liberties of his country, gave him a great and salutary influence from the beginning, in 1760.

Let me recommend these hints to the consideration of Mr. Wirt, whose life of Mr. Henry I have read with great delight. I think, that after mature investigation, he will be convinced that Mr. Henry did not "give the first impulse to the ball of independence," and that Otis, Thatcher, Samuel Adams, Mayhew, Hancock, Cushing, and thousands of others, were labouring for several years at the wheel, before the name of Henry was heard beyond the limits of Virginia.

If you print this, I will endeavour to send you something concerning Samuel Adams, who was destined to a longer career, and to act a more conspicuous, and, perhaps, a more important part, than any other man. But his life would require a volume. If you decline printing this letter, I pray you to return it as soon as possible to,

Sir, your humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

LETTER FROM MR. ADAMS TO JUDGE TUDOR.

*Quincy, March 29, 1818.*

DEAR SIR,

Whenever you shall find a painter, male or female, I pray you to suggest a scene and subject.

The scene is the Council Chamber of the old Town-House, in Boston. The date is the month of February, 1761, nine years before you came to me in Cole-Lane. As this is five years before you entered college, you must have been in the second form of Master Lovell's school.

That Council Chamber was as respectable an apartment, and more so too, in proportion, than the House of Lords or House of Commons in Great Britain, or that in Philadelphia, in which the Declaration of Independence was signed, in 1776.

In this chamber, near the fire, were seated five Judges, with Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson at their head, as Chief Justice ; all in their new fresh robes of scarlet English cloth, in their broad bands, and immense judicial wigs. In this chamber was seated, at a long table, all the Barristers of Boston, and its neighbouring county of Middlesex, in their gowns, bands, and tye-wigs. They were not seated on ivory chairs ; but their dress was more solemn and more pompous than that of the Roman Senate, when the Gauls broke in upon them. In a corner of the room must be placed Wit, Sense, Imagination, Genius, Pathos, Reason, Prudence, Eloquence, Learning, Science, and immense Reading, hung by the shoulders on two crutches, covered with a cloth great coat, in the person of Mr. Pratt, who had been solicited on both sides, but would engage on neither, being about to leave Boston forever, as Chief Justice of New-York.

Two portraits, at more than full length, of King Charles II. and King James II. in splendid golden frames, were hung up in the most conspicuous side of the apartment. If my young eyes or old memory have not deceived me, these were the finest pictures I have seen. The colours of their long flowing robes, and their royal ermines were the most glowing, the figures the most noble and graceful, the features the most distinct and characteristic : far superior to those of the King and Queen of France, in the Senate Chamber of Congress. I believe they were Vandyke's. Sure I am there was no painter in England capable of them at that time. They had been sent over without frames, in Governor Pownall's time. But as he was no admirer of Charleses or Jameses, they were stowed away in a garret, among rubbish, till Governor Bernard came, had them cleaned, superbly framed, and placed in Council for the admiration and imitation of all men, no doubt with the concurrence of Hutchinson and all the Junto ; for there has always been a Junto. One circumstance more. Samuel Quincy and John Adams had been admitted Barristers at that term. John was the youngest. He should be painted, looking like a short, thick, fat Archbishop of Canterbury,

seated at the table, with a pen in his hand, lost in admiration, now and then minuting those despicable notes which you know that \*\*\*\*\* stole from my desk, and printed in the Massachusetts Spy, with two or three bombastic expressions interpolated by himself; and which your pupil, Judge Minot, has printed in his history.

You have now the stage and the scenery; next follows a narration of the subject. I rather think that we lawyers ought to call it, a brief of the cause.

When the British ministry received from General Amherst his despatches, announcing his conquest of Montreal, and the consequent annihilation of the French government and power in America, in 1759, they immediately conceived the design, and took the resolution of conquering the English colonies, and subjecting them to the unlimited authority of Parliament. With this view and intention, they sent orders and instructions to the Collector of the Customs in Boston, Mr. Charles Paxton, to apply to the civil authority for writs of assistance, to enable the custom-house officers, tide-waiters, land-waiters, and all, to command all sheriffs and constables, to attend and aid them in breaking open houses, stores, shops, cellars, ships, bales, trunks, chests, casks, packages of all sorts, to search for goods, wares and merchandises, which had been imported against the prohibitions, or without paying the taxes imposed by certain acts of Parliament, called "THE ACTS OF TRADE," i. e. by certain parliamentary statutes, which had been procured to be passed from time to time, for a century before, by a combination of selfish intrigues between West India planters, and North-American royal governors. These acts never had been executed, and there never had been a time when they would have been, or could have been, obeyed.

Mr. Paxton, no doubt consulting with Governor Bernard, Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, and all the principal crown officers, and all the rest of the Junto, thought it not prudent to commence his operations in Boston. For obvious reasons, he instructed his deputy collector in Salem, Mr. Cockle, to apply, by petition, to the Superior Court in November, 1760, then sitting in that town, for writs of assistance. Stephen Sewall was then chief justice of that court, an able man, an uncorrupted American, and a sound whig; a sincere friend of liberty, civil and religious. He expressed great doubts of the legality of such a writ, and of the authority of the Court to grant it. Not one of his brother judges uttered a word in favour of it; but as it was an application on the part of the crown, it must be heard and determined. After consultation, the court ordered the question to be argued at the next February term, in Boston, i. e. in 1761.

In the mean time Chief Justice Sewall died, and Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson was appointed chief justice of that court in his stead. Every observing and thinking man knew that this appointment was made for the direct purpose of deciding this question,



in favour of the Crown, and all others in which it should be interested.

An alarm was spread far and wide. Merchants of Salem and Boston applied to Mr. Pratt, who refused, and to Mr. Otis and Mr. Thatcher, who accepted, to defend them against this terrible menacing monster, the writ of assistance. Great fees were offered, but Otis, and I believe Thatcher, would accept of none. "In such a cause," said Otis, "I despise all fees."

I have given you a sketch of the stage, and the scenery, and a brief of the cause; or, if you like the phrase better, of the tragedy, comedy, or farce. Now for the actors and performers.

Mr. Gridley argued, with his characteristic learning, ingenuity and dignity, and said every thing that could be said in favour of Cockle's petition, all depending, however, on the "If the Parliament of Great Britain is the sovereign legislature of all the British empire."

Mr. Thatcher followed him on the other side, and argued with the softness of manners, the ingenuity, the cool reasoning which were peculiar to his amiable character.

But Otis was a flame of fire! With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glare of his eyes into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence he hurried away all before him. American Independence was then and there born. The seeds of Patriots and Heroes to defend the *non sine Diis animosus infans*;—to defend the vigorous youth were then and there sown. Every man, of an immense crowded audience, appeared to me to go away as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance.\* Then, and there, was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain—then and there the child Independence was born. In fifteen years, i. e. in 1776, he grew up to manhood, and declared himself free.

The court adjourned, for consideration, and, after some days, at the close of the term, Hutchinson, Chief Justice, arose and said, "The court has considered the subject of writs of assistance, and can see no foundation for such a writ; but as the practice in England is not known, it has been thought best to continue the question to next term, that, in the mean time, opportunity may be given to write to England for information concerning the subject." In six months, the next term arrived; but no judgment was pronounced; nothing was said about writs of assistance; no letters from England; and nothing more was said in court concerning them. But it was generally reported and understood, that the court clandestinely

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\*The reader will wish to know the nature and form of these writs. Mr. Adams quotes the following, as a specimen:—"The officers of his majesty's customs, &c. shall have power and authority to enter on board ships and vessels, and make searches, and do all other matters and things, which may tend to secure the true payment of the duties by this act imposed, and the due and orderly collection thereof, which any customers, collectors, or other officers of any of his majesty's ports can or may do, touching his majesty's customs of tonnage and poundage," &c. &c.

granted them; and the custom-house officers had them in their pockets, though I never knew that they dared to produce and execute them in any one instance.

Mr. Otis' popularity was without bounds. In May, 1761, he was elected into the House of Representatives, by an almost unanimous vote. On that week I happened to be at Worcester, attending a Court of Common Pleas, of which Brigadier Ruggles was Chief Justice. When the news arrived from Boston, you can have no idea of the consternation among the government people. Chief Justice Ruggles, at dinner at Col. Chandler's, on that day, said, "Out of this election will arise a faction, which will shake this province to its foundation."

For ten years afterwards Mr. Otis, at the head of his country's cause, conducted the town of Boston, and the people of the province, with a prudence and fortitude, at every sacrifice of personal interest, and amidst unceasing persecution, which would have done honour to the most virtuous patriot or martyr of antiquity.

I fear I shall make you repent of bringing out the old gentleman.  
JOHN ADAMS.

We close this section with the anecdote of Dr. Franklin, illustrative of the odious stamp-act, as published in the "American Museum":—

"Dr. Franklin, as agent for the province of Pennsylvania, being in England at the time the Parliament passed the stamp-act for America, was frequently applied to by the ministry for his opinion respecting the operation of the same, and assured them that the people of America would never submit to it. The act was, nevertheless, passed, and the event shewed he had been right. After the news of the destruction of the stamped paper had arrived in England, the ministry again sent for the doctor, to consult with him, and concluded with this proposition, that if the Americans would engage to pay for the damage done in the destruction of the stamped paper, &c. the Parliament would then repeal the act. To this the doctor answered, that it put him in mind of a Frenchman, who, having heated a poker red hot, ran into the street, and, addressing an Englishman he met there, "hah, monsieur, voulez vous give me de plaisir et de satisfaction, and lete me runi dis poker only one foote up your backside?" "What!" says the Englishman:—"Only to lete me runi dis poker one foote up your backside." "What do you mean?" replies the Englishman. "Welle, den, only so far," says the Frenchman, pointing to about six inches of the poker.—"No, no," replies the Englishman. "Well, den," says the Frenchman, will you have de justice to paye me for de trouble and expense of heating de poker?"—"No, that I shan't do," answered the Englishman, and walked off."

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR ;

EMBRACING AN OUTLINE OF THE MILITARY OPERATIONS, &c.

IN proportion as the breach between Great Britain and the colonies widened, the distrust and animosity between the American people and the British troops increased. Preparations began to be made to oppose, by force, the execution of certain offensive acts of parliament. The militia of the country were trained to the use of arms, great encouragement was given for the manufacture of gunpowder, and measures were taken to obtain all kinds of military stores.

In February, 1775, Colonel Leslie was sent by General Gage with a detachment of troops from Boston, to take possession of some cannon at Salem. But the people had intelligence of the design ; took up the draw-bridge in that town, and prevented the troops from passing, until the cannon were secured ; so that the expedition failed.

Provisions and military stores were also collected and stored in different places, particularly at Concord. General Gage, though zealous for his royal master's interest, discovered a prevailing desire after a peaceful accommodation. He wished to prevent hostilities, by depriving the inhabitants of the means necessary for carrying them on. With this view,\* he determined to destroy the stores which he knew were collected for the support of a provincial army ; and wishing to accomplish this without bloodshed, he took every precaution to effect it by surprise, and without alarming the country. At 11 o'clock at night, 800 grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of the royal army, embarked at the common, landed at Leechmore's Point, and marched for Concord, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith. Neither the secrecy with which this expedition was planned ; the privacy with which the troops marched out, nor an order that no inhabitant should leave Boston, were sufficient to prevent intelligence from being sent to the country militia of what was going on. About two in the morning, 130 of the Lexington militia had assembled to oppose them ; but the air being chilly, and intelligence respecting the regulars uncertain, they were dismissed,

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\*It is believed that another object of this expedition was, to seize on the persons of Messrs. Hancock and S. Adams, who, by their spirited exertions, had rendered themselves obnoxious to General Gage.



with orders to appear again at the beat of drum. They collected a second time, to the number of 70, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning, and the British regulars soon after made their appearance. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced corps, rode up to them and called out, "Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse." They still continued in a body, on which he advanced nearer, discharged his pistol, and ordered his soldiers to fire. A dispersion of the militia was the consequence, but the firing of the regulars was nevertheless continued. Individuals finding they were fired upon, though dispersing, returned the fire. Three or four of the militia were killed on the green. A few more were shot after they had begun to disperse. The royal detachment proceeded on to Concord, and executed their commission. They disabled two 24 pounders; threw 500lb. of ball into the rivers and wells, and broke in pieces about 60 barrels of flour. Mr. John Buterick, major of a minute regiment, not knowing what had passed at Lexington, ordered his men not to give the first fire, that they might not be the aggressors. Upon his approaching near the regulars, they fired, and killed Captain Isaac Davis, and one private of the provincial minute men. The fire was returned, and a skirmish ensued. The king's troops having done their business, began their retreat towards Boston. This was conducted with expedition, for the adjacent inhabitants had assembled in arms, and began to attack them in every direction. In their return to Lexington they were exceedingly annoyed, both by those who pressed on their rear, and others who poured in from all sides, firing from behind stone walls, and such like coverts, which supplied the place of lines and redoubts. At Lexington the regulars were joined by a detachment of 900 men under Lord Percy, which had been sent out by General Gage to support Lieutenant-Colonel Smith. This reinforcement, having two pieces of cannon, awed the provincials, and kept them at a greater distance; but they continued a constant, though irregular and scattering fire, which did great execution. The close firing, from behind the walls, by good marksmen, put the regular troops in no small confusion; but they nevertheless kept up a brisk retreating fire on the militia and minute men. A little after sunset the regulars reached Bunker's Hill, worn down with excessive fatigue, having marched that day between thirty and forty miles. On the next day they crossed Charlestown ferry, to Boston.

There never were more than 400 provincials engaged at one time, and often not so many. As some tired, and gave out, others came up and took their places. There was scarcely any discipline observed among them. Officers and privates fired when they were ready, and saw a royal uniform, without waiting for the word of command. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to gain opportunities, by crossing fields and fences, and to act as flanking parties against the king's troops, who kept to the main road.

The regulars had 65 killed, 174 wounded, and 24 made prisoners. Of the provincials 49 were killed, and 39 wounded and missing.

Here was spilt the *first blood* in the war of the revolution ; a war which severed America from the British empire.

When the venerable Col. Otis heard of this tragical affair, he exclaimed, "The fearful day has arrived ! A civil war has actually commenced in our land. We must be prepared for the worst ; and may God preserve and protect our country."

On the 20th of April, the day after the Lexington battle, General Warren, chairman of the committee of safety, wrote General Gage the following letter :—

"SIR—The unhappy situation into which this colony is thrown, gives the greatest uneasiness to every man who regards the welfare of the kingdom, or feels for the distresses of his fellow men. But even now much may be done to alleviate those misfortunes which cannot be entirely prevented. And I think it of the utmost importance to us, that our conduct be such as that the contending parties may entirely rely upon the honour and integrity of each other for the punctual performance of any agreement which shall be made between them.

Your Excellency, I believe, knows very well the part I have taken in public affairs,—I ever scorned disguise. I think I have done my duty. Some may think otherwise. But be assured, sir, as far as my influence goes, every thing which can be reasonably required of us to do, shall be done ; and every thing promised shall be religiously performed.

I should, now, be glad to know from you, sir, how many days you desire may be allowed for such as desire to remove to Boston with their effects ; and what time you will allow the people in Boston for their removal. When I have received that information, I will repair to Congress, and hasten, as far as I am able, the issuing of a proclamation. If your excellency will be pleased to take the matter into consideration, and favour me, as soon as may be, with an answer, it will lay me under a great obligation, as it so nearly concerns the welfare of my friends in Boston.

I have many things to say to your excellency, and most sincerely wish I had broken through the formalities, which I thought due to your rank, and freely told you all I knew or thought of public affairs ; and I must confess, whatever may be the event, that you generously gave me such opening, as I now think I ought to have embraced ; but the true cause of my not doing it was the knowledge I had of the vileness and treachery of many persons around you, who, I supposed, had gained your entire confidence."

*Letter to the several towns in the colony, from Hon. Joseph Warren, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, April 28, 1775.*

"GENTLEMEN—The barbarous murders on our innocent brethren, on Wednesday the 19th instant, have made it absolutely necessary,



that we immediately raise an army to defend our wives and children from the hands of an inhuman soldiery, who, incensed at the obstacles they met with in their bloody progress, and enraged at being repulsed from the field of slaughter, will no doubt, take the first opportunity in their power to ravage this devoted country with fire and sword. We conjure you therefore, by all that is dear, by all that is sacred, that you give all assistance possible in forming the army. Our all is at stake. Death and devastation are the certain consequences of delay. Every moment is infinitely precious. An hour lost may deluge our country in blood, and entail perpetual slavery upon the few of our posterity who may survive the carnage. We beg and entreat, as you will answer to your country, to your consciences and to God himself, that you hasten and encourage, by all possible means, the enlistment of men to form the army; and send them forward to Head-Quarters at Cambridge, with that expedition which the vast importance and instant urgency of the affair demand."

When General Washington heard of the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775, and of the slaughter of the Americans, on that occasion, he said—"I grieve for the death of my countrymen; but rejoice that the British are still so determined to keep God on our side: for the smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordained.\*

Lexington opened the first scene to this great drama, which, in its progress, exhibited the most illustrious characters and events, and closed with a revolution, equally glorious for the actors, and important in its consequences to mankind.

This battle roused all America. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts being at this time in session, voted that "An army of 30,000 men be immediately raised; that 13,600 be of their own province, and that a letter and delegate be sent to the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island." The militia collected from all quarters, and Boston, in a few days, was besieged by twenty thousand men. A stop was put to all intercourse between the town and country, and the inhabitants were reduced to great want of provisions. General Gage promised to let the people depart, if they would deliver up their arms. The people complied; but when the General had obtained their arms, the perfidious man refused to let the people go.

This breach of faith, and the consequences that attended it, were justly and greatly complained of; and although many, at different times, were permitted to leave the town, they were obliged to leave all their effects behind; so that many who had been used to live in ease and affluence, were at once reduced to extreme indigence and misery. A circumstance peculiarly and wantonly aggravating, and which was the ground of the bitterest complaints of congress, was, that passports were granted and retained in such a manner, as that

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\* Weems' Life of Washington.



families were broken, and the dearest connexions separated ; part being compelled to quit the town, and part cruelly retained against their inclination.

About the latter end of May, a great part of the reinforcements ordered from Great Britain, arrived at Boston. The British generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, whose behaviour in the preceding war had gained them great reputation, also arrived about the same time. General Gage thus reinforced, prepared for action with more decision ; but before he proceeded to extremities, he conceived it due to ancient forms to issue a proclamation, holding forth to the inhabitants the alternative of peace or war. He therefore offered pardon in the king's name to all who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations and peaceable duties, excepting only from the benefit of that pardon "SAMUEL ADAMS and JOHN HANCOCK," whose offences were said to be "of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." He also proclaimed, that not only the persons above named and excepted, but also all their adherents, associates and correspondents, should be deemed guilty of treason and rebellion, and treated accordingly. By this proclamation it was also declared, "that as the courts of judicature were shut, martial law should take place, till a due course of justice should be re-established." It was supposed that this proclamation was a prelude to hostilities, and preparations were accordingly made by the Americans. The heights of Charlestown were so situated as to make the possession of them a matter of great consequence, to either of the contending parties. Orders were therefore issued, June 16th, by the provincial commanders, that a detachment of a thousand men should intrench upon Breed's Hill.\* Here the Americans, between midnight and morning, with uncommon expedition and silence, threw up a small redoubt, which the British did not discover till the morning of the 17th, when they began an incessant firing, and continued it till afternoon. With the intrepidity of veteran soldiers the Americans bore this fire, and proceeded to finish their redoubt, and to throw up a breast-work, extending eastward of it to the bottom of the hill. About noon, Gen. Gage detached Major-General Howe, and Brigadier-General Pigot, with the flower of his army, in two detachments, amounting in the whole to nearly 3000 men. They landed at a point about 150 or 200 rods south-east of the redoubt, and deliberately prepared for the attack. While the troops, who first landed, were waiting for a reinforcement, the Americans on the left wing towards Mystic River, for their security, pulled up some adjoining post and rail fence, and set it down in two parallel lines near each other, and filled the space between with hay, which the day

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\* Historians through mistake, have called the hill where the battle was fought, *Bunker's Hill*, which is a quarter of a mile north of Breed's or Russell's Hill, where the battle was fought.

before was mowed and remained in the adjacent field. The British troops, in the mean time, formed in two lines, and about 3 o'clock advanced slowly towards the Americans. The hills and steeples in Boston, and the circumjacent country, were crowded with anxious spectators of the dubious conflict. While some felt for the honour of the British troops, multitudes, with a keener sensibility, felt for the liberties of a great and growing country. The attack commenced on the part of the British troops. The Americans had the precaution, in obedience to the orders of their commanding officer, to reserve their fire till their enemies had approached within 10 or 12 rods of their works. They then began a well directed and furious discharge of small arms, which mowed down their enemies in ranks, and occasioned a disorderly and precipitate retreat. Their officers rallied them with difficulty, and pushed them forward with their swords, to a second attack. They were in the same manner put to flight a second time. With still greater difficulty they were forced by General Howe, to a third attack. By this time the powder of the Americans began to fail, and their redoubt was attacked on two sides. Under these circumstances, a retreat was ordered; the left wing of the Americans, northeast of the redoubt, still continuing their fire, ignorant of what had taken place on the right, till the British had nearly surrounded them. The retreat was effected, with an inconsiderable loss, considering the greater part of the distance they had to pass was completely exposed to the incessant fire of the Glasgow man-of-war and two floating-batteries. In this retreat, Warren fell.

During the heat of this bloody action, by order of General Gage, Charlestown was set on fire, by a battery on Cops' Hill, in Boston, and a party from the Somerset man-of-war, lying in Charles River, and nearly 400 houses, including six public buildings, were consumed, with their furniture, &c. valued by 19 men, under oath, at 156,900*l.* specie; and 2000 persons reduced from affluence and mediocrity, to the most aggravated poverty and exile.

The number of Americans engaged in this memorable action was only 1500. There have been few battles in modern wars in which, all circumstances considered, there was a greater slaughter of men than in this short engagement. The loss of the British, as acknowledged by General Gage, amounted to 1054 men. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed, and 70 wounded. The loss of the Americans was 77 killed, 278 wounded and missing.

The death of Major General Warren, who four days before had received his commission, and who, having had no command assigned him, fought this day as a volunteer, was particularly and greatly lamented. "To the purest patriotism, and the most undaunted bravery, he added the eloquence of an accomplished orator, and the wisdom of an able statesman."

The female part of our citizens contributed their full proportion in every period, towards the accomplishment of the revolution. They



wrought in their own way, and with great effect. An anecdote which we have just seen in one of our newspapers, will explain what I mean.

“A good lady—we knew her when she had grown old—in 1775, lived on the sea-board, about a day’s march from Boston, where the British army then was. By some unaccountable accident, a rumour was spread, in town and country, in and about there, that the *Regulars* were on a full march for the place, and would probably arrive in three hours at farthest. This was after the battle of Lexington, and all, as might be well supposed, was in sad confusion—some were boiling with rage and full of fight, some with fear and confusion, some hiding their treasures, and others flying for life. In this wild moment, when most people, in some way or other, were frightened from their property, our heroine, who had two sons, one about nineteen years of age, and the other about sixteen, was seen by our informant, preparing them to discharge their duty. The eldest she was able to equip in fine style—she took her husband’s fowling-piece, “made for duck or plover;” (the good man being absent on a coasting voyage to Virginia) and with it the powder horn and shot bag; but the lad thinking the duck and goose shot not quite the size to kill regulars, his mother took a chisel, cut up her pewter spoons, and hammered them into slugs, and put them into his bag, and he set off in great earnest, but thought he would call one moment and see the parson, who said well done, my brave boy—God preserve you—and on he went in the way of his duty. The youngest was importunate for his equipments, but his mother could find nothing to arm him with but an old rusty sword; the boy seemed rather unwilling to risk himself with this alone, but lingered in the street, in a state of hesitation, when his mother thus upbraided him. “You John H\*\*\*\*, what will your father say if he hears that a child of his is afraid to meet the British, go along; beg or borrow a gun, or you will find one, child—some coward, I dare say, will be running away, then take his gun and march forward, and if you come back and I hear you have not behaved like a man, I shall carry the blush of shame on my face to the grave.” She then shut the door, wiped the tear from her eye, and waited the issue; the boy joined the march. Such a woman could not have cowards for her sons. Instances of refined and delicate pride and affection occurred, at that period, every day, in different places, and in fact this disposition and feeling was then so common, that it now operates as one great cause of our not having more facts of this kind recorded. What few there are remembered should not be lost. Nothing great or glorious was ever achieved which woman did not act in, advise, or consent to.”

On the 12th of June Congress issued the following proclamation for a public Fast:—

“As the Great Governor of the world, by his supreme and universal providence, not only conducts the course of nature with unerring wisdom and rectitude, but frequently influences the minds of men to



serve the wise and gracious purposes of his providential government ; and it being at all times our indispensable duty devoutly to acknowledge his superintending providence, especially in times of impending danger and public calamity, to reverence and adore his immutable justice, as well as to implore his merciful interposition for our deliverance :—

This Congress, therefore, considering the present, critical, alarming and calamitous state of these colonies, do earnestly recommend that Thursday, the 20th day of July next, be observed, by the inhabitants of all the English colonies on this continent, as a day of public humiliation, fasting, and prayer ; that we may, with united hearts and voices, unfeignedly confess and deplore our many sins ; and offer up our joint supplications to the all-wise, omnipotent, and merciful Disposer of all events, humbly beseeching Him to forgive our iniquities, to remove our present calamities, to avert those desolating judgments with which we are threatened, and to bless our rightful sovereign, King George the Third, and to inspire him with wisdom to discern and pursue the true interest of his subjects, that a speedy end may be put to the civil discord between Great Britain and the American colonies, without farther effusion of blood ; and that the British nation may be influenced *to regard the things that belong to her peace before they are hid from her eyes* ; that these colonies may ever be under the care and protection of a kind Providence, and be prospered in all their interests ; that the divine blessing may descend and rest upon all our civil rulers, and upon the representatives of the people in their several assemblies and conventions, that they may be directed to wise and effectual measures for preserving the union, and securing the just rights and privileges of the colonies ; that virtue and true religion may revive and flourish throughout our land ; and that all America may soon behold a gracious interposition of Heaven for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded rights, a reconciliation with the parent state, on terms constitutional and honourable to both ; and that her civil and religious privileges may be secured to the latest posterity.

And it is recommended to Christians of all denominations to assemble for public worship, and to abstain from servile labour and recreation on said day.

*Ordered*, That a copy of the above be signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary, and published in the news-papers, and in hand-bills."

About this time a scheme was laid by a number of gentlemen in Connecticut, to take possession of Ticonderoga, where a great quantity of military stores were lodged, and which is the key to Canada. Having made the necessary preparations, and collected 270 men, chiefly *Green-Mountain Boys*, they rendezvoused at Castleton, where they were joined by Col. Allen, and shortly after by Col. Arnold, from Cambridge, under commission from the Provincial Congress. Col. Allen commanded this volunteer party. Having arrived at

Lake Champlain, opposite Ticonderoga, in the night, Cols. Allen and Arnold, with 83 men, crossed over, and, at the dawn of day, entered the fort without resistance, and called upon the commander, who was in bed, to surrender the fort. He asked by what authority? Col. Allen replied, "I demand it in the name of the Great Jehovah and of the Continental Congress." Thus the fort was captured, with its valuable stores, and 48 prisoners. Crown Point was taken at the same time by Col. Warner, and possession obtained of all Lake Champlain in the course of a few days, by a few determined men.

On the 2d of June, 1775, the president laid before congress a letter from the provincial convention of Massachusetts-Bay, dated May 16, which was read, setting forth the difficulties they labour under for want of a regular form of government, and as they and the other colonies are now compelled to raise an army to defend themselves from the butcheries and devastations of their implacable enemies, which renders it still more necessary to have a regular established government, requesting the congress to favour them with "explicit advice respecting the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government," and declaring their readiness to "submit to such a general plan as the congress may direct for the colonies, or make it their great study to establish such a form of government there, as shall not only promote their advantage, but the union and interest of all America."

This appears to have been the first public movement towards the formation of a general government.

On the 15th of June, two days before the memorable battle on Breed's Hill, the continental congress unanimously appointed George Washington, Esq. a native of Virginia, to the chief command of the American army. This gentleman had been a distinguished and successful officer in the preceding war, and seemed destined by Heaven to be the saviour of his country. He accepted the appointment with a diffidence which was a proof of his modesty, his prudence, and his greatness; and by his matchless skill, fortitude and perseverance, conducted America, through indescribable difficulties, to independence and peace.

His commission bears date June 17, 1775, and is in the following words:—

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQ.

"We, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, valour, conduct, and fidelity. do, by these presents constitute and appoint you to be general and commander in chief, of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces now raised or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service, and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof: and you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

And we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and sol-

diers under your command, to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties.

And we do also enjoin and require you, to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers be duly exercised, and provided with all convenient necessities.

And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war, (as herewith given you,) and punctually to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from this or a future congress of these United Colonies, or committee of congress.

This commission to continue in force, until revoked by this or a future congress."

General Washington, with other officers appointed by congress, arrived at Cambridge, the 2d of July, and took command of the American army. This event gave great joy in the army and provinces, and from this time, the affairs of America began to assume the appearance of a regular and general opposition to the forces of Great Britain.

*A DECLARATION by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America, in congress at Philadelphia, July 6, 1775, directed to be published by General Washington, after his arrival at the camp, before Boston.*

If it was possible for men, who exercise their reason to believe, that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the parliament of Great Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms.—Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.



Our forefathers, inhabitants of the Island of Great Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expense of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labour and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm, arose from this source; and the minister, who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publicly declared, that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his councils.—From that fatal moment, the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions, that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statuteable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner by his majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them, have in the course of eleven years given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature, solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the “murder-

ers" of colonists from legal trial, and in effect, from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared, that parliament can "of right make laws to bind us *in all cases whatsoever*." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man, of those who assume it, is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language.

Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A congress of delegates from the United Colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the fifth day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the king, and also addressed our fellow subjects of Great-Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This, we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy; but subsequent events have shewn how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies:

Several threatening expressions against the colonies were inserted in his majesty's speech; our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, and that his majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his parliament, was huddled into both houses among a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The lords and commons, in their address, in the month of February, said, that "a rebellion at that time actually existed within the province of Massachusetts-Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his majesty's subjects in several of the other colonies; and therefore they besought his majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature." Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole colonies, with foreign countries. and



with each other, was cut off by an act of parliament ; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their sustenance ; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers, and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations, where colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives ; and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising, in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies ? In our circumstances, to accept them would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, General Gage, who, in the course of the last year, had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people, suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities, thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them, without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston, being confined within that town by the general, their governor, and having, in order to procure their dismission, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms, but in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteemed sacred, the governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers ; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.



By this perfidy wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them ; and those who have been used to live in plenty and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The general, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to "declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supercede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial."—His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places ; our ships and vessels are seized ; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that General Carlton, the Governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province and the Indians to fall upon us ; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of chusing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.—Honour, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favour towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operation, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, DECLARE, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties ; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them, that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or even suspicion of offence. *They* boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our fore-fathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

“At the opening of the second continental congress at Philadelphia, on the tenth of May, 1775, Mr. Hancock laid before that body depositions, proving that, in the battle of Lexington, the king’s troops were the aggressors; together with the proceedings of the provincial assembly of Massachusetts on that occasion. The crisis had now arrived, which required the other colonies to determine, whether they would maintain the cause of New-England in actual war; or, withdrawing from those colonies, and abandoning the object for which they had so long contended, submit to the absolute supremacy of parliament. The delegates in congress did not hesitate which part of the alternative to embrace. They unanimously determined, that, as hostilities had actually commenced, and large reinforcements to the British army were expected, the colonies should be immediately put in a state of defence; “but as they wished for a restoration of the harmony formerly subsisting between the mother country and the colonies,” they resolved that, “to the promotion of this most desirable reconciliation, an humble and dutiful petition be presented to his majesty.”\*

In the autumn of 1775, a body of troops, under the command of General Montgomery, besieged and took the garrison at St. John’s,

\* Holmes’ American Annals, vol. ii. p. 335.

which commands the entrance into Canada. The prisoners amounted to about seven hundred. General Montgomery pursued his success, and took Montreal; and designed to push his victories to Quebec.

A body of troops, commanded by General Arnold, was ordered to march to Canada, by the River Kennebeck, and through the wilderness. After suffering every hardship, and the most distressing hunger, they arrived in Canada, and were joined by General Montgomery, before Quebec. This city, which was commanded by Governor Carlton, was immediately besieged. But there being little hope of taking the town by a siege, it was determined to storm it.

The garrison of Quebec, at this time, consisted of about 1520 men, of which 800 were militia. The American army consisted of 800 men. General Montgomery having divided his little army into four detachments, ordered two feints to be made against the upper town; one by Colonel Livingston, at the head of the Canadians, against St. John's Gate; the other by Major Brown, against Cape Diamond; reserving to himself and Colonel Arnold the two principal attacks against the lower town. At 5 o'clock in the morning, General Montgomery advanced against the lower town. He passed the first barrier, and was just opening to attack the second, when he was killed, together with his aid-de-camp, Capt. M'Pherson. This so dispirited the men, that Col. Campbell, on whom the command devolved, thought proper to draw them off. In the mean time, Col. Arnold, with 350 men, made a successful attack on another part of the town. In the attack of the first battery Col. Arnold was wounded, and was obliged to be carried off the field of battle. His party, however, commanded by Capt. Morgan, of Virginia, proceeded, and entered the town; but not being joined by the other parties, was obliged to surrender to superior force.

The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded, was about 100, and 300 were taken prisoners. Historians will do justice to the bravery of the provincial troops on this occasion.

After the defeat, Col. Arnold, who now commanded the troops, continued some months before Quebec, although his troops were reduced in numbers, and suffered incredibly from cold and sickness.

The death of General Montgomery was greatly and sincerely regretted on both sides. "His many amiable qualities had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his great abilities, an equal proportion of public esteem. His name was mentioned in parliament with singular respect. The minister himself acknowledged his worth, while he reprobated the cause in which he fell. He concluded an involuntary panegyric, by saying, "Curse on his virtues, they have undone his country."

About this time, the large and flourishing town of Norfolk, in Virginia, was wantonly burnt by order of Lord Dunmore, the then royal governor of that province.



General Gage went to England in September, and was succeeded in the command by General Howe.

Falmouth, a considerable town in the Province of Maine, in Massachusetts, shared the fate of Norfolk; being laid in ashes by order of the British admiral.

The British king entered into treaties with some of the German princes for about fourteen thousand men, who were to be sent to America the next year to assist in subduing the colonies. The parliament also passed an act, forbidding all intercourse with America; and while they repealed the Boston port and fishery bills, they declared all American property on the high seas, forfeited to the captors.

“General Washington, on his first arrival in camp, had found “the materials for a good army;” but they were in the crudest state. The troops having been raised by the different colonial governments, no uniformity existed among the regiments. Animated by the spirit of that very liberty, for which they were preparing to fight, and unaccustomed to discipline, they neither felt the inclination, nor realized the importance, of subjection to military rules. The difficulty of establishing subordination was greatly increased by the shortness of the terms of enlistments, some of which were to expire in November, and none to continue longer than December. The general soon made the alarming discovery, that there was not more powder than sufficient to furnish each man with nine cartridges. Although by great address this dangerous deficiency was concealed from the enemy; yet the want of bayonets, which was very considerable, could not be kept secret. The army was in such need of tents, as to be unavoidably lodged in barracks; a circumstance extremely unfavourable to sudden movements, to health, and discipline. There was no commissary-general, and therefore no systematic arrangement for obtaining provisions. A supply of clothes was rendered peculiarly difficult by the non-importation agreements. There was a total want of engineers, and an extreme deficiency of working tools. The general, happily qualified at once to meet difficulties, and to remove them, took immediate care to organize the troops, to fit them for actual service, and to make arrangements for the necessary supplies. Next to these objects, he considered the re-enlistment of the army the most interesting. To this essential object he had early solicited the attention of Congress; and a committee had been appointed, with directions to repair to the camp at Cambridge, there to consult with the commander in chief, and with the chief magistrates of New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, and the council of Massachusetts, “on the most effectual method of continuing, supporting, and regulating a continental army.” Recruiting orders were at length issued; but the progress in raising recruits was by no means proportioned to the public exigencies. On the last day of December, when all the old troops, not engaged on the new establishments, were disbanded, there had been enlisted for

the army of 1776 no more than nine thousand six hundred and fifty men. An earnest recommendation of General Washington to congress to try the influence of a bounty was not acceded to until late in January ; but during the winter the numbers of new recruits were considerably augmented. " The history of this winter campaign," says the biographer of Washington, " is a history of continuing and successive struggles on the part of the American general, under the vexations and difficulties imposed by the want of arms, ammunition, and permanent troops, on a person in an uncommon degree solicitous to prove himself, by some grand and useful achievement, worthy of the high station to which the voice of his country had called him."

Hitherto the general had found employment enough within the limits of his own encampment. " It is not in the pages of history, perhaps," he observes, in a letter to congress, " to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket shot of the enemy for six months together, without *ammunition*, and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted." Dissatisfied, however, with so inactive a service, he had some time been contemplating an attack on Boston. as soon as he could be justified in attempting the execution of so bold a design. About the middle of February, the severe cold setting in, and the ice becoming sufficiently firm to bear the troops, he was disposed to make that attempt ; but a council of war, summoned on the occasion, being almost unanimous against the measure, he reluctantly abandoned it.

The effective regular force of the Americans now amounted to upward of fourteen thousand men ; in addition to which the commander in chief called out about six thousand of the militia of Massachusetts. With these troops he determined to take possession of the heights of Dorchester, whence it would be in his power greatly to annoy the ships in the harbour and the soldiers in the town. By taking this position, from which the enemy would inevitably attempt to drive him, he expected to bring on a general action, during which he intended to cross over from Cambridge side with four thousand chosen men, and attack the town of Boston. To conceal his design, and to divert the attention of the garrison, a heavy bombardment of the town and lines of the enemy was begun on the evening of the second of March, and repeated the two succeeding nights. On the night of the fourth, immediately after the firing began, a considerable detachment, under the command of General Thomas, passing from Roxbury, took silent possession of Dorchester Heights. The ground was almost impenetrably hard, but the night was mild, and by labouring with great diligence, their works were so far advanced by morning, as to cover them, in a great measure, from the shot of the enemy. When the British, after day break, discovered these works, which were magnified to the view by a hazy atmosphere, nothing could exceed their astonishment. Some of their officers afterward acknowledged, that the expedition with which they were thrown



up, with their sudden and unexpected appearance, recalled to their minds those wonderful stories of enchantment and invisible agency, which are so frequent in the Eastern romances.\* Nothing now remained, but to abandon the town, or to dislodge the provincials. General Howe, with his usual spirit, chose the latter part of the alternative, and took measures for the embarkation on that very evening of five regiments, with the light infantry and grenadiers, on the important but most hazardous service. The transports fell down in the evening toward the castle, with the troops, amounting to about two thousand men ; but a tremendous storm at night rendered the execution of the design absolutely impracticable. A council of war was called the next morning, and agreed to evacuate the town as soon as possible. A fortnight elapsed before that measure was effected. Meanwhile the Americans, strengthened and extended their works ; and on the morning of the seventeenth of March the British discovered a breast-work, that had been thrown up in the night at Nook's Hill, on Dorchester peninsula, which perfectly commanded Boston neck, and the south part of the town. Delay was no longer safe. By four in the morning, the king's troops, with those Americans who were attached to the royal cause, began to embark ; and before ten all of them were under sail. As the rear embarked, General Washington marched triumphantly into Boston, where he was joyfully received, as a deliverer. The British fleet, after a detention of nine days in Nantasket Road, set sail for Halifax.

General Arnold, under all his discouragements, continued the blockade of Quebec ; but at length, in a council of war, it was unanimously determined, that the troops were in no condition to risk an assault, and the army was removed to a more defensible position. The Canadians, at this juncture, receiving considerable reinforcements, the Americans were compelled to relinquish one post after another, and, by the eighteenth of June they had evacuated Canada.

Beside the relief of Quebec and the recovery of Canada, the British, in the projected campaign for this year, proposed two objects ; one was, to make a strong impression on some of the southern colonies ; the other, and the principal, was to take possession of New-York. The execution of that part of the plan, which respected the southern colonies, was committed to General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker ; who, having formed a junction at Cape Fear, concluded to attempt the reduction of Charleston. For that place they accordingly sailed, with two thousand eight hundred land forces ; and, crossing Charleston bar on the fourth of June, anchored about three miles from Sullivan's Island. Every exertion had been previously made to put the colony, and especially its capital, in a posture of defence. Works had been erected on Sullivan's Island, which lies about six miles below Charleston toward the sea, and so near the



channel, as to be a convenient post for annoying ships when approaching the town. The militia of the country now repaired in great numbers to Charleston; and at this critical juncture Major General Lee, who had been appointed by congress to the immediate command of all the forces in the southern department, arrived with the regular troops of the northern colonies. On the twenty-eighth of July, Sir Peter Parker attacked the fort on Sullivan's Island, with two fifty gun ships, four frigates of twenty-eight guns, the Sphynx of twenty guns, the Friendship armed vessel of twenty-two guns, and the Ranger-sloop and Thunder bomb, each of eight guns. On the fort were mounted twenty-six cannon, with which the garrison, consisting of three hundred and seventy-five regulars and a few militia, under the command of Colonel Moultrie, made a most gallant defence. The attack commenced between ten and eleven in the morning, and was continued upward of ten hours.—Three of the ships, advancing about twelve o'clock to attack the western wing of the fort, became entangled with a shoal; to which providential incident the preservation of the garrison is ascribed. At half past nine, the firing on both sides ceased; and soon after the ships slipped their cables. In this action, the deliberate and well directed fire of the garrison exceedingly shattered the ships; and the killed and wounded on board exceeded two hundred men. The loss of the garrison was only ten men killed and twenty-two wounded. Though many thousand shot were fired from the shipping, yet the works were but little damaged. The fort being built of palmetto, a tree indigenous to Carolina, of a remarkably spongy nature, the shot, which struck it, were merely buried in the wood, without shivering it. Hardly a hut or a tree on the island escaped. The thanks of congress were given to General Lee, and to Colonels Thomson and Moultrie, for their good conduct on this memorable day; and the fort, in compliment to the commanding officer, was from that time called Fort Moultrie.

The measures of the British government accelerated an event, which, if anticipated and wished by a few of the colonists, had not hitherto been generally desired. Independence was not the object of the controversy; but constitutional liberty. Oppression, by demanding more than is due, loses the benefit of legal claims. During the last session of parliament, the ultimate plan for reducing the colonies was fixed. The Americans were declared out of the royal protection; and sixteen thousand foreign mercenaries were to be employed to effect their subjugation. Intelligence of this act decided the question of the expediency of independence. "Protection and allegiance are reciprocal," said the colonists, "and the refusal of the first is a legal ground of justification for withholding the last." To declare themselves independent, was no more than to unannounce to the world the real political state, in which Great Britain had placed them. While the legality of this measure was thus argued, its immediate necessity was proved. "If Great Britain calls in the

aid of strangers to crush us, we must seek similar aid for our own preservation." But foreign assistance must be sought in the character of independent states; else the colonists must still be considered as subjects, carrying on war against their king, and rely on their own resources. These and similar reasonings were enforced by powerful addresses to the passions. A pamphlet under the signature of Common Sense, written by Thomas Paine, produced great effect. While it demonstrated the necessity, the advantages, and the practicability of independence, it treated kingly government with opprobrium, and hereditary succession with ridicule. The change of the public mind, on this occasion, is without a parallel. "In the short space of two years, nearly three millions of people passed over from the love and duty of loyal subjects, to the hatred and resentment of enemies."

On the seventh of June, a motion was made in congress, by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, for declaring the colonies free and independent. This motion caused very interesting and animated debates, and gave great scope to genius and eloquence. John Adams, Richard Henry Lee, and John Dickinson, who took opposite sides of the question, the first for independence, and the other against it, were pre-eminently distinguished. After a full discussion, the measure was approved by nearly a unanimous vote.\*\*

We here insert president Lee's speech on the occasion.

"I do not know, most prudent men and virtuous citizens, whether among transactions handed down to us by historians, which originated in civil discord, and excited either a love of liberty in the people or ambitious desires in their rulers, any can be found more interesting and important than that which now engages our attention; whether we consider the future destiny of this free and virtuous people, or that of our enemies, who, notwithstanding this cruel war and unaccustomed tyranny, are our brethren, and descended from a common stock; or that of other nations, whose eyes are intent upon this great spectacle, and who anticipate from our success more freedom for themselves, or from our defeat apprehend heavier chains and a severer bondage. For the question is not whether we shall acquire an increase of territorial dominion, or wickedly wrest from others their just possessions; but whether we shall preserve or lose forever, that liberty which we have inherited from our ancestors, which we have sought to preserve by crossing a wide and tempestuous ocean, and which we have defended, in this land, against barbarous men, contending, at the same time, against the beasts of the wilderness and the diseases of an ungenial clime. And if so many and distinguished praises have always been lavished upon the generous defenders of Greek and Roman liberty, what will be said of us, who defend, not that freedom which rests upon the capricious will of an unstable multitude; but on immutable statutes and our tutelary

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\* Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 346-354.



laws; not that which was the exclusive privilege of a few patricians; but that which is the property of all: not that, finally, which is stained by unjust ostracisms or the decimation of armies; but that which is pure, temperate, and gentle, and conformed to the mild manners of the age in which we live. Why then, why do we procrastinate, and to what purpose are these delays? Let us finish the undertaking so well begun; and since we cannot hope to secure that liberty and peace, which are our delight, in a continuance of the union with England, let us break the ties which bind us together, and perfect that which we enjoy already, I mean, our entire and absolute independence. Nor must I here, in the beginning of my discourse, omit to say, that if we have reached that fatal extremity, where nothing else can exist between America and England, but such war or such peace as may exist between nations foreign to each other, this can only be imputed to the insatiable cupidity, the tyrannical proceedings, and reiterated outrages of the British ministry. On our part, nothing was omitted that might preserve the ancient state of peace and harmony. Who has not heard our prayers, and who is ignorant of our supplications? England alone was deaf to our complaints, and wanted that compassion which was generously bestowed upon us by other nations. And as at first our forbearance, and then our resistance have been equally insufficient; since our prayers were unavailing, as well as the blood lately shed; we must go further, and secure our independence. Nor let any one believe that this alternative can be avoided. The time will undoubtedly come, when the fatal separation will take place, whether you will or no; for such will be the inevitable consequence of the nature of things; of our always increasing population; of the fertility of our land; of the extent of our territory; of the industry of our countrymen; of the wide intervening ocean; of the distance of the two countries. And if this be true, as it is most true, who does not see that the sooner it takes place the better; and that it would be not only imprudent, but the height of folly not to seize the present occasion, when British injustice has filled all hearts with indignation, inspired all minds with courage, produced concord, convinced the understandings, and made us fly to arms to defend our lives? And how long shall we be compelled to traverse three thousand miles of a tempestuous sea to ask of haughty and insolent men for counsel or commands respecting our domestic concerns? Does it not become a great, rich, and powerful nation, as we are, to look at home, and not abroad, for the government of our affairs? How can a ministry of strangers judge correctly of our concerns, respecting which it has no knowledge, and in which it has no interest? The past justice of the British ministers should make us beware of the future, if they should again fix their iron fangs upon us. Since it has pleased the cruelty of our enemies to place before us the alternative of slavery or independence, where is the generous minded man, and the lover of his country, who can hesitate to choose? With these perfidious men no promise is secure,



no pledges sacred. Let us suppose, which Heaven avert ! that we are conquered, or are obliged to come to terms. What assurance have we of the British moderation in victory, or good faith in treaty ? Is it their having inlisted, and let loose against us the ferocious Indians of the forest, and the merciless soldiers of Germany ? Is it that faith, which has been so many times pledged, and so many times broken, during the present contest ? Is it the British faith, which is considered more false than puny ? Have we not rather reason to expect, that when we have delivered ourselves naked and unarmed into their hands, they will wreak their vengeance upon us, will bind us with heavier chains, in order to deprive us not only of the power, but even of the hope of again casting off the yoke ? But let us suppose that there will happen in the present case, what has never happened in any other, that the British government will forget past offences and comply with the conditions of peace ; can we believe that after so long a contest, after so many wounds, so many deaths, and so much bloodshed, our reconciliation could be durable, and that every day in the midst of so much hatred and rancour, would not afford some fresh subject of animosity ? The two nations are already separated in interest and affections ; the one is conscious of its former strength, the other has become acquainted with its recently exerted force ; the one intends to rule in an arbitrary manner, the other will not obey even if allowed its privileges. In such a state of things, what peace, what harmony can be expected ? The Americans may become faithful friends of the English, but subjects, never. And let us suppose even that union could be restored without rancour, it could not without danger. The wealth and power of Great Britain should inspire prudent men with fears for the future. Having reached such a height of grandeur that she has little or nothing to dread from foreign powers, in the security of peace, the hearts of her people will become enervated, manners will be corrupted, her youth will become vicious, and the nation degenerating in body and in mind, England will become the prey of foreign enemies or ambitious citizens. Should we remain united with her, we should partake of her corruptions and misfortunes, so much more to be dreaded as they would be irreparable ; separated from her, and remaining as we now are, we should have to fear neither the security of peace nor the dangers of war. And by a declaration of our freedom, the perils would not be increased, but the minds of men would be better prepared, and victory more sure. Let us then take a firm step, and escape from this labyrinth : we have assumed the sovereign power, and dare not own it ; we disobey a king, and acknowledge ourselves his subjects ; wage war against a nation, upon whom we always profess to be willing to be dependent. In this uncertain state of things the inclinations of men are wavering ; ardent resolves are impeded ; new difficulties are continually arising ; our generals neither respected, nor obeyed ; our soldiers neither confident, nor zealous ; weak at home, and despised abroad, foreign princes can neither

esteem nor succour so timid and wavering a people. But independence once proclaimed, and our object avowed, more manly and decided measures will be adopted ; the greatness of the end in view will inspire the minds of the people with an energy proportionably great : the civil magistrates will be filled with new zeal, generals with new ardour, the soldiers with new courage, and all our citizens with more constancy and alertness, intent on this sublime and generous undertaking. But in consequence of it, will England contend against us with more energy and rage than she has already ? Certainly not ; she terms resistance to oppression, rebellion, as well as independence. And where are those formidable troops, that are to subdue the Americans ? The English could not, and shall the Germans do it ? Are they more brave, or better disciplined than the English ? No ! Besides, if the enemy's numbers have increased, ours have not diminished ; and we have acquired in the severe battles of the present year, the practice of arms, and the experience of war. Who doubts then that a declaration of independence will procure us allies ? All nations are desirous of procuring, by commerce, the production of our exuberant soil ; they will visit our ports hitherto closed by the monopoly of insatiable England. They are no less eager to contemplate the reduction of her hated power ; they all loathe her barbarous dominion ; their succours will evince to our brave countrymen the gratitude they bear them for having been the first to shake the foundation of this Colossus. Foreign princes wait only for the extinction of all hazard of reconciliation to throw off their present reserve. If this measure is useful, it is no less becoming our dignity. America has arrived at a degree of power which assigns her a place among independent nations ; we are not less entitled to it than the English themselves. If they have wealth, so have we ; if they are brave, so are we ; if they are numerous, our population, through the incredible fruitfulness of our chaste wives, will soon equal theirs ; if they have men of renown as well in peace as in war, we likewise have such ; political revolutions usually produce great, brave, and generous spirits. From what we have already achieved in these painful beginnings, it is easy to presume what we shall hereafter accomplish, for experience is the source of sage counsels, and liberty is the mother of great men. Have you not seen the enemy driven from Lexington, by thirty thousand citizens armed and assembled in one day ? Already their most celebrated generals have yielded in Boston to the skill of ours ; already their seamen, repulsed from our coasts, wander over the ocean, where they are the sport of the tempest, and the prey of famine. Let us hail the favourable omen, and fight, not for the sake of knowing on what terms we are to be the slaves of England, but to secure to ourselves a free existence, to found a just and independent government. Animated by liberty, the Greeks repulsed the innumerable army of Persians ; sustained by the love of independence, the Swiss and the Dutch humbled the power of Austria by memorable defeats, and conquered a



rank among nations. But the sun of America also shines upon the heads of the brave ; the point of our weapons is no less formidable than theirs ; here also the same union prevails, the same contempt of dangers and of death in asserting the cause of our country.

“Why then do we longer delay ; why still deliberate ? Let this most happy day give birth to the American Republic. Let her arise, not to devastate and conquer, but to re-establish the reign of peace and of the laws. The eyes of Europe are fixed upon us ! she demands of us a living example of freedom, that may contrast, by the felicity of the citizens, with the ever increasing tyranny which desolates her polluted shores. She invites us to prepare an asylum where the unhappy may find solace, and the persecuted, repose. She intreats us to cultivate a propitious soil, where that generous plant, which first sprung up and grew in England, but is now withered by the poisonous blasts of Scottish tyranny, may revive and flourish, sheltering under its salubrious and interminable shade all the unfortunate of the human race. This is the end presaged by so many omens, by our first victories, by the present ardour and union, by the flight of Howe, and the pestilence which broke out amongst Dunmore’s people, by the very winds which baffled the enemy’s fleets and transports, and that terrible tempest which engulfed seven hundred vessels upon the coast of Newfoundland. If we are not this day wanting in our duty to the country, the names of the American legislators will be exalted, in the eyes of posterity, to a level with those of Theseus, Lycurgus, of Romulus, of Numa, of the three Williams of Nassau, and of all those whose memory has been, and will be, forever dear to virtuous men and good citizens.”

July 6, Congress published their Declaration of Independence, which separated America from Great Britain. This great event took place two hundred and eighty-four years after the discovery of America by Columbus ; one hundred and sixty-six from the first effectual settlement in Virginia ; and one hundred and fifty-six from the first settlement of Plymouth, in Massachusetts, which were the earliest English settlements in America. We record this celebrated document as a prominent article in our history.

### A DECLARATION

BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

“WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident ; that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalien-



able rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great-Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature ; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise ; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states :

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :

For imposing taxes on us without our consent :

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury :

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences :

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments :

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny; already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms : Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus

marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES ; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved ; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of Congress engrossed and signed by the following members :

#### JOHN HANCOCK.

##### *New-Hampshire.*

Josiah Bartlett,  
William Whipple,  
Matthew Thornton.

##### *Massachusetts-Bay.*

Samuel Adams,  
John Adams  
Robert Treat Paine,  
Elbridge Gerry.

##### *Rhode-Island, &c.*

Stephen Hopkins,  
William Ellery.

##### *Connecticut.*

Roger Sherman,  
Samuel Huntington,  
William Williams,  
Oliver Wolcott.

##### *New-York.*

William Floyd,  
Philip Livingston,  
Francis Lewis,  
Lewis Morris.

##### *New-Jersey.*

Richard Stockton,  
John Witherspoon,  
Francis Hopkinson,  
John Hart,  
Abraham Clark.

##### *Pennsylvania.*

Robert Morris,  
Benjamin Rush,  
Benjamin Franklin,  
John Morton,  
George Clymer,



James Smith,  
George Taylor,  
James Wilson,  
George Ross.\*

*Delaware,*

Cæsar Rodney,  
George Read.

*Maryland.*

Samuel Chase,  
William Paca,  
Thomas Stone,  
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

*Virginia.*

George Wythe,  
Richard Henry Lee,  
Thomas Jefferson,  
Benjamin Harrison,

Thomas Nelson, Jr.  
Francis Lightfoot Lee,  
Carter Braxton

*North-Carolina.*

William Hooper,  
Joseph Hewes,  
John Penn.

*South-Carolina.*

Edward Rutledge,  
Thomas Heyward, Jr.  
Thomas Lynch, Jr.  
Arthur Middleton.

*Georgia.*

Button Gwinnett,  
Lyman Hall,  
George Walton.

“The Declaration of Independence once published to the world with such solemnity, gave a new character to the contest, not only in the Colonies, but in Europe. Before this decisive step, the American people were regarded by many able and good men, as well as sound politicians, on both sides of the Atlantic, rather as children struggling for doubtful privileges with a parent, than as men contending with men for their natural and indisputable rights. But this deliberate appeal to the nations of the earth, to posterity, and to the God of battles, gave a new political character, an immediate dignity and manhood, to their cause. It was no longer the unholy struggle of subjects against their monarch; of children against their parent; of rash and turbulent men who never measure nor weigh the consequence of their deeds: it was no longer a contest for mere matters of opinion, but for a national existence, for life or death. It became, under the awful sanction of that assembly, the temperate and determined stand of men who have entrenched themselves within the certain and thoroughly-understood limits of their rights; of men who had counted the cost dispassionately, and measured the event without shrinking; of men who felt, deliberated and acted, as the representatives of a whole people, conscious of their infirmities and their responsibility; knowing the might of their adversaries, and the weakness of their friends, but determined to do their duty to their children, and leave them their inheritance undisturbed and unimpaired. Or if that might not be, and the liberties of Englishmen were no longer the protection of their wives, or the birth-right of their children,—to leave them as widows and orphans to the charity of Heaven.

The Declaration of Independence was, of itself, a victory,—a victory over the passions, prejudices and fears of a multitude. It drew the line forever, between the friends and the foes of America. It

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\*The name of Thomas M’Kean should be in this list, as he was one of the original signers of this instrument. [See his letter to President Adams, June 1817, in the *Freeman’s Journal*.]

left no neutrals. He, who was not for independence, unconditional independence, was an enemy. The effect produced upon the public mind by the boldness and unanimity manifested on this occasion, by the delegates of the several Colonies, operated on the general confidence of the people as much as a similar declaration would have done, had it been adopted and signed by the whole population of the states. In the public exultation at the time, the murmurs of disapprobation were unheard; and the opposition to be expected from the discontented and factious, who were always a formidable minority, and in the very bosom of the country, was entirely overlooked."

"The plan, as matured for the campaign of 1776, by the British ministry, embraced three extensive objects. The first, was to relieve Quebec, and drive out the Americans from Canada. The second was to make a powerful movement upon some of the southern colonies; the execution of which was entrusted to Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker; and the third, and most important of all, was to take possession of New-York with a force sufficiently powerful to hold Hudson River; form a line of communication with the royal army in Canada; embarrass or intercept the intercourse between the eastern and middle Colonies, and overrun the surrounding country. This expedition was committed to Sir William Howe."\*

"It had early occurred to General Washington, that the central situation of New-York, with the numerous advantages attending the possession of that city, would render its reduction an object of the first importance to the British. Under this impression, before the enemy evacuated Boston he had detached General Lee from Cambridge, to put Long Island and New-York into a posture of defence. Soon after the evacuation, he followed, and fixed his head quarters in New-York, where the greater part of the troops rendezvoused. A part of the residue was left in Massachusetts; and about two or three thousand were ordered to Canada.

At the opening of the campaign, congress instituted a flying camp, to consist of an intermediate corps, between regular soldiers and militia; and called for ten thousand men from the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, to be in constant service to the first day of the ensuing December; and for thirteen thousand eight hundred of the common militia from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey.

The command of the British force, destined to operate against New-York, was given to Admiral Lord Howe, and his brother Sir William; who, in addition to their military powers, were appointed commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies. General Howe, after waiting two months at Halifax for his brother and the expected reinforcements from England, sailed with the force which he had

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\* Allen's American Revolution, vol. i. p. 352, 353, 362.

previously commanded in Boston ; and, directing his course toward New-York, arrived in the latter end of June off Sandy-Hook. Admiral Lord Howe, with part of the reinforcement from England, arrived at Halifax soon after his brother's departure ; and, without dropping anchor, followed and joined him near Staten-Island. These two royal commissioners, before they commenced military operations, attempted to effect a reunion between the colonies and Great-Britain ; but both the substance and the form of their communications for that purpose were too exceptionable, to be for a moment seriously regarded.

The British forces waited so long to receive accession from Halifax, South-Carolina, Florida, the West-Indies, and Europe, that the month of August was far advanced before they were in a condition to open the campaign. Their commanders, having resolved to make their first attempt on Long-Island, landed their troops, estimated at about twenty-four thousand men, at Gravesend Bay, to the right of the Narrows. The Americans, to the amount of fifteen thousand, under Major-General Sullivan,\* were posted on a peninsula between Mill Creek, a little above Red Hook, and an elbow of East River, called Whaaleboght Bay. Here they had erected strong fortifications, which were separated from New-York by East River, at the distance of a mile. A line of intrenchment from the Mill Creek enclosed a large space of ground, on which stood the American camp, near the village of Brooklyn. This line was secured by abatis, and flanked by strong redoubts. The armies were separated by a range of hills, covered with a thick wood, which intersect the country from west to east, terminating on the east near Jamaica. Through these hills there were three roads ; one near the Narrows, a second on the Flatbush road, and a third on the Bedford road ; and these were the only passes from the south side of the hills to the American lines, excepting a road, which led to Jamaica round the easterly end of the hills. General Putnam, agreeably to the instructions of General Washington, had detached a considerable part of his men to occupy the woody hills and passes ; but in the performance of this service there appears to have been a deficiency either of skill or of vigilance.

When the whole British army was landed, the Hessians, under General Heister, composed the centre at Flatbush ; Major-General Grant commanded the left wing, which extended to the coast ; and the principal army, under the command of Gen. Clinton, Earl Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, turned short to the right, and approached the opposite coast at Flatland. The position of the Americans having been reconnoitred, Sir William Howe, from the intelligence given

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\* The part of the army, stationed on Long Island, was originally commanded by Major-General Greene ; but he, being taken extremely ill, was succeeded by Major-General Sullivan. This officer commanded all the troops without the lines ; and Major-General Putnam took command at Brooklyn, the camp at that place being reinforced with six regiments.



him, determined to attempt to turn their left flank. The right wing of his army, consisting of a strong advanced corps, commanded by General Clinton and supported by the brigades under Lord Percy, began at nine o'clock at night on the twenty-sixth of August to move from Flatland ; and, passing through the New Lots, arrived on the road, that crosses the hills from Bedford to Jamaica. Having taken a patrol, they seized the pass, without alarming the Americans. At half after eight in the morning, the British troops, having passed the heights and reached Bedford, began an attack on the left of the American army. In the centre, General De Heister, soon after day light, had begun to cannonade the troops, which occupied the direct road to Brooklyn, and which were commanded by General Sullivan in person. As soon as the firing toward Bedford was heard, De Heister advanced and attacked the centre of the Americans, who, after a warm engagement, were routed and driven into the woods. The firing towards Bedford giving them the alarming notice, that the British had turned their left flank, and were getting completely into their rear ; they endeavoured to escape to the camp. The sudden rout of this party enabled De Heister to detach a part of his force against those, who were engaged near Bedford. There also the Americans were broken and driven into the woods ; and the front of the British column, led by General Clinton, continuing to move forward, intercepted and engaged those whom De Heister had routed, and drove them back into the woods. There they again met the Hessians, who drove them back on the British. Thus alternately chased and intercepted, some forced their way through the enemy to the lines of Brooklyn ; several saved themselves in the coverts of the woods ; but a great part of the detachment was killed or taken.

The left column, led by General Grant, advancing from the Narrows along the coast, to divert the attention of the Americans from the principal attack on the right, had about midnight fallen in with Lord Stirling's advanced guard, stationed at a strong pass, and compelled them to relinquish it. As they were slowly retiring, they were met on the summit of the hills about break of day by Lord Stirling, who had been directed, with the two nearest regiments, to meet the British on the road leading from the Narrows. Lord Stirling having posted his men advantageously, a furious cannonade commenced on both sides, which continued several hours. The firing toward Brooklyn, where the fugitives were pursued by the British, giving notice to Lord Stirling, that the enemy had gained his rear ; he instantly gave orders to retreat across a creek, near the Yellow Mills. The more effectually to secure the retreat of the main body of the detachment, he determined to attack in person a British corps under Lord Cornwallis, stationed at a house somewhat above the place where he proposed crossing the creek. With about four hundred men, drawn out of Smallwood's regiment for that purpose, he made a very spirited attack, and brought up this small corps several times to the charge, with confident expectation of dislodging Lord

Cornwallis from his post ; but, the force in his front increasing, and General Grant now advancing on his rear, he was compelled to surrender himself and his brave men prisoners of war. This bold attempt, however, gave opportunity to a large part of the detachment to cross the creek, and effect an escape.

The loss of the British and Hessians is stated by American historians at about 450 ; Stedman says, " it did not exceed 300 in killed and wounded." The loss of the Americans was not admitted by General Washington to exceed 1000 men, " but in this estimate he could only have included the regular troops." General Howe states the prisoners to have been 1097, among whom were Major-General Sullivan, and brigadiers Lord Stirling and Woodhull.

The enemy encamped in front of the American lines ; and on the succeeding night broke ground within 600 yards of a redoubt on the left. In this critical state of the American army on Long Island ; in front a numerous and victorious enemy with a formidable train of artillery ; the fleet indicating an intention to force a passage into East River to make some attempt on New-York ; the troops lying without shelter from heavy rains, fatigued and dispirited ; it was determined to withdraw from the island ; and this difficult movement was effected with great skill and judgment, and with complete success. The retreat was to have commenced at eight o'clock in the night of the 29th ; but a strong northeast wind and a rapid tide caused a delay of several hours. In this extremity, Heaven remarkably favoured the fugitive army. A southwest wind, springing up at eleven, essentially facilitated its passage from the island to the city ; and a thick fog, hanging over Long Island from about two in the morning, concealed its movements from the enemy, who were so near, that the sound of their pickaxes and shovels was heard. General Washington, as far as possible, inspected every thing. From the commencement of the action on the morning of the 27th until the troops were safely across East River, he never closed his eyes, and was almost constantly on horseback."\*

After General Washington by his retreat, had left the British in complete possession of Long-Island, and not knowing what would be their future operations, applied to General Knowlton, commander of a regiment of light infantry, to devise some means for gaining necessary information of the design of the British in their future movements. Captain Hale nobly offered himself for this hazardous and important service. His amiable, pious, intelligent and patriotic character, and the sacrifice of his life in the manner in which he made the sacrifice, entitle him to a distinguished rank among the first patriots of the revolution. The particulars of this tragical event, sanctioned by General Hull, who was knowing to them at the time, are related by Miss H. Adams in her history of New-England.

"The retreat of General Washington, left the British in complete possession of Long Island. What would be their future operations, remained uncertain. To obtain information of their situation, their

\*Holmes' American Annals, p. 354-59.



strength and future movements, was of high importance. For this purpose, General Washington applied to Colonel Knowlton, who commanded a regiment of light infantry, which formed the van of the American army, and desired him to adopt some mode of gaining the necessary information. Colonel Knowlton communicated this request to Captain Hale, of Connecticut, who was then a Captain in his regiment. This young officer, animated by a sense of duty, and considering that an opportunity presented itself by which he might be useful to his country, at once offered himself a volunteer for this hazardous service. He passed in disguise to Long Island, examined every part of the British army, and obtained the best possible information respecting their situation and future operations.

In his attempt to return, he was apprehended, carried before Sir William Howe, and the proof of his object was so clear, that he frankly acknowledged who he was, and what were his views.

Sir William Howe at once gave an order to the provost marshal to execute him the next morning.

The order was accordingly executed in a most unfeeling manner, and by as great a savage as ever disgraced humanity. A clergyman, whose attendance he desired, was refused him; a bible for a moment's devotion was not procured, though he requested it. Letters, which on the morning of his execution, he wrote to his mother, and other friends, were destroyed; and this very extraordinary reason given by the provost marshal, 'that the rebels should not know that they had a man in their army, who could die with so much firmness.'

Unknown to all around him, without a single friend to offer him the least consolation, thus fell as amiable and as worthy a young man as America could boast, with this as his dying observation, 'that he only lamented he had but one life to lose for his country.' How superior to the dying words of Andre. Though the manner of his execution will ever be abhorred by every friend to humanity and religion, yet there cannot be a question but that the sentence was conformable to the rules of war, and the practice of nations in similar cases.

It is, however, a justice due to the character of Captain Hale, to observe, that his motives for engaging in this service were entirely different from those which generally influence others in similar circumstances. "Neither expectation of promotion nor pecuniary reward, induced him to this attempt. A sense of duty, a hope that he might in this way be useful to his country, and an opinion which he had adopted, that every kind of service necessary to the public good, became honourable by being necessary, were the great motives which induced him to engage in an enterprize, by which his connexions lost a most amiable friend, and his country one of its most promising supporters.

The fate of this unfortunate young man excites the most interesting reflections.



To see such a character, in the flower of youth, cheerfully treading in the most hazardous paths, influenced by the purest intentions, and only emulous to do good to his country, without the imputation of a crime, fall a victim to policy, must have been wounding to the feelings even of his enemies.

Should a comparison be drawn between Major Andre and Captain Hale, injustice would be done to the latter, should he not be placed on an equal ground with the former. Whilst almost every historian of the American Revolution, has celebrated the virtues and lamented the fate of Andre, *Hale has remained unnoticed, and it is scarcely known that such a character ever existed.*

To the memory of Andre, his country has erected the most magnificent monuments, and bestowed on his family the highest honours and most liberal rewards. To the memory of Hale not a stone has been erected, nor an inscription to preserve his ashes from insult.”\*

“Immediately after the victory on Long Island, the British made dispositions to attack New-York. It was a serious question, whether that place were defensible against so formidable an enemy; and General Washington called a council of general officers to decide, whether it should be evacuated without delay, or longer defended. The majority of the council advised a middle course between abandoning the town and concentrating their whole strength for its defence. By the plan recommended, the army was to be arranged into three divisions, one of which, consisting of five thousand men, was to remain in New-York; another, amounting to nine thousand, was to be stationed at King’s Bridge; and the residue of the army was to occupy the intermediate space, so as to support either extreme. The unexpected movements of the enemy soon induced a change of opinion; and in a second council it was determined by a large majority, that it had become not only prudent, but necessary, to withdraw the army from New-York.

Several of the enemy’s ships of war having passed up North River on the one side of York Island, and East River on the other side, Sir Henry Clinton, embarking at Long Island at the head of four thousand men, proceeded through Newtown Bay, crossed East River, and landed, under cover of the ships, at Kipp’s Bay, about three miles above New-York. Works of considerable strength had been thrown up at this place, to oppose the landing of the enemy; but they were immediately abandoned by the troops stationed in them, who, terrified at the fire of the ships, fled precipitately toward their main body, and communicated their panic to a detachment marching to their support. General Washington, to his extreme mortification, met this whole party retreating in the utmost disorder, and exerted himself to rally them; but, on the appearance of a small corps of the enemy, they again broke and fled in confusion. Nothing

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\* In the autumn of 1821, the remains of Major Andre were disinterred, and transported to England. Where are those of the lamented Hale.—Thacher’s Journal, p. 275

now remained, but to withdraw the few remaining troops from New-York, and to secure the posts on the heights. The retreat from New-York was effected with very inconsiderable loss of men ; but all the heavy artillery, and a large portion of the baggage, provisions, and military stores, was unavoidably abandoned.

The enemy, taking possession of New-York, stationed a few troops in that place ; but the main body of their army was on York Island, near the American lines. The Americans occupied King's Bridge, both sides of which had been carefully fortified ; and they were in considerable force at M'Gowan's Pass, and Morris' Heights. A strong detachment was also posted in an intrenched camp, on the heights of Haerlem, within about a mile and a half of the enemy. The day after the retreat from New-York, a considerable body of the enemy appearing in the plains between the two camps ; the general ordered Colonel Knowlton with a corps of rangers, and Major Leitch with three companies of a Virginian regiment, to get in their rear, while he amused them by making apparent dispositions to attack their front. The plan succeeded. A skirmish ensued, in which the Americans charged the enemy with great intrepidity, and gained considerable advantage. The principal benefit however of this action was its influence in reviving the depressed spirits of the whole army.\*

The armies did not long retain their position on York Island. The British frigates having passed up North River under a fire from Fort Washington and the post opposite to it on the Jersey shore, General Howe embarked a great part of his army in flat bottomed boats, and, passing through Hell Gate into the Sound, landed at Frog's Neck. The object of the British general was, either to force Washington out of his present lines, or to inclose him in them. Aware of his design, General Washington moved a part of his troops from York Island to join those at King's Bridge, and detached some regiments to West Chester. A council of war was now called, and the system of evacuating and retreating was adopted, with the exception of Fort Washington, for the defence of which nearly three thousand men were assigned.

The royal army, after a halt of six days, advancing from Frog's Neck near to New Rochelle, sustained a considerable loss on their march by a party of Americans, that General Lee had posted behind a wall. Three days afterward, General Howe moved the right and centre of his army two miles to the northward of New Rochelle,

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\* Major Leitch, who very gallantly led on the detachment, was soon brought off the ground, mortally wounded ; and not long afterward Colonel Knowlton fell, bravely fighting at the head of his troops. The Americans, in this conflict engaged a battalion of light infantry, another of Highlanders, and three companies of Hessian riflemen ; and lost about 50 men killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was more than double that number. Colonel Knowlton distinguished himself at the battle of Breed's Hill. He was of Ashford in Connecticut ; and General Washington, in his Orders the day after he fell, styled him "the gallant and brave Colonel Knowlton, who would have been an honour to any country."



on the road to White Plains, where he received a large reinforcement. General Washington, while retreating from New York Island, in order to secure the march of those who were behind, made a front toward the British, from East Chester almost to White Plains; his troops thus making a line of small detached and intrenched camps, on the several heights and strong grounds from Valentine's Hill, near King's Bridge, on the right, to the vicinity of White Plains on the left. The royal army moved in two columns, and took a position with the Bronx River in front; and, upon this movement, the Americans assembled their main force at White Plains behind intrenchments. Here a considerable action took place; and several hundreds fell. During the engagement, the American baggage was moved off, in full view of the British army. General Washington soon after changed his front, his left wing stood fast, his right fell back to some hills; and in this well judged position he desired and expected an action. On the thirtieth, four battalions from York Island, and two from the Maroneck Post, having reinforced the British army, a disposition was made for an attack on the American lines the succeeding morning; but a violent rain, setting in and continuing through the whole night, induced a postponement of the assault. General Washington soon after withdrew in the night to the heights of North Castle, about five miles from White Plains, where his position was so strong, that General Howe determined to change entirely his plan of operations.

General Washington, leaving about seven thousand five hundred men at North Castle under General Lee, crossed North River, and took post in the neighbourhood of Fort Lee. Sir William Howe determined to take this favourable opportunity for the reduction of Fort Washington, which was under the command of Colonel Magaw. Works were erected on Haerlem Creek, to play on the opposite works of the Americans; and, every preparation being made, the garrison was summoned to surrender, on pain of being put to the sword. Colonel Magaw replied, that he should defend the place to the last extremity. The next morning, the royal army made four attacks. The first, on the north side, was conducted by General Knyphausen; the second, on the east, by General Matthews, supported by Lord Cornwallis; the third, by Lieutenant Colonel Stirling; and the fourth, by Lord Percy. Soon after day break on the sixteenth of November, the cannonading began, and continued with great fury on both sides until noon. The Hessians under the command of General Knyphausen, then filed off in two columns; one of which, led by Colonel Rhalle, having ascended circuitously to the summit of the hill, penetrated through the advanced works of the Americans, and formed within a hundred yards of the covered way of the front. The other column climbed the hill in a direct line; but, in passing through a thick wood, suffered much by a well directed fire from Colonel Rawling's regiment of riflemen. The second division made good their landing, and forced the Americans from their



rocks and trees up a steep and rugged mountain. The third division had to encounter a heavy fire previously to their landing, and then to ascend a woody promontory of very uneven surface; but though the post was obstinately defended, it was carried by Colonel Stirling, who made two hundred prisoners. The last division, under the gallant Lord Percy, having surmounted incredible obstacles, carried the advanced works of the Americans. The British general, after these decisive advantages, again summoned Colonel Magaw to surrender. The force of the assailants was too great to be resisted; the fort was too small to contain all the men; and the ammunition was nearly exhausted. The garrison therefore, consisting of about two thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war.\*

Soon after the reduction of Fort Washington, Lord Cornwallis with a large force, conjectured to amount to about six thousand men, crossed over North River to attack Fort Lee, on the opposite Jersey shore. On the intelligence of their approach, the first determination was to meet and fight them; but it was soon discovered, that the conflict would be too unequal, and the garrison was saved by an immediate evacuation, under the able guidance of General Greene.

The acquisition of these two forts, and the diminution of the American army by the departure of those soldiers, whose time of service had expired, encouraged the British to pursue the remaining continental force, with the prospect of annihilating it. General Washington, who had taken post at Newark, on the south side of Passaic, finding himself unable to make any real opposition, withdrew from that place as the enemy crossed the Passaic, and retreated to Brunswick on the Raritan; and Lord Cornwallis on the same day entered Newark. The retreat was still continued from Brunswick to Princeton; from Princeton to Trenton; and from Trenton to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. "The pursuit was urged with so much rapidity, that the rear of the army, pulling down bridges, was often within sight, and shot off the van of the other, building them up."†

About the same time, General Clinton was sent with a body of troops to take possession of Rhode Island, and succeeded. In addition to all these losses and defeats, the American army suffered by desertion, and more by sickness, which was epidemic, and very mortal.

The northern army at Ticonderoga was in a disagreeable situation, particularly after the battle on Lake Champlain, in which the American force, consisting of a few light vessels, under the command of General Arnold and Waterbury, was totally dispersed.

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\* The garrison was stated by Gen. Washington at about 2000; but the number of prisoners was stated by General Howe at 2600, exclusive of officers. Mr. Marshall accounts for this difference by supposing that General Washington comprised the regulars only. The loss of the British, according to Mr. Stedman, was about 800 men; American historians have stated it considerably higher.

† Holmes' American Annals, p. 359-65.

But General Carleton, instead of pursuing his victory, landed at Crown Point, reconnoitred our posts at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and returned to winter quarters in Canada.

The American army might now be said to be no more. All that now remained of an army, which at the opening of the campaign amounted to at least twenty-five thousand men, did not now exceed three thousand. The term of their engagements being expired, they returned in large bodies, to their families and friends; the few, who, from personal attachment, local circumstances, or superior perseverance and bravery, continued with the Generals Washington and Lee, were too inconsiderable to appear formidable in the view of a powerful and victorious enemy.

“At this critical moment, the bold resolution was formed of re-crossing into Jersey, and attacking the enemy at Trenton.

Washington divided his troops into three parts, which were to assemble on the banks of the Delaware on the night of the twenty-fifth of December. One of these divisions, led by General Irvine, was directed to cross the Delaware at the Trenton Ferry, and secure the bridge below the town, so as to prevent the escape of any part of the enemy by that road. Another division, led by General Cadwalader, was to cross over at Bristol, and carry the post at Burlington. The third, which was the principal division, and consisted of about two thousand four hundred continental troops, commanded by General Washington in person, was to cross at M'Konkey's Ferry, about nine miles above Trenton, and to march against the enemy posted at that town. The night, fixed on for the enterprise, was severely cold. A storm of snow, mingled with hail and rain, fell in great quantities; and so much ice was made in the river, that the artillery could not be got over until three o'clock; and before the troops could take up their line of march, it was nearly four. The general, who had hoped to throw them all over by twelve o'clock, now despaired of surprising the town; but, knowing that he could not repass the river without being discovered and harassed, he determined, at all events, to push forward. He accordingly formed his detachment into two divisions, one of which was to march by the lower or river road, the other, by the upper or Pennington road. As the distance to Trenton by these two roads was nearly the same, the general, supposing that his two divisions would arrive at the place of destination about the same time, ordered each of them, immediately on forcing the outguards, to push directly into the town, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. The upper division, accompanied by the general himself, arrived at the enemy's advanced post exactly at eight o'clock, and immediately drove in the outguards. In three minutes a firing from the division, that had taken the river road, gave notice to the general of its arrival. Colonel Rhalle, a very gallant Hessian officer, who commanded in Trenton, soon formed his main body, to meet the assailants; but at the commencement of the action he received a mortal wound. His



troops, at once confused and hard pressed, and having already lost their artillery, attempted to file off by a road on their right, leading to Princeton; but General Washington, perceiving their intention, threw a body of troops in their front, which intercepted and assailed them. Finding themselves surrounded, they laid down their arms. About twenty of the enemy were killed; and nine hundred and nine, including officers, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The number of prisoners was soon increased to about one thousand, by the additional capture of those, who had concealed themselves in houses. Six field pieces, and a thousand stand of small arms, were also taken. Of the Americans, two privates only were killed; two were frozen to death; one officer and three or four privates were wounded. General Irvine being prevented by the ice from crossing the Delaware, the lower road toward Bordentown remained open; and about five hundred of the enemy, stationed in the lower end of Trenton, crossing over the bridge in the commencement of the action, marched down the river to Bordentown. General Cadwallader was prevented by the same cause from attacking the post at Burlington. This well judged and successful enterprise revived the depressed spirits of the colonists, and produced an immediate and happy effect in recruiting the American army.”\*

On the 13th of December, General Lee through an imprudent carelessness, which ill became a man in his important station, was captured by a party of British light horse, commanded by Colonel Harcourt. This unfortunate circumstance gave a severe shock to the remaining hopes of the little army, and rendered their situation truly distressing.

The vile and inhuman treatment which General Lee and his fellow prisoners received from the British, is related by Dr. Thacher, in his military journal, in the most affecting manner, and from the doctor's character for faithfulness in investigation, we presume may be relied on as correct. We quote a part of his narrative.

“The present unfortunate situation of General Lee, who is in close confinement in the provost prison, in New-York, affords a topic for general conversation both in and out of the army. A correspondence between General Washington and General Howe has taken place relative to the subject, from which it appears that General Lee receives the most rigid and ungenerous treatment, under the absurd pretence that he is a deserter from the British service, when it is well known that he resigned his commission long before he received an appointment in our army. As we have not in our possession any British officers of equal rank, General Washington has proposed to make an exchange of six Hessian field officers for General Lee, that being considered as the usual proportion for the disparity of rank. This proposal being rejected, his excellency next required of General Howe that General Lee should receive from his hands treatment

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\* Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 365.



suitable to his rank, and such as the custom of all armies has prescribed for prisoners of war. If this should be refused, General Howe was assured, that the unpleasant expedient of retaliation should be immediately adopted. This unhappy affair soon arrested the attention of congress, and they resolved "that General Washington inform General Howe, that should the proffered exchange of General Lee not be accepted, and the ill treatment of him be continued, the principle of retaliation shall occasion five of the Hessian field officers, together with Lieutenant Colonel A. Campbell, or any other officers that are or may be in our possession, equivalent in number or quality, to be detained in order that the same treatment which General Lee shall receive may be exactly inflicted on their prisoners." The result of this unfortunate business is, that the threatened retaliation has been resorted to on our part, and that Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, and five Hessian field officers are committed to prison, and subjected to the same rigorous treatment which has been ascertained is inflicted on the person of General Lee. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, being on parole near Boston, is confined in the jail at Concord. In a letter to General Howe, which has been published, after acknowledging the liberal and generous attention which he had previously received, he describes his present condition as being most horrid, and in his view altogether unjustifiable. It remains therefore with General Howe to afford to Colonel Campbell all the relief which he desires, and extend to him all the comforts and privileges which his rank demands, by first relaxing his severity, and complying with the rules of war, as respects General Lee; it being the determination of our government to place the British prisoners in precisely the same circumstances with our prisoners in their custody. Another subject excites the interest and the inexpressible indignation of every American. I allude to the abominable conduct of the British commanders towards our unfortunate officers and soldiers, who, by the fortune of war, have fallen into their hands. The following is a brief summary of the systematic method adopted and practised for the destruction of prisoners, as taken from the New-London Gazette, from General Washington's letter of complaint to General Howe, and from the verbal statement of the officers and soldiers who have returned from New-York by exchange. They were crowded into the holds of prison ships where they were almost suffocated for want of air, and into churches, and open sugar houses, &c. without covering or a spark of fire. Their allowance of provisions and water for three days, was insufficient for one, and in some instances, they were for four days entirely destitute of food. The pork and bread, for they had no other sustenance, and even the water allowed them, were of the worst possible quality, and totally unfit for human beings. A minute detail of their dreadful sufferings would only serve to harrow up the feelings of surviving friends; as a gross outrage against the principles of humanity, suffice it to say, that in consequence of the most barbarous treatment, died

within a few weeks, not less than fifteen hundred American soldiers, brave young men, the pride and shield of our country. After death had released the sufferers, their bodies were dragged out of the prisons and piled up without doors, till enough were collected for a cart load, when they were carted out and tumbled into a ditch, and slightly covered with earth. Besides the above diabolical treatment, the prisoners were continually insulted and tantalized by the British officers, and malicious Tories, cursing and swearing at them as rebels, saying, "this is the just punishment of your rebellion; nay, you are treated too well for rebels, you have not received half you deserve, and half you shall receive; but if you will enlist in his majesty's service, you shall have victuals and clothing enough." Thus these callous hearted Englishmen meanly endeavoured to augment the royal army by the enlistment of American prisoners, or to diminish the number of their opposers; but such was the integrity and patriotism of these men, that hundreds submitted to death rather than become rebels to their own native country. In one instance, four of our wounded officers, of respectable rank, were put into a common dirt cart and conveyed through the streets of New-York as objects of derision, reviled as rebels, and treated with the utmost contempt. But, it may be inquired, if I mean to describe the British commanders as transformed into demons?"

On the twenty-seventh of February, a party of royalists was defeated at Moore's Creek Bridge, in North Carolina, by the provincials under Brigadier General Moore.

Fort Cumberland, at the head of the Bay of Fundy, in Nova Scotia, was attacked on the twentieth of November by the Americans; but they were repulsed.

The following is an authentic copy of the instructions given by congress to the American Plenipotentiaries sent to the several courts of Europe.

*"In Congress, December 30, 1776.*

*Resolved,*—That commissioners be sent to the courts of Vienna, France, Spain, Prussia, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

That the several commissioners of the United States be instructed to assure the respective courts, that notwithstanding the artful and insidious endeavours of the court of Great Britain to represent the congress and inhabitants of these states to the European powers, as having a disposition again to submit to the sovereignty of Great Britain, it is their determination, at all events, to maintain their independence.

That the commissioners be respectively directed to use every means in their power, to procure the assistance of the emperor of Germany, and of their most Christian, Catholic, and Prussian Majesties, for preventing Russian, German, and other foreign troops, from being sent to North America for hostile purposes against the United States, and for obtaining a recal of those already sent.

That his most Christian Majesty be induced, if possible, to assist



the United States in the present war with Great Britain, by attacking the Electorate of Hanover, or any part of the dominions of Great Britain in Europe, the East or West Indies.

That the commissioners be further empowered to stipulate with the court of France, that all the trade between the United States, and the West India Islands, shall be carried on by vessels either belonging to the subjects of his most Christian Majesty, or these states, each having liberty to carry on such trade.

That the commissioners be likewise instructed to assure his most Christian Majesty, that, should his forces be employed, in conjunction with the United States, to exclude his Britannic Majesty from any share in the cod-fishery of America, by reducing the islands of Newfoundland and Cape Breton ; and that ships of war be furnished, when required, by the United States to reduce Nova Scotia, the fishery shall be enjoyed equally, and in common, by the subjects of his most Christian Majesty, provided the province of Nova Scotia, island of Cape Breton, and the remaining part of Newfoundland be annexed to the territory and government of the United States.

That should the proposals, made as above, be insufficient to produce the proposed declaration of war, and the commissioners are convinced that it cannot otherwise be accomplished, they must assure his most Christian Majesty, that such of the British West-India Islands, as, in the course of the war, shall be reduced by the united force of France and these states, shall be yielded an absolute property to his most Christian Majesty. The United States engage, on timely notice, to furnish, at the expense of the said states, and deliver at some convenient port, or ports, in the said states, provisions for carrying an expedition against the said islands, to the amount of two millions of dollars, and six frigates, mounting not less than twenty-four guns each, manned and fitted for sea ; and to render any other assistance which may be in their power, as becomes good allies.

That the commissioners for the courts of France and Spain consult together, and prepare a treaty of commerce and alliance, as nearly as may be, similar to the first proposed to the court of France, and not inconsistent therewith, nor disagreeable to his most Christian Majesty, to be proposed to the court of Spain ; adding thereto,

That if his Catholic Majesty will join with the United States in a war with Great Britain, they will assist in reducing to the possession of Spain, the town and harbour of Pensacola, provided the citizens and inhabitants of the United States shall have the free and uninterrupted navigation of the Mississippi and the use of the harbour of Pensacola ; and will, provided it shall be true that his Portuguese Majesty has insultingly expelled the vessels of these states from his ports, or has confiscated such vessels, declare war against the said king, if that measure shall be agreeable to, and supported by the courts of France and Spain.



That the commissioners for the court of Berlin consult with the commissioners at the court of France, and prepare such treaty or treaties of friendship and commerce, to be proposed to the king of Prussia, as shall not be disagreeable to their most Christian and Catholic Majesties.

[Extract of the Minutes.]

CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary of the Congress.*

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*"

"General Washington, having secured the Hessian prisoners on the Pennsylvanian side of the Delaware, recrossed the river two days after the action, and took possession of Trenton. Generals Mifflin and Cadwallader, who lay at Bordentown and Crosswix with three thousand six hundred militia, were ordered to march up in the night of the first of January, to join the commander in chief, whose whole effective force, including this accession, did not exceed five thousand men. The detachments of the British army, which had been distributed over New-Jersey, now assembled at Princeton, and were joined by the army from Brunswick under Lord Cornwallis. From this position the enemy advanced toward Trenton in great force, on the morning of the second of January; and, after some slight skirmishing with troops, detached to harass and delay their march, the van of their army reached Trenton about four in the afternoon. On their approach, General Washington retired across the Assumpinck, a rivulet that runs through the town, and by some field pieces, posted on its opposite banks, compelled them, after attempting to cross in several places, to fall back out of the reach of his guns. The two armies, kindling their fires, retained their positions on opposite sides of the rivulet, and kept up a cannonade until night.

The situation of the American general was at this moment extremely critical. Nothing but a stream, in many places fordable, separated his army from an enemy, in every respect its superior. If he remained in his present position, he was certain of being attacked the next morning, at the hazard of the entire destruction of his little army. If he should retreat over the Delaware, the ice in that river not being firm enough to admit a passage upon it, there was danger of great loss, perhaps of a total defeat; the Jerseys would be in full possession of the enemy; the public mind would be depressed; recruiting would be discouraged; and Philadelphia would be within the reach of General Howe. In this extremity, he boldly determined to abandon the Delaware, and by a circuitous march along the left flank of the enemy, fall into their rear at Princeton. As soon as it was dark, the baggage was silently removed to Burlington; and about one o'clock the army, leaving its fires lighted, and the sentinels on the margin of the creek, decamped with perfect secrecy. Its movement was providentially favoured by the weather, which had previously been so warm and moist, that the ground was soft, and the roads were scarcely passable; but, the wind suddenly changing

to the northwest, the ground was in a short time frozen as hard as a pavement. About sunrise, two British regiments, that were on their march under Lieutenant-Colonel Mawhood to join the rear of the British army at Maidenhead,\* fell in with the van of the Americans, conducted by General Mercer : and a very sharp action ensued. The advanced party of Americans, composed chiefly of militia, soon gave way, and the few regulars attached to them could not maintain their ground. General Mercer, while gallantly exerting himself to rally his broken troops, received a mortal wound. The British rushed forward with fixed bayonets, and drove back the Americans. General Washington, who followed close in the rear, now led on the main body of the army, and attacked the enemy with great spirit. While he exposed himself to their hottest fire, he was so well supported by the same troops, which had aided him a few days before in the victory at Trenton, that the British were compelled to give way. The seventeenth regiment, which was in front, forced its way through a part of the American troops, and reached Maidenhead. The fifty-fifth regiment, which was in the rear, retreated by the way of Hillsborough to Brunswick. General Washington pressed forward to Princeton. A party of the British, that had taken refuge in the college, after receiving a few discharges from the American field pieces, came out and surrendered themselves prisoners of war ; but the principal part of the regiment, that was left there, saved itself by a precipitate retreat to Brunswick. In this action, upward of one hundred of the enemy were killed on the spot, and nearly three hundred were taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans in killed was somewhat less ; but, beside General Mercer, Colonels Haslet and Potter, two brave and excellent officers from Pennsylvania, Captain Neal of the artillery, Captain Fleming, and five other valuable officers, were among the slain.†

Lord Cornwallis, discovering at day light that the American army had moved off, broke up his camp, and commenced a rapid march to Brunswick, and was close in the rear of the Americans before they left Princeton. General Washington retired with his army to Morristown. During these movements, many of the American soldiers were without shoes ; and their naked feet, in marching over the frozen ground, were so gashed, as to mark each step with blood. There was scarcely a tent in the whole army.

The American militia very soon overran the Jerseys. Within four days after the action at Princeton, between forty and fifty Wal-

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\* When Lord Cornwallis quitted Princeton, Lieutenant-Colonel Mawhood was left to defend it with the 17th, 40th, and 55th regiments ; but orders had just been transmitted him to march with the 17th and 55th regiments to Maidenhead, a village midway between Princeton and Trenton. These were the two regiments now on their march.

† General Mercer was from Virginia. Though a Scotchman by birth, yet from principle and affection he had engaged to support the liberties of his adopted country. In the French war he had served with Washington, who greatly esteemed him. " In private life he was amiable, and his character as an officer stood high in public esteem."



deckers were killed, wounded, or taken, at Springfield, (New-Jersey,) by an equal number of the Jersey militia under Colonel Spencer. General Maxwell surprised Elizabethtown, and took nearly one hundred prisoners. General Dickenson, with four hundred Jersey militia, and fifty Pennsylvania riflemen, crossed Millstone River, near Somerset court-house, on the twentieth of January, and attacked a large foraging party of the British ; nine of whom were taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed. Forty waggons, and upward of one hundred horses, with considerable booty, fell into the general's hands. About a month afterward, Colonel Nelson, of Brunswick, with a detachment of one hundred and fifty militia-men, surprised and captured at Lawrence's Neck a major, and fifty-nine privates of the refugees, who were in British pay.

The Americans had hitherto been very deficient in arms and ammunition ; but in the spring of this year a vessel of twenty-four guns arrived from France at Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire, with upward of eleven thousand stand of arms, and a thousand barrels of powder ; and about the same time ten thousand stand of arms arrived in another part of the United States.

Before the royal army took the field for the ensuing campaign, two enterprises were undertaken for the destruction of American stores, deposited at Peek's Kill and Danbury. The first was conducted by Colonel Bird, who landed with about five hundred men at Peek's Kill, on the east side of Hudson's River, nearly fifty miles from New-York ; but on his approach, General M'Dougal, with the few Americans stationed there as a guard, fired the principal store houses, and retired. The loss of provisions, forage, and other valuable articles, was considerable.

The second enterprise was conducted by Major-General Tryon, who, with a detachment of two thousand men, embarked at New-York, and, passing through Long-Island Sound, landed at Campo, between Fairfield and Norwalk ; whence he advanced through the country, almost undisturbed, to Danbury. On his approach, Col. Huntington, who had occupied the town with one hundred militia and continental troops, retired to a neighbouring height, where he waited for reinforcements. The British destroyed eighteen houses, eight hundred barrels of pork and beef, eight hundred barrels of flour, two thousand bushels of grain, and seventeen hundred tents. Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, hastily collecting several hundred of the inhabitants, proceeded that night through a heavy rain to Bethel, about eight miles from Danbury. The next morning they divided their troops ; and General Wooster, with about three hundred men, fell in their rear, while Arnold, with about five hundred, by a rapid movement, took post in their front at Ridgefield.

Wooster, coming up with them about eleven in the morning, attacked them with great gallantry. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which he was mortally wounded, and his troops were compelled to give way. The enemy proceeded to Ridgefield, where Arnold, who



had barricaded the road, warmly disputed the passage ; but, after a skirmish of nearly an hour, being compelled to give way, he retreated to Paugatuck, about three miles east of Norwalk. The royalists, having remained that night at Ridgefield, set fire to the place, and early next morning resumed their march. Arnold met them again about eleven, and a continued skirmishing was kept up until five in the afternoon, when, on their making a stand at a hill near their ships, the Americans charged them with intrepidity, but were repulsed and broken. The enemy immediately re-embarked for New-York. Their killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to about one hundred and seventy ; the loss of the Americans was not admitted to exceed one hundred.\*

This predatory excursion was not long after retaliated. A quantity of provisions had been deposited at Sagg Harbour, on the eastern end of Long-Island, and confided to a schooner with twelve guns, and a company of infantry. General Parsons, who commanded a few of the Connecticut recruits at New-Haven, conceiving it practicable to surprise this small post, and some others not very distant from it, intrusted the execution of his plan to Lieutenant-Colonel Meigs, a very enterprising and gallant officer, who had distinguished himself in the attempt on Quebec. On the twenty-third of May, he embarked at Guilford with about one hundred and seventy men, on board thirteen whale boats, and proceeded, under convoy of two armed sloops, across the Sound to the north division of the island near Southhold. A small foraging party, against which the expedition was in part directed, having left this place for New-York, the boats were immediately conveyed across the land, about fifteen miles, into a bay, by which the east end of Long Island is deeply intersected, where the troops re-embarked, and, crossing the bay, landed at two in the morning about four miles from Sagg Harbour. This place they completely surprised, and carried with charged bayonets. A division of the detachment at the same time burned twelve vessels, with the forage which had been collected for the supply of the British army. Six of the enemy were killed, and ninety captured. Colonel Meigs returned to Guilford with his prisoners, without the loss of a single man.†

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\* David Wooster was born at Stratford, in Connecticut, in 1711, and educated at Yale College. Having, from the time of the war with Spain in 1339 to the French war in 1755, risen through the several military gradations to the rank of colonel ; at the commencement of the revolutionary war he was appointed to the chief command of the troops in the service of Connecticut, and made a Brigadier-General in the continental service ; but this commission he afterward resigned. In 1776, he was appointed the first Major-General of the militia in Connecticut ; and fell while bravely fighting at their head. Congress resolved, that a monument should be erected to his memory. General Arnold behaved with his usual gallantry on this occasion. In the skirmish at Ridgefield, his horse was shot under him ; and while he was extricating himself a soldier advanced to run him through with a bayonet, but he shot him dead with his pistol, and made his escape. Congress resolved, that a horse, properly caparisoned, should be presented to him.

† Holmes' Annals, vol. ii. p. 370-76.

The cruelties inflicted by the British in the progress of the war, drew from congress the following representation and remonstrance.

*In Congress, April 18, 1777.*

“The committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the enemy beg leave to report,—

That in every place where the enemy has been, there are heavy complaints of oppression, injury and insult, suffered by the inhabitants, from soldiers, and Americans disaffected to their country's cause. The committee found these complaints so greatly diversified that it was impossible to enumerate them, so it appeared exceedingly difficult to give a distinct and comprehensive view of them, or such an account as would not, if published, appear extremely defective when read by the unhappy sufferers, or the country in general. In order, however, in some degree to answer the design of their appointment, they determined to divide the object of their inquiry into four parts. First, the wanton and oppressive devastation of the country, and the destruction of property. Second, the inhuman treatment of those who were so unhappy as to become their prisoners. Third, the savage butchery of many who had submitted or were incapable of resistance. Fourth, the lust and brutality of the soldiers in abusing of women. They will therefore now briefly state what they found to be the truth upon each of these heads separately, and subjoin to the whole affidavits and other evidence to support their assertions.

First,—The wanton and oppressive devastation of the country, and destruction of property.

The whole track of the British army is marked with desolation, and a wanton destruction of property, particularly through West Chester county in the State of New-York, the towns of Newark, Elizabeth-Town, Woodbridge, Brunswick, Kingston, Princeton and Trenton, in New-Jersey. The fences destroyed, houses deserted, pulled in pieces, or consumed by fire, and the general face of waste and devastation spread over a rich and once well cultivated and well inhabited country, would affect the most unfeeling with compassion for the unhappy sufferers, and with indignation and resentment against the barbarous ravagers. It deserves notice that though there are many instances of rage and vengeance against particular persons, yet the destruction was very general, and often undistinguished; those who submitted and took protections, and some who were known to favour them, having frequently suffered in the common ruin. Places and things, which from their public nature and general utility should have been spared by a civilized people, have been destroyed or plundered, or both. But above all, places of worship, ministers, and other religious persons of some particular Protestant denominations, seem to have been treated with the most rancorous hatred, and at the same time, with the highest contempt.

Second,—The inhuman treatment of those who were so unhappy as to become prisoners.

The prisoners, instead of the humane treatment which those taken by the United States experienced, were in general treated with the greatest barbarity. Many of them were near four days without food altogether. When they received a supply, it was both insufficient in point of quantity, and often of the worst kind. They suffered the utmost distress from cold, nakedness and close confinement. Freemen and men of substance suffered all that a generous mind could suffer from the contempt and mockery of British and foreign mercenaries. Multitudes died in prison. When they were sent out, several died in the boats while carrying ashore, or upon the road attempting to go home. The committee, in the course of their inquiry, learned that sometimes the common soldiers expressed sympathy with the prisoners, and the foreigners more than the English. But this was seldom or never the case with the officers; nor have they been able to hear of any charitable assistance given them by the inhabitants who remained in or resorted to the city of New-York, which neglect, if universal, they believe was never known to happen in any similar case in a christian country.

Third,—The savage butchery of those who had submitted, and were incapable of resistance.

The committee found it to be the general opinion of the people in the neighbourhood of Princeton and Trenton, that the enemy the day before the battle of Princeton had determined to give no quarter. They did not, however, obtain any clear proof that there were general orders for that purpose, but the treatment of several particular persons at and since that time has been of the most shocking kind, and gives too much countenance to the supposition. Officers wounded and disabled, some of them of the first rank, were barbarously mangled or put to death. A minister of the gospel at Trenton, who neither was nor had been in arms, was massacred in cold blood, though humbly supplicating for mercy.\*

Fourth,—The lust and brutality of the soldiers in abusing women.

The committee had authentic information of many instances of the most indecent treatment, and actual ravishment of married and single women, but such is the nature of that most irreparable injury, that the persons suffering it, and their relations, though perfectly innocent, look upon it as a kind of reproach to have the facts related, and their names known. They have however, procured some affidavits which will be published in the appendix. The originals are lodged with the secretary of the congress. Some complaints were made to the commanding officers upon this subject, and one affidavit made before a Justice of the Peace, but the committee could not learn that any satisfaction was ever given, or punishment inflicted, except that one soldier at Pennyton was kept in custody for part of a day.

On the whole, the committee are sorry to say that the cry of barbarity and cruelty is but too well founded, and as in conver-

\* Mr. Roseburgh, minister at the Forks of Delaware.



sation those who are cool to the American cause, have nothing to oppose to the facts but their being incredible, and not like what they are pleased to style the generosity and clemency of the English nation, the Committee beg leave to observe that one of the circumstances most frequently occurring in the inquiry, was the opprobrious disdainful names given to the Americans. These do not need any proof, as they occur so frequently in the newspapers printed under their direction, and in the intercepted letters of those who are officers, and call themselves gentlemen. It is easy therefore, to see what must be the conduct of a soldier greedy of prey, towards a people whom they have been taught to look upon not as freemen defending their rights on principle, but as desperadoes and profligates, who have risen up against law and order in general, and wish the subversion of society itself. This is the most candid and charitable manner in which the committee can account for the melancholy truths which they have been obliged to report. Indeed, the same deluding principle seems to govern persons and bodies of the highest rank in Britain, for it is worthy of notice, that not pamphleteers only, but king and parliament constantly call those acts lenity, which on their first publication filled this whole continent with resentment and horror.

The above report received, approved, and ordered to be published with the proofs.

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*"

The main body of the British forces had embarked at New-York, sailed up the Chesapeake, and landed at the head of Elk River. The army soon began their march for Philadelphia. General Washington had determined to oppose them, and for this purpose made a stand, first at Red Clay Creek, and then upon the heights, near Brandywine Creek. Here the armies engaged, and the Americans were overpowered, and suffered great loss.

"At day break on the morning of the eleventh, the royal army advanced in two columns, the one commanded by Lieutenant General Knyphausen, and the other, by Lord Cornwallis. While the first column took the direct road to Chadd's Ford, and made a show of passing it in front of the main body of the Americans, the other moved up on the west side of the Brandywine to its fork, crossed both its branches about two in the afternoon, and marched down on its eastern side with the view of turning the right wing of their adversaries. General Washington, on receiving intelligence of their approach, made the proper disposition to receive them. The divisions commanded by Sullivan, Stirling, and Stephen, advanced a little farther up the Brandywine, and fronted the column of the approaching enemy; Wayne's division, with Maxwell's light infantry, remained at Chadd's Ford, to keep Knyphausen in check; Greene's division, accompanied by General Washington, formed a reserve, and took a central position between the right and left wings. The

divisions, detached against Cornwallis, took possession of the heights above Birmingham church, their left reaching toward the Brandywine; the artillery was judiciously placed, and their flanks were covered by woods. About four o'clock, Lord Cornwallis formed the line of battle, and began the attack. The Americans sustained it for some time with intrepidity; but their right at length giving way, the remaining divisions, exposed to a galling fire on the flank, continued to break on the right, and the whole line was soon completely routed. As soon as Cornwallis had commenced his attack, Knyphausen crossed the ford, and attacked the troops, posted for its defence; which, after a severe conflict, were compelled to give way. The retreat of the Americans, which soon became general, was continued that night to Chester, and the next day to Philadelphia. The loss, sustained by the Americans in this action, is estimated at three hundred killed, and six hundred wounded.\* Between three and four hundred, principally the wounded, were made prisoners. The loss of the British was stated to be rather less than one hundred killed, and four hundred wounded. As the British were advancing toward Goshen to gain the Lancaster road, dispositions were again made for battle, on the sixteenth, by both armies; but a heavy rain separated the advanced parties, which had begun to skirmish, and its increasing violence soon obliged the Americans to retreat. General Washington on the nineteenth crossed the Schuylkill, and encamped on the eastern banks of that river; while detachments of his army were posted at the several fords, over which the enemy would probably attempt to force a passage.

In the night of the twentieth, General Wayne, who with fifteen hundred men had concealed himself in the woods on the left wing of the British army, with the intention of harassing their rear, was surprised by Major General Grey. The British General, proceeding on the expedition with secrecy and dispatch, gave strict orders that bayonets only should be used, and that not a gun should be fired. The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded, and prisoners, is supposed to have been about three hundred men. The loss of the enemy was merely one officer killed, and seven privates killed and wounded.

On the twenty-third of September, Sir William Howe, having secured the command of the Schuylkill, crossed it with his whole army; on the twenty-sixth, he advanced to Germantown; and on the succeeding day Lord Cornwallis, at the head of a strong detachment, took peaceable possession of Philadelphia.

General Washington with his army, reinforced to eight thousand continental troops and three thousand militia, took a position at Ship-

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\* Among the wounded were two general officers; the Marquis de la Fayette, and General Woodford. The first of these was a French nobleman, who, at the age of 19 years only, left France, and offered his services to congress, which gave him the rank of major general in their army. Count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, fought also with the Americans in this battle.

pack Creek, on the east side of the Schuylkill, about twenty miles from Philadelphia, and sixteen from Germantown. At this last place lay the main body of the British army. The line of its encampment crossed the town at right angles; the left wing extended to the Schuylkill, and was covered in front and flank by the German chasseurs. The queen's American rangers and a battalion of light infantry were in front of the right; and the fortieth regiment with another battalion of infantry was posted on the Chesnut Road, three quarters of a mile in advance, at the head of the village.

While General Howe was intently engaged in removing obstructions in the River Delaware, General Washington seized the first favourable opportunity to surprise the camp at Germantown. The plan was, to attack both wings in front and rear at the same instant. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by the way of Chesnut Hill, and attack the left wing, while General Armstrong with the Pennsylvania militia was to fall down Manatawny [Ridge] road, and turning the left flank, to attack in the rear. The divisions of Stephen and Greene, flanked by M'Dougal's brigade, were to enter by the Limekiln road at the market house, and attack the right wing. The militia of Maryland and Jersey, under Generals Smallwood and Forman, were to march down the old York road, and fall on the rear of the right. The divisions of Lord Stirling, and the brigade of Nash and Maxwell, were to form a corps de reserve.

The army, having moved from its ground about seven in the afternoon of the third of October, began an attack about sun rise the next morning. The advance of the column led by Sullivan (which was accompanied by the commander in chief) encountered and drove in a picket, which presently gave way; and his main body, soon following, engaged the light infantry and other troops encamped near the picket, and forced them from their ground. Though closely pursued, Lieutenant Colonel Musgrove with six companies took post in a strong stone house, which lay in the way of the Americans, and severely galled them by a fire of musketry from the doors and windows. General Washington immediately ordered a brigade to surround the house; but Colonel Musgrove refused to surrender. Four pieces of cannon were brought against him, but he sustained the fire of them until Major General Grey with the third brigade, and Brigadier General Agnew with the fourth, came to his assistance, and attacked the Americans with great spirit. In the mean time General Greene arrived with his column, and attacked the right wing of the enemy. Colonel Matthews routed a party of the British opposed to him, killed several, and took one hundred and ten prisoners; but from the darkness of the day, caused by an uncommonly thick fog, he lost sight of the brigade to which he belonged, and was taken prisoner with his whole regiment. At length a part of the right wing of the British attacked the Americans on the opposite side of the town; while General Grant moved up the forty-ninth



regiment to the aid of the fourth, which was employed in supporting the troops engaged with Greene's column. The embarrassments among the American troops, occasioned by the darkness, had given the enemy time to recover from their first consternation. While the front of Sullivan's division, having penetrated far into Germantown, was very warmly engaged, the main body of the American army began to retreat; and all efforts to rally it were ineffectual. In this battle, about two hundred Americans were killed, nearly six hundred wounded, and about four hundred made prisoners. Among the slain were General Nash, of North Carolina, who fell at the head of his brigade, and his aid de camp, Major Witherspoon. The loss of the enemy, in killed and wounded, was six hundred, of whom less than one hundred were killed.

The American army encamped again on Shippack Creek, but soon after advanced to White Marsh; the royal army removed from Germantown to Philadelphia. The object, which now principally engaged their attention, was, on the one part to retain, and on the other to acquire, possession of the forts on the Delaware. Without obtaining them, General Howe could have no communication with his fleet; and he would be compelled to evacuate Philadelphia. For the security of that city on the water side, the Americans, beside preparing galleys, floating batteries, armed vessels and boats, fire-ships and rafts, had built a fort on Mud Island, which they called Fort Mifflin; and another at Red Bank, which they called Fort Mercer.\* A detachment from the British army having dislodged the Americans from Billingsport; batteries were erected on the Pennsylvania shore, to assist in dislodging them also from Mud Island. A detachment was sent at the same time to attack Fort Mercer. This enterprise was entrusted to Colonel Count Donop, a brave and high spirited German officer, who with three battalions of Hessian grenadiers, the regiment of Mirbach, and the infantry chasseurs, having crossed the Delaware from Philadelphia on the twenty-first of October, marched down on the eastern side of the river, and on the afternoon of the next day reached Red Bank. The place was defended by about four hundred men under the command of Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island. Count Donop with undaunted firmness led on his troops to an assault, through a tremendous fire; and, forcing an extensive outwork, compelled the garrison to retire to the redoubt; but, while fighting bravely at the head of his battalions, he received a mortal wound. The assailants were soon forced to a precipitate retreat, under a well directed fire from the garrison, which again proved destructive to them, as it had previously been in their approach to the assault. In this expedition,

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\* Mud Island lies near the middle of the Delaware River, about seven miles below Philadelphia. Red Bank lies opposite to it, on the Jersey shore. Billingsport is a high bank on the same shore, about twelve miles below Philadelphia, on which a fortification had been erected by the Americans.

the enemy are supposed to have lost about four hundred men. The garrison lost thirty-two only, killed and wounded.

Preparations in the mean time were going forward for reducing the fort on Mud Island. The British ships having at length been got up the river, a heavy cannonade commenced from them and from the batteries on the shore, which dismounted several of the guns of the fort, and otherwise so damaged its defences, that the garrison, apprehensive of an assault, quitted it the ensuing night, and were carried off by their shipping. Within three days afterward, the garrison at Red Bank, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis with a large force, was withdrawn. The water force of the Americans, now no longer protected by the works on the shore, quitted its station, and retired up the river. A few of the smaller galleys, by keeping close on the Jersey shore, passed Philadelphia in the night, and escaped; the rest were abandoned and burnt. A communication was thus opened at last between the British army and navy.\* †

General Burgoyne, who commanded the northern British army, took possession of Ticonderoga, which had been abandoned by the Americans. He pushed his successes, crossed Lake George, and encamped upon the banks of the Hudson, near Saratoga. "Finding himself in want of provisions, horses to mount his cavalry, and teams to transport his stores and baggage, he resorted to one of the most chimerical and romantic projects that could enter the imagination of man. Being informed that a large quantity of stores, corn, cattle, &c. were deposited at Bennington, in the New-Hampshire grants, he planned an expedition for the purpose of possessing himself of this treasure. Presuming, probably, that his late success and his manifesto had produced such wonderful effects, that no more opposition would be made to his progress in the country. He despatched Colonel Baum, a German officer, with a party of five hundred Hessians and Tories, and one hundred Indians, with two field pieces. The Colonel was furnished with the following curious instructions, which fell into the hands of General Stark. "*To proceed through the New Hampshire Grants, cross the mountains, scour the country, with Peter's corps (Tories) and the Indians, from Rockingham to Otter Creek, to get horses, carriages, and cattle, and mount Reidesel's regiment of dragoons, to go down Connecticut River as far as Brattleborough, and return by the great road to Albany, there to meet General Burgoyne, to endeavour to make the country believe it was the advanced body of the General's army who was to cross Connecticut River and proceed to Boston; and that at Springfield they were to be joined by the troops from Rhode-Island. All officers, civil and military, acting under the Congress, were to be made prisoners. To tax the*

\* By order of congress, an elegant sword was presented to each of the following officers; Colonel Greene, who commanded in Fort Mercer; Lieutenant Colonel Smith, of Maryland, who commanded in Fort Mifflin; and Commodore Hazlewood, who commanded the galleys.

† Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 377—83.



*towns where they halted, with such articles as they wanted, and take hostages for the performance, &c. You are to bring all horses fit to mount the dragoons or to serve as battalion horses for the troops, with as many saddles and bridles as can be found. The number of horses requisite, besides those for the dragoons, ought to be thirteen hundred, if you can bring more so much the better. The horses must be tied in strings of ten each, in order that one man may lead ten horses."*

Preceded by the manifesto, and having his commission in his pocket, Colonel Baum marched, on the 14th of August, at the head of his command, to execute the orders of his general; he proceeded about twelve or thirteen miles, where he halted and secured himself by entrenchments. It was a providential circumstance, that General Stark was at or near Bennington, with about eight hundred New-England militia, part of whom being from the New-Hampshire Grants, were called Green Mountain Boys. He advanced towards the enemy to reconnoitre their position, and some skirmishing ensued, in which thirty of them, with two Indian chiefs, were killed and wounded, with little loss on our side. Colonel Baum, alarmed at his situation, despatched a messenger to Burgoyne for a reinforcement. The 15th being a very rainy day, there was only some skirmishing in small parties. On the 16th, General Stark, assisted by Colonel Warner, matured his arrangements for battle; he divided his troops into three divisions, and ordered Colonel Nichols, with two hundred and fifty men, to gain the rear of the left wing of the enemy, and Colonel Hendrick the rear of their right wing, with three hundred men, while he attacked their front. The Indians, alarmed at the appearance of being surrounded, endeavoured to make their escape in a single file between the two parties, with their horrid yells and the gingling of cow bells. The flanking parties approaching each other in their rear, and General Stark, making a bold and furious onset in front, a general and close conflict ensued, and continued with more or less severity for about two hours. Though Colonel Baum had nearly twice their numbers, and was defended by breast-works, the force of his opposers proved irresistible, forcing their breast-works at the muzzles of their guns, and obliging them to ground their arms and surrender at discretion, so that the victory on our part was complete. We took two pieces of brass cannon, and a number of prisoners, with baggage, &c. This was no sooner accomplished, than Colonel Breyman, with one thousand German troops, arrived with two field pieces, to re-enforce Colonel Baum, who had just been defeated. General Stark's troops were now scattered, some attending the wounded, some guarding the prisoners, and still more in pursuit of plunder; and all exhausted by extreme hunger and fatigue. At this critical moment, Colonel Warner's regiment arrived, and the other troops being rallied, the whole were ordered to advance. A field piece had been taken from Baum in the forenoon, and Stark ordered it to be drawn to the scene of action, but his men having never seen a cannon, knew not how to



load it, the general dismounted and taught them, by loading it himself. An action soon commenced, and proved warm and desperate, in which both sides displayed the most daring bravery, till night approached, when the enemy yielded a second time in one day, to their Yankee conquerors. The German troops being totally routed, availed themselves of the darkness of night to effect their retreat. The whole number of killed, wounded and prisoners, was nine hundred and thirty-four, including one hundred and fifty-seven Tories; of this number, six hundred and fifty-four were prisoners. Colonel Baum received a mortal wound, of which he soon after died. Besides the above, one thousand stand of arms, four brass field pieces, two hundred and fifty dragoon swords, eight loads of baggage, and twenty horses fell into our hands. The loss on our side was not more than one hundred in the whole. The consequences were most auspicious for the northern department. Burgoyne felt the clipping of another wing, and a diminution of his confidence in his successful career. The event also produced the happiest effects on the spirits of our militia, by increasing their confidence in their own prowess.

The following anecdote, deserves to be noticed, for the honour of the person who is the subject of it, though his name has not been ascertained. A venerable old man had five sons in the field of battle near Bennington, and being told that he had been unfortunate in one of his sons, replied, What, has he misbehaved, did he desert his post, or shrink from the charge? No sir, says the informant, worse than that, he is among the slain, he fell contending mightily in the cause. Then I am satisfied, replied the good old man; bring him in, and lay him before me, that I may behold and survey the darling of my soul. On which the corpse was brought in and laid before him. He then called for a bowl of water and a napkin, and with his own hands washed the gore and dirt from his son's corpse, and wiped his gaping wounds, with a complacency, as he himself expressed it, which before he had never felt or experienced.

September 2d, General Gates issued a proclamation to counteract any influence which Burgoyne's sanguinary manifesto might have produced, interdicting all communication with the royal army, and endeavouring to calm the fears of the inhabitants, by promising them all the protection in his power. Burgoyne's manifesto, however, denouncing fire and sword, instead of alarming into submission, excited universal indignation and contempt; instead of conciliating, and increasing the number of his friends, it served only to exasperate and augment our means of resistance and opposition to his views. It was not long, indeed, before some innocent persons were made victims of savage barbarity, by means of the tomahawk and scalping knife, in the hands of the barbarians under his command. Among the first of these victims, was Miss Jenny McCrea, who was murdered in a manner extremely shocking to the feelings of humanity. The father of Miss McCrea was friendly towards the royalists, and the young lady was engaged to marry a refugee officer in Burgoyne's

army, by the name of Jones, and waited his arrival in order to have the marriage consummated. When our army retreated from Fort Edward, Miss McCrea had the indiscretion to remain behind, probably with the expectation of meeting her lover. The Indians, however, soon made her their prisoner, and on their return towards Burgoyne's camp, a quarrel arose to decide who should hold possession of the fair prize. During the controversy, one of the monsters struck his tomahawk into her skull, and immediately stripped off her scalp.

General Gates complained to General Burgoyne of this and other outrages in the following words. "A young lady, Miss McCrea, lovely to the sight, of virtuous character and amiable disposition, engaged to be married to an officer in your army, was, with other women and children, taken out of a house near Fort Edward, carried into the woods, and there scalped and mangled in a most shocking manner. Two parents, with their six children, were all treated with the same inhumanity, while quietly residing in their own happy and peaceful dwellings. The miserable fate of Miss McCrea was peculiarly aggravated by her being dressed to receive her promised husband—but met her murderer, employed by you. Upwards of one hundred men, women and children, have perished by the hands of ruffians, to whom it is asserted you have paid the price of blood." This appears since to be rather an exaggerated charge. In General Burgoyne's reply, he says, "The fact was no premeditated barbarity; on the contrary, two chiefs who had brought Miss McCrea off, for the purpose of security, not of violence to her person, disputed which should be her guard, and in a fit of savage passion, in the one from whose hands she was snatched, the unhappy woman became the victim." He expressed sorrow and regret for the tragic scenes, and further stated that he obliged the Indians to give up the murderer into his hands, and he certainly should have suffered an ignominious death, had he not been convinced that a pardon on his terms would be more efficacious than an execution, to prevent further mischief. That he paid for scalps he denied; but the Indians were to receive compensation for prisoners."

The following remarks of Dr. Thacher are pertinent and just:—"This cruel conduct of the royalists is contemplated with horror and detestation by all ranks of people, except their friends and adherents. It is impossible not to detest that cause and that army which accepts the aid of savage auxiliaries, and encourages them in inhuman slaughter and bloodshed. This measure was certainly countenanced and recommended by his Majesty, and his ministers, and General Burgoyne acknowledges that he allowed the Indians to take the scalps of the dead. It must be most painful for the impartial historian to record, and it will require the strongest faith of the reader in future ages to credit, the disgraceful story, that Britons, who pride themselves on their civility, and humanity, employed the wild savages of the wilderness in a war against a people united to them by



the ties of consanguinity—That age, and the helpless invalid, women, and children at the breast, are all alike subjected to the merciless fury of barbarians. That British generals should be so regardless of the dignity of their station, and the voice of humanity, as to receive from the hands of these ferocious wretches the scalps torn from the skulls of innocent persons!" \*

"General Burgoyne, having collected about thirty days' provision, and thrown a bridge of boats over the Hudson, crossed that river on the thirteenth and fourteenth of September, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga. General Gates, who had recently taken the chief command of the northern department of the American army, advanced toward the enemy, and encamped three miles above Stillwater. On the night of the seventeenth, Burgoyne encamped within four miles of the American army; and about noon on the nineteenth advanced in full force against it. The right wing was commanded by General Burgoyne, and covered by General Frazer and Colonel Breyman with the grenadiers and light infantry, who were posted along some high grounds on the right. The front and flanks were covered by Indians, Provincials, and Canadians. The left wing and artillery were commanded by the Major Generals Phillips and Reidesel, who proceeded along the great road. Colonel Morgan, who was detached to observe their motions, and to harass them as they advanced, soon fell in with their pickets in the front of their right wing, attacked them sharply, and drove them in. A strong corps was brought up to support them, and, after a severe encounter, Morgan was compelled to give way. A regiment was ordered to assist him, and the action became more general. The commanders on both sides supported and re-enforced their respective parties; and about four o'clock Arnold, with nine continental regiments and Morgan's corps, was completely engaged with the whole right wing of the British army. "For four hours they maintained a contest hand to hand." The Americans at length left the field; "not because they were conquered, but because the approach of night made a retreat to their camp necessary. Few actions have been more remarkable than this, for both vigour of attack and obstinacy of resistance." The loss on the part of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was between three and four hundred; among the former were Colonels Coburne and Adams, and several other valuable officers. The loss of the British was about six hundred.

Both armies lay some time in sight of each other, each fortifying its camp in the strongest manner possible. Meanwhile the difficulties of the British General were daily becoming increased. His auxiliary Indians deserted him soon after the battle of Stillwater. His army, reduced to little more than five thousand men, was limited to half the usual allowance of provisions. The stock of forage

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\* Thacher's Military Journal, page 109—15.





J.R. Smith Del.<sup>d</sup>

V. Balch Sc.<sup>d</sup>

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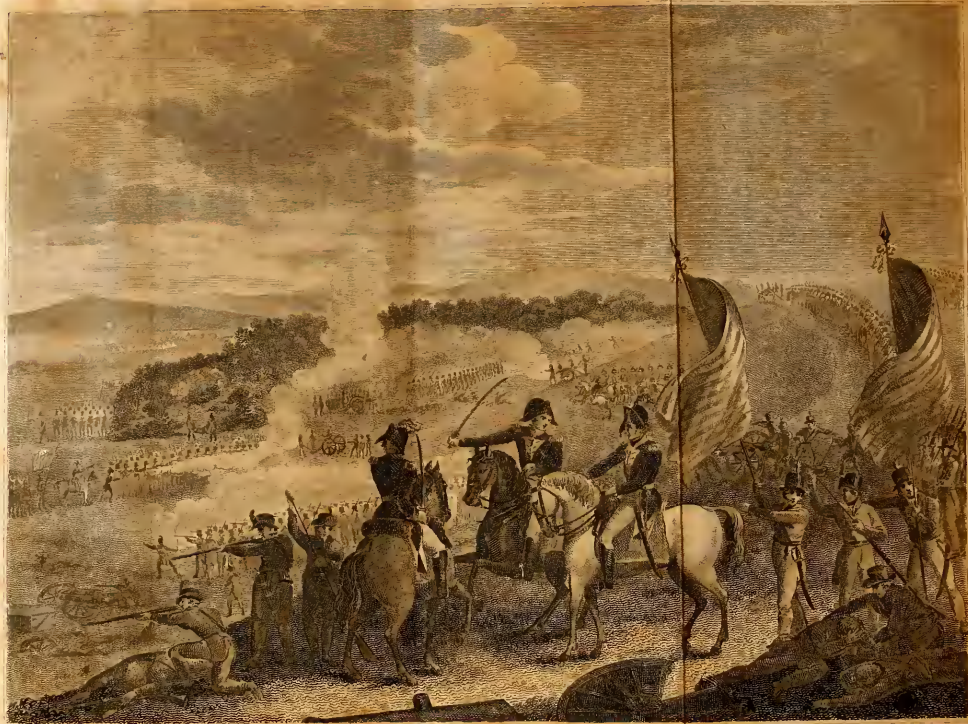
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J. Smith Del.

BATTLE of SARATOGA.  
September 19<sup>th</sup> 1777.





was entirely exhausted, and his horses were perishing in great numbers. The American army had become so augmented, as to render him diffident of making good his retreat. To aggravate his distress, no intelligence had yet been received of the approach of General Clinton, or of any diversion in his favour from New-York.

In this exigency, General Burgoyne resolved to examine the possibility of dislodging the Americans from their posts on the left, by which means he would be enabled to retreat to the lakes. For this purpose he drew out fifteen hundred men, which he headed himself, attended by Generals Phillips, Reidesel, and Frazer. This detachment had scarcely formed, within less than half a mile of the American intrenchments, when a furious attack was made on its left; but Major Ackland, at the head of the British grenadiers, sustained it with great firmness. The Americans soon extended their attack along the whole front of the German troops, which were posted on the right of the grenadiers; and marched a body around their flank, to prevent their retreat. On this movement, the British light infantry with a part of the twenty-fourth regiment instantly formed, to cover the retreat of the troops into the camp. Their left wing in the mean time, overpowered with numbers, was obliged to retreat, and would inevitably have been cut to pieces, but for the intervention of the same troops, which had just been covering the retreat on the right. The whole detachment was now under the necessity of retiring; but scarcely had the British troops entered the lines, when the Americans, led by General Arnold, pressed forward, and, under a tremendous fire of grape shot and musketry, assaulted the works throughout their whole extent from right to left. Toward the close of the day, a part of the left of the Americans forced the intrenchments, and Arnold with a few men actually entered the works; but his horse being killed, and he himself badly wounded in the leg, they were forced out of them, and it being now nearly dark, they desisted from the attack. On the left of Arnold's detachment, Jackson's regiment of Massachusetts, then led by Lieutenant Colonel Brooks, was still more successful. It turned the right of the encampment, and carried by storm the works, occupied by the German reserve. Lieutenant Colonel Breyman was killed; and Brooks maintained the ground he had gained. Darkness put an end to the action. The advantage of the Americans was decisive. They killed a great number of the enemy; made upward of two hundred prisoners, among whom were several officers of distinction; took nine pieces of brass artillery, and the encampment of a German brigade, with all their equipage. Among the slain of the enemy was General Frazer, an officer of distinguished merit, whose loss was particularly regretted. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable.

Gates posted fourteen hundred men on the heights opposite the ford of Saratoga; two thousand in the rear, to prevent a retreat to Fort Edward; and fifteen hundred at a ford higher up. Burgoyne, apprehensive of being hemmed in, retired immediately to Saratoga.

An attempt was now made to retreat to Fort George. Artificers were accordingly dispatched under a strong escort, to repair the bridges, and open the road to Fort Edward; but they were compelled to make a precipitate retreat. The situation of General Burgoyne becoming every hour more hazardous, he resolved to attempt a retreat by night to Fort Edward; but even this retrograde movement was rendered impracticable. While the army was preparing to march, intelligence was received, that the Americans had already possessed themselves of Fort Edward, and that they were well provided with artillery. No avenue to escape now appeared. Incessant toil had worn down the whole British army; which did not now contain more than three thousand five hundred fighting men. Provisions were almost exhausted, and there were no possible means of procuring a supply. The American army, which was daily increasing, was already much greater than the British in point of numbers, and almost encircled them. In this extremity, the British General called a council of war; and it was unanimously resolved to enter into a convention with General Gates. Preliminaries were soon settled, and the royal army surrendered prisoners of war.\*

The capture of an entire army was justly viewed as an event, that must essentially affect the contest between Great Britain and America; and while it excited the highest joy among the people, it could not but have a most auspicious influence in the cabinet and in the field. The thanks of congress were voted to General Gates and his army; and a medal of gold, in commemoration of this splendid achievement, was ordered to be struck, to be presented to him by the president, in the name of the United States.

While General Burgoyne was urging his preparations for advancing toward Albany, General Lincoln attempted to recover Ticonderoga, and the other posts in the rear of the royal army. Colonel Brown, whom he detached on the thirteenth of September with five hundred men to the landing at Lake George, surprised all the outposts between the landing at the north end of that lake and the body of the fortress at Ticonderoga; took Mount Defiance and Mount Hope, the old French lines, a block-house, two hundred bateaux, several gun-boats, and an armed sloop, together with two

* The whole number, which surrendered, was		5752	
British troops	2442	Sick and wounded left in the British camp when Burgoyne began his retreat	} 522
Bunswick & other German troops	2193		
Canadians, Volunteers, &c.	1100		
Staff	12	Beside the above, there were killed, wounded, taken, & deserted, between 6th July & 16th October	} 2933
	5752		
Total			

Remembrancer for 1777, p. 477. The whole army of General Gates consisted of 9093 continental troops. The number of the militia fluctuated; but, when the convention was signed, it amounted to 4129. The sick exceeded 2500. The troops under General Burgoyne were to march out of their camp with the honours of war; and a free passage was to be granted them to Great Britain, on condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest.



hundred and ninety prisoners; and released one hundred Americans. On examination it was found, that the reduction of either Mount Independence or Ticonderoga was impracticable; but soon after the convention at Saratoga, the British, who had been left in the rear of the royal army, destroyed their cannon; and, abandoning Ticonderoga, retreated to Canada.

General Lincoln, while reconnoitring, the day after the battle near Stillwater, received a dangerous wound; but the life of that excellent officer and estimable man was providentially saved for future and important services to his country.”\*

*“Articles of Convention between Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Major-General Gates.*

I.—The troops under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments, to the verge of the river where the old fort stood, where the arms and artillery are to be left; the arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers.

II.—A free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Great Britain, on condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston is assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops, whenever General Howe shall so order.

III.—Should any cartel take place, by which the army under General Burgoyne, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void as far as such exchange shall be made.

IV.—The army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to march to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest, most expeditious, and convenient route; and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible to Boston, that the march of the troops may not be delayed, when transports arrive to receive them.

V.—The troops to be supplied on their march, and during their being in quarters, with provisions, by General Gates’s orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army; and if possible the officers’ horses and cattle are to be supplied with forage at the usual rates.

VI.—All officers to retain their carriages, batt-horses and other cattle, and no baggage to be molested or searched; Lieutenant-General Burgoyne giving his honour that there are no public stores secreted therein. Major-General Gates will of course take the necessary measures for the due performance of this article. Should any carriages be wanted during the march for the transportation of officers’ baggage, they are, if possible, to be supplied by the country at the usual rates.

VII.—Upon the march, and during the time the army shall remain in quarters in Massachusetts Bay, the officers are not, as far as

\* Holmes’ American Annals, vol. ii. p. 387—92.

circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men. The officers are to be quartered according to rank, and are not to be hindered from assembling their men for roll call, and other necessary purposes of regularity.

VIII.—All corps whatever, of General Burgoyne's army, whether composed of sailors, batteauxmen, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of whatever country, shall be included in the fullest sense and utmost extent of the above articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects.

IX.—All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, consisting of sailors, battaumen, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and many other followers of the army, who come under no particular description, are to be permitted to return there; they are to be conducted immediately by the shortest route to the first British post on Lake George, are to be supplied with provisions in the same manner as the other troops, and are to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest in North America.

X.—Passports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of captains, who shall be appointed by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to carry despatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain, by the way of New-York; and Major-General Gates engages the public faith, that these despatches shall not be opened. These officers are to set out immediately after receiving their despatches, and are to travel the shortest route and in the most expeditious manner.

XI.—During the stay of the troops in Massachusetts Bay, the officers are to be admitted on parole, and are to be allowed to wear their side arms.

XII.—Should the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne find it necessary to send for their clothing and other baggage to Canada, they are to be permitted to do it in the most convenient manner, and the necessary passports granted for that purpose.

XIII.—These articles are to be mutually signed and exchanged to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock, and the troops under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne are to march out of their entrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon.

(Signed)

HORATIO GATES, *Major-General.*

(Signed)

J. BURGOYNE, *Lieutenant-General.*

*Saratoga, Oct. 16th, 1777.*

To prevent any doubts that might arise from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's name not being mentioned in the above treaty, Major-General Gates hereby declares, that he is understood to be comprehended in it, as fully as if his name had been specifically mentioned.

HORATIO GATES.

Thus terminated a negotiation which prostrated the power of the enemy in the north, disconcerted a dangerous project, and distracted



his future operations. It invigorated the national spirit, retrieved disasters in the south, and encouraged the public councils to resist the insidious plans of the British cabinet to disunite the American people, and disarm opposition. This signal event, though first in éclat, was secondary in its consequences, to the glorious achievement at Trenton; I take the distinction, that in the latter case we were contending for life, with a handful of troops opposed to an host; and in the former we were defending property with an overwhelming force. Impartial posterity will determine, what were my humble merits in these important transactions; and it would be a gratification to know, what *mighty space of public utility was occupied by President Madison in those eventful days.*

Early on the morning of the 17th, I visited General Burgoyne in his camp, and accompanied him to the ground where his army was to lay down their arms, from whence we rode to the bank of the Hudson's River, which he surveyed with attention, and asked me whether it was not fordable. Certainly, Sir, but do you observe the people on the opposite shore? Yes, replied he, "I have seen them too long."

He then proposed to be introduced to General Gates, and we crossed the Fishkill and proceeded towards his head quarters, General Burgoyne in front with his adjutant-general, Kingston, and his aids-de-camp Captain Lord Petersham and Lieutenant Wilford behind him, then followed Major-General Phillips, the Baron Reidesel, and the other general officers and their suits, according to rank. General Gates, advised of Burgoyne's approach, met him at the head of his camp, Burgoyne in a rich royal uniform, and Gates in a plain blue frock. When they had approached nearly within sword's length, they reined up and halted: I then named the gentlemen, and General Burgoyne raising his hat most gracefully said, "The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner;" to which the conqueror, returning a courtly salute, promptly replied, "I shall always be ready to bear testimony that it has not been through any fault of your excellency."\*

The following extract from the *British Annual Register*, will shew the general state of things in England and America, at the meeting of Parliament, November, 1777.

General Burgoyne's success at Ticonderoga, with the total discomfiture and ruin which every where attended the Americans in their precipitate flight on the borders of Lake George, excited the greatest triumph on the side of administration; and whilst it wonderfully elevated the spirits, was considered nearly as crowning the hopes of all those who had supported and approved of the war. The northern expedition was looked upon as the favourite child of government. The operations on the side of the Jerseys and Philadelphia, were evidently considered in a very secondary point of view. As

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\*Wilkinson's Memoirs, p. 317-21.



the noble Lord, who conducted the American affairs, had all the applause of this measure, which was considered entirely as his own, it is not to be wondered at, that both himself, and his brethren in office, should be deeply interested in the event, and value themselves highly on the appearance of success.

The subsequent dispatches from General Burgoyne, did not long support the hopes which were founded on the first successes. The unexpected difficulties and delays which the army experienced in advancing a few miles from Skenesborough, to the southward, were, however, counterbalanced in opinion by its arrival on the Hudson's River, the retreat of the enemy from Fort Edward, their abandoning Fort George and the Lake. by which a free passage was opened from Ticonderoga, and St. Leger's success, in defeating and ruining the Tryon county militia near Fort Stanwix.

All the former and present sanguine expectations which had been formed, were, however, in a great measure overthrown by the advices which were received Oct. 31, some time previous to the meeting of Parliament; an account which was probably this year held back, in the full confidence of its being ushered in with the particulars of some great and decisive success. Those which came to hand, after a tedious season of expectation, bore a very different complexion. The insuperable difficulties that necessarily suspended the operations of an army in such a country, and under such circumstances, were now practically discovered. The double defeat of Baum and Breyman, by a supposed broken and ruined militia, in an attempt to remove or lessen some of those difficulties, was still more dispiriting; and was not in any degree cured by the hope which the General expressed, of support and assistance from the co-operation of Sir William Howe's army; both as it marked a despondency of success from his own force, and that the ministers knew the impossibility of his receiving any support from that quarter. But, as if it had been to crown the climax of ill news and ill fortune, the same dispatches were accompanied with others from Sir Guy Carleton, which brought an account of the failure of the expedition to Fort Stanwix, the bold and unexpected attacks of the rebels on the side of Ticonderoga, and of a still more unexpected and extraordinary event, in a short sketch of the desperate and doubtful action which was fought on the 19th of September, between General Burgoyne and Arnold; which, naked as it was of circumstances, seemed to shew the latter to be the assailant, by the mention of his *retiring to his camp*, when the darkness had put an end to the combat.

Although the knowledge of these events seemed to open a view to some of the succeeding misfortunes, and even afforded room to pre-sage a part of those unparalleled calamities which befel the northern army, it was still hoped, by those who were most sanguine in their expectations, that General Burgoyne, being so near Albany, could not fail of making his way good to that place; and that being there securely lodged, he would have an opportunity of concerting with

Sir Henry Clinton, the means, either separately or jointly, of distressing the northern colonies; or if the season and other circumstances did not encourage that design, they might decide on the propriety of maintaining the post at Albany during the winter, or of advancing to New-York if more eligible. In the worst case that could happen, they entertained no doubt of effecting his retreat to Canada. Others were apprehensive of some of the fatal consequences that ensued.

Such was in general the state of affairs, so far as they were known, and of public opinion at the meeting of Parliament. The accounts from Sir William Howe went no farther than the successful landing of the army at the head of Elk; his preparation for advancing towards Philadelphia; with the situation and apparent design of the enemy to impede his progress.

[Nov. 20th, 1777.]—The speech from the throne expresses great satisfaction, in having recourse to the wisdom and support of parliament in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in America demanded their most serious attention. "The powers with which parliament had entrusted the crown for the suppression of the revolt, were declared to have been faithfully exerted; and a just confidence was expressed, that the courage and conduct of the officers, with the spirit and intrepidity of the forces, would be attended with important success; although repeated assurances were received of the pacific disposition of foreign powers, yet as the armaments in the ports of France and Spain were continued, it was thought advisable to make a considerable augmentation to our naval force; it being equally determined not to disturb the peace of Europe on the one hand, and to be a faithful guardian of the honour of the crown on the other.

The speech concluded with a resolution of steadily pursuing the measures in which they were engaged for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination, which his majesty was determined to maintain through the several parts of his dominions; accompanied with a profession of being watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of his subjects; a renewal or continuance of the former hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude would return to their allegiance, upon a recollection of the blessings of their former government, and a comparison with the miseries of their present situation; and a declaration, that the restoration of peace, order, and confidence to his American Colonies, would be considered by his Majesty as the greatest happiness of his life, and the greatest glory of his reign.

The conclusions involved in this declaration or opinion had no effect in deterring the Marquis of Granby, from immediately avowing those very principles and that conduct which had been so loudly condemned.

He would therefore recommend it to the ministers to forge bonds of amity for the minds, instead of chains for the bodies of the Ameri-



cans, and flattering himself on the present moment of uncertainty, he would move an amendment to the address; the substance of the amendment being—"To request of his Majesty to adopt some measures for accommodating the differences with America; and recommending a cessation of all hostilities, as necessary for the effectuating of so desirable a purpose; with an assurance, that the commons were determined to co-operate with him in every manner that could contribute to the re-establishment of peace, and the drawing such lines as should afford sufficient security to the terms of pacification."

The motion for the amendment was seconded by Lord John Cavendish, and supported in general by the opposition on the following grounds: That three years war, at an immense expense, 55,000 land forces, and a hundred ships of war, had only left us in nearly the same situation that we began. We had lost Boston, and we had gained New-York. The loss of our army was too much to be apprehended; its escape indeed in any manner, and with any loss, was the utmost that could be hoped. If the other army should ever succeed against Philadelphia, what prospect would that afford of bettering our affairs? On the contrary was there not every reason to apprehend, that such a separation of our forces would be attended with the most alarming consequences, and even endanger the whole.

Every hope of attaining a revenue from America had been long over; the country gentlemen were called upon, to know if any one of them would still avow the entertaining of so frantic an idea. Yet in that blind pursuit, the offspring, they said, of folly, ignorance, obstinacy, and injustice, we had already squandered above fifteen millions of money, which was finally sunk, and every shilling of it forever lost to the nation. If peace were this moment concluded, they said, without contradiction, that by the time we had brought home and disbanded our forces, got rid of our German connections, with all the other incumbrances, incident to, or consequent of the war, we should have increased the national debt above thirty millions more than it had been at the commencement of the troubles; which would then far exceed all calculations that had ever been made relative to the ability of the nation, and the degree of burthen which it was capable of supporting.

It was asked, whether the destruction of our home trade, by the swarms of American privateers which had during the summer infested and insulted our coasts; the terror into which the metropolis of Ireland had been thrown, and the fortifying, for the first time in all our wars, of its harbours; with the consignment to foreigners of the freight of our native commodities, from the incompetency of the British flag to the protection of its own commerce; whether these circumstances were to be adduced merely as evidences of national strength and prosperity, or whether the credit of them was to be applied to the general wisdom of our councils, and to the particular



ability with which the war was conducted? If such are already the consequences of an American contest with our revolted colonies only, what are we to expect when an European war is brought home to our doors by the junction of the whole House of Bourbon with those colonies, whom we now seem incapable of contending with to effect singly? This fatal event, said they, has been long foreseen and repeatedly foretold by the opposition, as a certain result of the folly, injustice, and violence of our councils, and the infatuated blindness, and obstinacy of government. These predictions had been the constant jest of the Ministers, whose ill timed and ill fated ridicule, was confirmed by those standing majorities, who have uniformly supported them in their most ruinous measures; but if there were any deficiency of other confirmations, the verity of these predictions is now established by the speech before us; nor will the unwillingness with which the acknowledgment is made, nor the necessity by which it is extorted, lessen the validity of that testimony.

The house was repeatedly called upon and exhorted in the most urgent terms, to reflect sincerely upon the present critical state of public affairs; that they were involved at this moment in such a situation of difficulty and danger, as they had never before experienced; that it therefore behooved them to act with the greatest circumspection, and by the prudence and wisdom of their present conduct to atone for past errors, and to afford a remedy to their consequent evils, so far as they were yet capable of being cured. And they were warned, not by a blind and precipitate vote, without a single ray of information on public affairs for their guidance, to pass an address, which, besides an approbation of all their past conduct, would afford a sanction to the Ministers for a perseverance in the same destructive measures which had involved us in the present most unhappy situation.

Upon the whole it was said, they were now, in the language which had so often been used on the other side, to pass, or not to pass the Rubicon; they were to cast the die, in their present resolution, which was to determine war or peace, safety or destruction. They were not only to vote war or peace with America, but war or peace with the House of Bourbon. The address, and the amendment afforded either alternative.

A gentleman whose powers of eloquence, have been universally celebrated, supplicated the House in the most pathetic terms; to seize the present happy moment for attempting an accommodation, when neither elated with insolent victory, nor debased with abject defeat; we could with honour to ourselves make such proposals to our colonists as they would without dishonour accept,

On the other side, the Minister said, that he supposed there was not a second opinion in the nation with respect to peace, nor a wish that did not tend to its accomplishment; that no man in or out of the House wished more fervently for that happy event than he did him-

self; that the only difference of opinion, which could arise, was on the means of attaining that wished-for object; but that the proper moment for chalking out the lines of an accommodation was not yet arrived: that happy moment could only be found in the season of victory; the attempt would be as futile, as it would be productive of ridicule, disgrace and contempt, at any other. He seemed tacitly to give up the idea of taxation, by not considering it as a bar in the way of accommodation; and objected to a cessation of arms, as it would seem a direct admission of the American claim of independency; but he said that the Commissioners were enabled to grant a cessation whenever they deemed it expedient, and that such overtures were made or accepted on the other side, as afforded any fair ground for opening a negociation.

The present contest exhibited a new and very doubtful case. For if America should grow into a separate empire, it must of course cause *such a revolution in the political system of the world*, that a bare apprehension of the unknown consequences which might proceed from so untried a state of public affairs, would be sufficient to stagger the resolution of our most determined or enterprizing enemies.

It was further advanced on the same side, that, independent of arms, there was every reason for hoping that the troubles in America would be brought to a happy conclusion; that the great bounties which the Congress offered to soldiers, was an irrefragable proof of the difficulty which they experienced in endeavouring to recruit their forces; that the hardships which the people actually suffered, at present, under the despotism of their *tyrants*, compared with that mild and happy government which they had withdrawn themselves from, and under which they had risen to such a degree of power and greatness, had already nearly brought them to a sense of their error, and would soon make them sick of rebellion. That the proposed amendments, if carried, would only tend to revive and keep up that wild spirit of independence, by which the people had so long been hurried away from the right use or application of their reason; and that they could not therefore but consider themselves as enemies to their country, were they not to stamp a direct negation upon the amendment.

Some others went so far as to insist, that the contest now, was not *whether America should be dependent on the British legislature; but whether Great Britain or America should be independent?* Both, they said, could not exist in that state together. For such were the sources of wealth and power in that vast continent, from its extent, its products, its seas, its rivers, its unparalleled growth in population, and above all, its inexhaustible fund of naval treasures, that this small island, which had hitherto supported its greatness by commerce and naval superiority, would be so cramped in its own peculiar resources, and overlayed in its proper and natural element, that it must in a few years sink to nothing, and perhaps be reduced to that most degrading and calamitous of all possible situations, the becoming a vassal to her own



*rebellious colonies, if they were once permitted to establish their independence, and of course their power.* [A most singular confession.]

These gentlemen laughed at the idea of a cessation of arms, which they represented as the most absurd that could possibly be conceived. How, said they, is it to be obtained? Is a herald to be sent to the whole camp with the proposition? If they refuse to comply with it, how are we to act? Must our troops lie upon their arms, and suffer themselves to be beaten and their throats cut, only to give the world a specimen of their forbearance, and show that their passive is equal to their active valour? The Congress have already refused to negotiate or treat with our Commissioners upon any terms, without a previous and absolute acknowledgment of their independence.

In this course of stricture and censure, in which a more than common degree of acuteness and asperity were displayed, a gentleman highly celebrated for his ability, and not less distinguished by his constant opposition to the Ministers, than by the severity with which he scrutinizes their measures, laid a double portion of that general blame and reproach which, he said, was due for our present calamitous situation, to the share of the noble Lord who presides at the head of the American department. To his administration he principally attributed, besides the most ruinous measures, and disgraceful consequences of the war, the final loss of our colonies. To him he also attributed the inhuman measure of employing savages, not, he said, to subdue, but to exterminate, a people whom he still pretended to call our subjects; a measure which he described, as a warfare against human nature, without its being capable of producing any real military advantage; and calculated merely for the destruction of the weak or the peaceable, for the murder of old men, women and children.

It required no less than the acknowledged ability of the noble Minister, to withstand the torrent of wit and eloquence, in which these charges and censures were involved, and in some degree to deaden the effect of that brilliance of colouring with which the picture was charged. He entered into a defence of several parts of his conduct in the American war, in a speech much longer than was usual for him; and as to the particular charge of employing the Indians, he asserted that it was a matter of necessity on the part of government; for that the Americans had before tampered with them, and had strained every nerve to induce them to take an active part against the royal cause; so that in this measure, which had been described in such colours of horror, and reprobated with such warmth of indignation, we only successfully copied the example which had been set, though it failed in the execution, by the immaculate and infallible Congress.

The whole weight of debate on that side, fell on the Ministers themselves, or upon a very few official men.



*In Congress, November 1, 1777.*

### A PROCLAMATION.

“ Forasmuch as it is the indispensable duty of all men to adore the superintending Providence of Almighty God ; to acknowledge, with gratitude, their obligation to him for benefits received, and to implore such farther blessings as they stand in need of ; and it having pleased Him, in his abundant mercy, not only to continue to us the innumerable bounties of his common providence, but also smile upon us in the prosecution of a just and necessary war, for the defence and establishment of our unalienable rights and liberties ; particularly in that he hath been pleased in so great a measure to prosper the means used for the support of our troops, and to crown our arms with most signal success : it is therefore recommended to the legislative or executive powers of these United States, to set apart Thursday, the 18th day of December next, for solemn thanksgiving and praise ; that with one heart and one voice, the good people may express the grateful feelings of their hearts, and consecrate themselves to the service of their Divine Benefactor ; and that together with their sincere acknowledgments and offerings, they may join the penitent confession of their manifold sins, whereby they had forfeited every favour, and their humble and earnest supplication that it may please God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, mercifully to forgive and blot them out of remembrance ; that it may please him graciously to afford his blessings on the governments of these states respectively, and prosper the public council of the whole ; to inspire our commanders, both by land and sea, and all under them, with that wisdom and fortitude which may render them fit instruments, under the Providence of Almighty God, to secure for these United States, the greatest of all blessings, independence and peace ; that it may please him to prosper the trade and manufactures of the people, and the labour of the husbandman, that our land may yield its increase ; to take schools and seminaries of education, so necessary for cultivating the principles of true liberty, virtue and piety, under his nurturing hand, and to prosper the means of religion, for the promotion and enlargement of that kingdom which consisteth in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

And it is further recommended, that servile labour and such recreation as, though at other times innocent, may be unbecoming the purpose of this appointment, be omitted on so solemn an occasion.”

The beginning of the next year, 1778, was distinguished by a treaty of alliance between France and America. In March it was announced to the Court of London in the following communication :

The declaration mentioned in the message was as follows :—

“ The under-signed Ambassador of his most Christian Majesty

has received express orders to make the following declaration to the Court of London :—

The United States of North America, who are in full possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July, 1776, having proposed to the king to consolidate, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be established between the two nations, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce, designed to serve as a foundation for their mutual good correspondence.

His Majesty being determined to cultivate the good understanding subsisting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his subjects, thinks it necessary to make his proceedings known to the Court of London, and to declare, at the same time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of the French nation ; and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with any nation whatever, upon the same footing of equality and reciprocity.

In making this communication to the Court of London, the king is firmly persuaded it will find new proofs of his Majesty's constant and sincere disposition for peace ; and that his Britannic Majesty, animated by the same sentiments, will equally avoid every thing that may alter their good harmony ; and that he will particularly take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between his Majesty's subjects and the United States of North America from being interrupted, and to cause all the usages received between commercial nations to be in this respect, observed, and all those rules which can be said to subsist between the two crowns of France and Great Britain.

In this just confidence, the undersigned Ambassador thinks it superfluous to acquaint the British Minister, that the king, his master, being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, his Majesty has, in consequence, taken eventual measures in concert with the United States of North America.

(Signed.)

LE M. DE NOAILLES.

*London, March 13, 1778."*

When the English ministry were thus informed that this treaty was on foot, they dispatched commissioners to America, to attempt a reconciliation.

*Manifesto and Proclamation by his Majesty's American Commissioners.*

"HAVING amply and repeatedly made known to the Congress, and having also proclaimed to the inhabitants of North America in general, the benevolent overtures of Great Britain to a re-union and coalition with her colonies. we do not think it consistent, either with



the duty we owe to our country, or with a just regard to the character we bear, to persist in holding out offers which, in our estimation, required only to be known in order to be most gratefully accepted; and we have accordingly, excepting only the commander in chief, who will be detained by military duties, resolved to return to England a few weeks after the date of this manifesto and proclamation.

Previous, however, to this decisive step, we are led, by a just anxiety for the great objects of our mission, to enlarge on some points, which may not have been sufficiently understood; to recapitulate to our fellow-subjects the blessings which we are empowered to confer, and to warn them of the continued evils to which they are at present blindly and obstinately exposing themselves.

To the members of the congress, then, we again declare, that we are ready to concur in all satisfactory and just arrangements for securing to them and their respective constituents, the re-establishment of peace, with the exemption from any imposition of taxes by the Parliament of Great Britain, and the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege consistent with that union of interests and force, on which our mutual prosperity and the safety of our common religion and liberties depend. We again assert that the members of the congress were not authorised, by their constituents, either to reject our offers without the previous consideration and consent of the several assemblies and conventions, their constituents, or to refer us to pretended foreign treaties, which they know were delusively framed in the first instance, and which have never yet been ratified by the people of this continent. And we once more remind the members of congress, that they are responsible to their countrymen, to the world, and to God, for the continuance of this war, and for all the miseries with which it must be attended.

To the general assemblies and conventions of the different colonies, plantations, and provinces abovementioned, we now separately make the offers, which we originally transmitted to the congress; and we hereby call upon and urge them to meet expressly for the purpose of considering whether every motive, political as well as moral, should not decide their resolution to embrace the occasion of cementing a free and firm coalition with Great Britain. It has not been, nor is it our wish, to seek the objects, which we were commissioned to pursue, by fomenting popular divisions and partial cabals; we think such conduct would be ill suited to the generous nature of the offers made, and unbecoming the dignity of the king, and the state which make them. But it is both our wish and our duty to encourage any men, or bodies of men, in their return of loyalty to our sovereign, and affection to our fellow-subjects.

To all others, free inhabitants of this once happy empire, we also address ourselves. Such of them as are actually in arms, of whatsoever rank or description, will do well to recollect, that the grievances, whether real or supposed, which led them into this rebellion, have been forever removed, and that the just occasion is arrived, for their



returning to the class of peaceful citizens. But if the honours of a military life are become their object, let them seek those honours under the banners of their rightful sovereign, and in fighting the battles of the united British empire, against our late mutual and natural enemies.

To those whose profession it is to exercise the functions of religion on this continent, it cannot surely be unknown, that the sovereign power with which the congress is endeavouring to connect them, has ever been averse to toleration, and inveterately opposed to the interest and freedom of the places of worship which they serve ; and that Great Britain, from whom they are, for the present, separated, must, both from the principles of her constitution and of protestantism, be at all times the best guardian of religious liberty, and most disposed to promote and extend it.

To all those who can estimate the blessings of peace and its influence over agriculture, arts, and commerce. who can feel a due anxiety for the education and establishment of their children, or who can place a just value on domestic security, we think it sufficient to observe, that they are made by their leaders to continue involved in all the calamities of war, without having either a just object to pursue, or a subsisting grievance which may not instantly be redressed.

But if there are any persons who, divested of mistaken resentments, and uninfluenced by selfish interests, really think that it is for the benefit of the colonies to separate themselves from Great Britain, and that so separated they will find a constitution more mild, more free, and better calculated for their prosperity than that which they heretofore enjoyed, and which we are disposed and empowered to renew and improve ; with such persons we will not dispute a position which seems to be sufficiently contradicted by the experience they have had. But we think it right to leave them fully aware of the change, which the maintaining of such a position must make in the whole nature and future conduct of this war, more especially when to this position is added the pretended alliance with the court of France. "The policy as well as the benevolence of Great Britain has thus far checked the extremes of war when they tended to distress a people still considered as our fellow-subjects, and to desolate a country shortly to become again a source of mutual advantage ; but when that country professes the unnatural design not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself and her resources to our enemies, the whole contest is changed ; and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connection contrived for her ruin and for the aggrandizement of France. Under such circumstances the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain, and if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

If, however, there are any who think that notwithstanding these

reasonings, the independence of the colonies will, in the result, be acknowledged by Great Britain, to them we answer, without reserve, that we neither possess nor expect powers for that purpose ; and that if Great Britain could ever have sunk so low as to adopt such a measure, we should not have thought ourselves compellable to be the instruments in making a concession which would, in our opinion, be calamitous to the colonies, for whom it was made, and disgraceful, as well as calamitous to the country from which it is required. And we think proper to declare, that in this spirit and sentiment we have regularly written from the continent to Great Britain.

It will now become the colonies in general to call to mind their own solemn appeals to heaven in the beginning of this contest, that they took arms only for the redress of grievances, and that it would be their wish, as well as their interest, to remain for ever connected with Great Britain. We again ask them, whether all their grievances, real or supposed, have not been amply and fully redressed ; and we insist that the offers we have made have nothing to be wished in point either of immediate liberty or permanent security ; if those offers are now rejected, we withdraw from the exercise of a commission with which we have in vain been honoured ; the same liberality will no longer be due from Great Britain, nor can it either in justice or policy be expected from her.

In fine, and for the fuller manifestation as well of the disposition we bear, as of the gracious and generous purposes of the commission under which we act, we hereby declare, that whereas his majesty, in pursuance of an act, made and passed in the last session of parliament, entitled, "An act to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient power to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces in North America," having been pleased to authorize and empower us to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or description of persons within the colonies, plantations and provinces of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. And whereas the good effects of the said authorities and powers toward the people at large, would have long since taken place if a due use had been made of our first communications and overtures ; and have thus far been frustrated only by the precipitate resolution of the members of the congress not to treat with us, and by their declining to consult with their constituents, we now, in making our appeal to those constituents, and to the free inhabitants of this continent in general, have determined to give them what in our opinion should have been the first object of those who appeared to have taken the management of their interests, and adopt this mode of carrying the said authorities, and powers into execution. We accordingly hereby grant and



proclaim a pardon or pardons of all, and all manner of treasons or misprisions of treasons, by any person or persons within the said colonies, plantations or provinces, counselled, commanded, acted, or done, on or before the date of this manifesto and proclamation.

And we further declare and proclaim, that if any person or persons, or any number or description of persons within the said colonies, plantations or provinces, now actually serving either in a military or civil capacity in this rebellion, shall, at any time during the continuance of this manifesto and proclamation, withdraw himself or themselves from such civil or military service, and shall continue thenceforth peaceably, as a good and faithful subject or subjects to his Majesty, to demean himself or themselves, such person or persons, or such number and description of persons, shall become, and be fully entitled to, and hereby attain, all the benefit of the pardon or pardons hereby granted, excepting only from the said pardon or pardons, every person and every number or description of persons, who, after the date of this manifesto and proclamation, shall, under the pretext of authority, as judges, jurymen, ministers, or officers of civil justice, be instrumental in executing and putting to death any of his Majesty's subjects within the said colonies, plantations and provinces.

And we think proper further to declare, that nothing herein contained is meant, or shall be construed, to set at liberty any person or persons now being prisoner or prisoners, or who during the continuance of this rebellion shall become a prisoner or prisoners.

And we offer to the colonies at large, or separately, a general peace, with the revival of their ancient government, secured against any future infringements, and protected forever from taxation by Great Britain. And with respect to such further regulations, whether civil, military, or commercial, as they may wish to be framed and established, we promise all the concurrence and assistance that his majesty's commission authorizes and enables us to give.

And we further declare that this manifesto and proclamation shall continue to be in force FORTY DAYS from the date hereof; that is to say, from the third day of October, to the eleventh day of November, both inclusive.

And in order that the whole contents of this manifesto and proclamation may be more fully known, we shall direct copies thereof, both in the English and German language, to be transmitted by flags of truce to the congress, the general assemblies or conventions of the colonies, plantations and provinces, and to several persons both in civil and military capacities within the said colonies, plantations and provinces. And for the further security in times to come of the several persons, or numbers or descriptions of persons, who are or may be the objects of this manifesto and proclamation, we have set our hands and seals to thirteen copies thereof, and have transmitted the same to the thirteen colonies, plantations and provinces abovementioned, and we are willing to hope that the whole



of this manifesto and proclamation will be fairly and freely published and circulated for the immediate, general, and most serious consideration and benefit of all his majesty's subjects on this continent. And we earnestly exhort all persons who by this instrument forthwith receive the benefit of the king's pardon, at the same time that they entertain a becoming sense of those lenient and affectionate measures whereby they are now freed from many grievous charges which might have risen in judgment, or been brought in question against them, to make a wise improvement of the situation in which this manifesto and proclamation places them, and not only to recollect that a perseverance in the present rebellion, or any adherence to the treasonable connection attempted to be framed with a foreign power, will, after the present grace extended, be considered as crimes of the most aggravated kind; but to vie with each other in eager and cordial endeavours to secure their own peace, and promote and establish the prosperity of their countrymen, and the general weal of the empire.

And pursuant to his majesty's commission, we hereby require all officers civil and military, and all others his majesty's loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting us in the execution of this our manifesto and proclamation, and of all the matters herein contained.

Given at New-York, this third day of October, 1778.

CARLISLE, (L. S.)

H. CLINTON, (L. S.)

WM. EDEN, (L. S.)

*By his Excellency's command,*

ADAM FERGUSON, *Secretary.*"

*By the Congress of the United States of America.*

## MANIFESTO.

"THESE United States having been driven to hostilities by the oppressive and tyrannous measures of Great Britain; having been compelled to commit the essential rights of man to the decision of arms; and having been at length forced to shake off a yoke which had grown too burthensome to bear, they declared themselves free and independent.

Confiding in the justice of their cause; confiding in Him who disposes of human events, although weak and unprovided, they set the power of their enemies at defiance.

In this confidence they have continued, through the various fortune of three bloody campaigns, unawed by the powers, unsubdued by the barbarity of their foes. Their virtuous citizens have borne, without repining, the loss of many things which made life desirable. Their brave troops have patiently endured the hardships and dangers of a situation, fruitful in both beyond example.

The Congress considering themselves bound to love their ene-

mies, as children of that Being who is equally the Father of all, and desirous, since they could not prevent, at least to alleviate the calamities of war, have studied to spare those who were in arms against them, and to lighten the chains of captivity.

The conduct of those serving under the King of Great Britain hath, with some few exceptions, been diametrically opposite. They have laid waste the open country, burned the defenceless villages, and butchered the citizens of America. Their prisons have been the slaughter-houses of her soldiers; their ships of her seamen; and the severest injuries have been aggravated by the grossest insults.

Foiled in their vain attempt to subjugate the unconquerable spirit of freedom, they have meanly assailed the Representatives of America with bribes, with deceit, and the servility of adulation. They have made a mock of humanity, by the wanton destruction of men; they have made a mock of religion, by impious appeals to God, whilst in the violation of his sacred commands; they have made a mock even of reason itself, by endeavouring to prove, that the liberty and happiness of America could safely be entrusted to those who have *sold their own*, unawed by the sense of virtue, or of shame.

Treated with the contempt which such conduct deserved, they have applied to individuals; they have solicited them to break the bonds of allegiance, and imbrue their souls with the blackest of crimes; but fearing that none could be found through these United States, equal to the wickedness of their purpose, to influence weak minds, they have threatened more wide devastation.

While the shadow of hope remained, that our enemies could be taught by our example to respect those laws which are held sacred among civilized nations, and to comply with the dictates of a religion which they pretend in common with us to believe and revere, they have been left to the influence of that religion, and that example. But since their incorrigible dispositions cannot be touched by kindness and compassion, it becomes our duty by other means to vindicate the rights of humanity.

We, therefore, the Congress of the United States of America, DO SOLEMNLY DECLARE AND PROCLAIM, That if our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions. And in his holy presence we declare, That as we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestions of anger or revenge, so through every possible change of fortune, we will adhere to this our determination.

Done in Congress, by unanimous consent, the thirtieth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

*Attest.*

CHARLES THOMPSON. Secy.



## PROTEST OF THE LORDS.

*“ Die Lunat, Dec. 7, 1778.*

*Moved*—That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to express to his Majesty the displeasure of this house at a certain manifesto and proclamation, dated the third day of October, 1778, and published in America under the hands and seals of the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, Knight of Bath, and William Eden, Esq. commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, and countersigned by Adam Ferguson, Esq. Secretary to the commission ; the said manifesto containing a declaration of the following tenour :

‘ If there be any persons, who, divested of mistaken resentments, and uninfluenced by selfish interests, really think it is for the benefit of the colonies to separate themselves from Great Britain, and that so separated they will find a constitution more mild, more free, and better calculated for their prosperity, than that which they heretofore enjoyed, and which we are empowered and disposed to renew and improve ; with such persons we will not dispute a position which seems to be sufficiently contradicted by the experience they have had. But we think it right to leave them fully aware of the change which the maintaining such a position must make in the whole nature and future conduct of this war, more especially when to this position is added the pretended alliance with the court of France. The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people, still considered as our fellow-subjects, and to desolate a country, shortly to become again a source of mutual advantage ; but, when that country professes the unnatural design, not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself, and her resources, to our enemies. the whole contest is changed, and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under such circumstances, the laws of self preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain ; and, if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemies.’

To acquaint his Majesty with the sense of this house, that the said commissioners had no authority whatsoever, under the act of parliament, in virtue of which they were appointed by his Majesty, to make the said declaration, or to make any declaration to the same, or to the like purport ; nor can this house be easily brought to believe that the said commissioners derived any such authority from his Majesty’s instructions.

Humbly to beseech his Majesty, that so much of the said manifesto, as contains the said declaration, be forthwith publicly disavowed by his Majesty, as containing matter inconsistent with the humanity and generous courage which at all times have distinguished the Brit-



ish nation, subversive of the maxims which have been established among Christian and civilized communities, derogatory to the dignity of the crown of this realm, tending to debase the spirit and subvert the discipline of his Majesty's armies, and to expose his Majesty's innocent subjects, in all parts of his dominions, to cruel and ruinous retaliations.

Which being objected to, after long debate, the question was put thereon—

It was resolved in the negative.

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*Dissentient*—1st. Because the public law of nations, in affirmance of the dictates of nature and the precepts of revealed religion, forbids us to resort to the extremes of war upon our own opinion of their expediency, or in any case to carry on war for the purpose of desolation. We know that the rights of war are odious, and, instead of being extended upon loose constructions and speculations of danger, ought to be bound up and limited by all the restraints of the most rigorous construction. We are shocked to see the first law of nature, self-preservation, perverted and abused into a principle destructive of all other laws; and a rule laid down, by which our own safety is rendered incompatible with the prosperity of mankind. Those objects of war, which cannot be compassed by fair and honourable hostility, ought not to be compassed at all. An end that has no means, but such as are unlawful, is an unlawful end. The manifesto expressly founds the change it announces from a qualified and mitigated war, to a war of extremity and desolation, on the certainty that the provinces must be independent, and must become an accession to the strength of an enemy. In the midst of the calamities, by which our loss of empire has been preceded and accompanied; in the midst of our apprehensions for the farther calamities which impend over us, it is a matter of fresh grief and accumulated shame to see, from a commission under the great seal of this kingdom, a declaration for desolating a vast continent, solely because we had not the wisdom to retain; or the power to subdue it.

2d. Because the avowal of a deliberate purpose of violating the law of nations must give an alarm to every state in Europe. All commonwealths have a concern in that law, and are its natural avengers. At this time, surrounded by enemies and destitute of all allies, it is not necessary to sharpen and embitter the hostility of declared foes, or to provoke the enmity of neutral states. We trust, that by the natural strength of this kingdom, we are secured from a foreign conquest, but no nation is secured from the invasion and incursions of enemies. And it seems to us the height of frenzy, as well as wickedness, to expose this country to cruel depredations, and other outrages too shocking to mention, (but which are all contain-

ed in the idea of extremes of war and desolation) by establishing a false, shameful, and pernicious maxim, that when we have no interest to preserve, we are called upon by necessity to destroy. This Kingdom has long enjoyed a profound internal peace, and has flourished above all others in the arts and enjoyments of that happy state. It has been the admiration of the world for its cultivation and its plenty ; for the comforts of the poor, the splendour of the rich, and the content and prosperity of all. This situation of safety may be attributed to the greatness of our power. It is more becoming, and more true, that we ought to attribute that safety, and the power which procured it, to the ancient justice, honour, humanity, and generosity of this kingdom, which brought down the blessing of Providence on a people who made their prosperity a benefit to the world, and interested all nations in their fortune, whose example of mildness and benignity at once humanized others, and rendered itself inviolable. In departing from those solid principles, and vainly trusting to the fragility of human force, and to the efficacy of arms, rendered impotent by their perversion, we lay down principles, and furnish examples of the most atrocious barbarity. We are to dread that all our power, peace, and opulence, should vanish like a dream, and that the cruelties which we think safe to exercise, because their immediate object is remote, may be brought to the coasts, perhaps to the bosom of this kingdom.

3d. Because, if the explanation given in the debate be expressive of the true sense of the article in the manifesto, such explanation ought to be made, and by as high authority as that under which the exceptionable article was originally published. The natural and obvious sense indicates, that the extremes of war had hitherto been checked ; that his Majesty's generals had hitherto forbore (upon principles of benignity and policy) to desolate the country ; but that the whole nature, and future conduct of the war, must be changed, in order to render the American accession of as little avail to France as possible. This, in our apprehensions, conveys a menace of carrying the war to extremes, and to desolation, or it means nothing. And, as some speeches in the House (however palliated) and as some acts of singular cruelty, and perfectly conformable to the apparent ideas in the manifesto, have lately been exercised, it becomes the more necessary, for the honour and safety of this nation, that this explanation should be made. As it is refused, we have only to clear ourselves to our consciences, to our country, to our neighbours, and to every individual who may suffer in consequence of this atrocious menace, of all part in the guilt, or in the evils that may become its punishment. And we choose to draw ourselves out, and to distinguish ourselves to posterity, as not being the first to renew, to approve, or to tolerate the return of that ferocity and barbarism in war, which a beneficent religion, enlightened manners,



and true military honour, had for a long time banished from the christian world.

CAMDEN,	ABERGAVENNY,	PORTLAND,
ABINGDON,	COVENTRY,	BEAULIEU,
FITZWILLIAM,	DE FERRARS,	HARCOURT,
FORTESCUE,	FERRARS,	EFFINGHAM,
GRAFTON,	STANHOPE,	WYCOMBE,
CRAVEN,	ROCKINGHAM,	SCARBOROUGH,
J. ST. ASAPH,	TANKERVILLE,	CHOLMONDELAY,
RICHMOND,	PONSONBY,	DEVONSHIRE,
BOLTON,	DERBY,	FOLEY,
RADNOR,	MANCHESTER,	SPENCER."
EGREMONT,		

Early in the spring, Count de Estaing, with a fleet of 15 sail of the line, was sent by the court of France to assist America.

General Howe left the army, and returned to England ; the command then devolved upon Sir Henry Clinton.

In June the British army left Philadelphia, and marched for New-York. On their march they were annoyed by the Americans ; and at Monmouth a very regular action took place, between part of the armies ; the enemy were repulsed with great loss. General Lee, for his misconduct that day, was suspended, and was never afterwards permitted to join the army.

"Washington, as soon as he became sensible of the enemy's intention of abandoning Philadelphia, called a council of officers, to consider the expediency of inviting a general engagement, which as he could bring near eleven thousand men into the field, he thought adviseable. But his officers determined otherwise, and Washington for a few days yielded to their advice. He however, in the mean time, sent Morgan, with 600 men, to reinforce General Maxwell's Brigade, with orders to obstruct the progress of the enemy as much as possible through the Jerseys ; while he himself with the main army moved towards Corryell's ferry, that he might be ready to seize any advantageous opportunity that might offer for a general attack. The progress of Clinton, encumbered as he was with an enormous quantity of heavy baggage, was necessarily slow—for in addition to the usual baggage and provision for such an army, he had provided against the possibility of suffering in case of unexpected delays in his march, by a store of provisions sufficient to have lasted him for a month ; so that his baggage waggons, horses, and carts, resembled the suite of an army of a hundred thousand men, and covered almost as great an extent of ground. Upon reaching Mount Holly, Clinton, contrary to the expectations of Washington, took the road towards Sandy Hook, instead of keeping the left towards the Rariton, and thus induced Washington to suppose that his object was to draw him into an engagement in the flat country, and then by a rapid change of motion to pursue the route to Brunswick.



But Clinton was neither anxious to seek nor to avoid an engagement; he had chosen that route, most probably because he thought it possible that General Gates might form a junction with Washington at the Rariton, and thus cut off his retreat. Whatever might have been his object, Washington was for a time deceived by it; but the moment that he discovered that Clinton meant to pursue his course to the sea-coast, he determined not to let him escape without battle.

With this view, he despatched a body of troops under the Marquis de la Fayette, with orders to approach and harass the enemy's rear, while he moved on with the main army to his support. Clinton, supposing from this measure that Washington's object was simply to cut off his baggage, placed his whole train of incumbrances in the front, under the orders and protection of General Knyphausen, and remained himself with the main body of his army, to check the attempts of the Marquis de la Fayette. This made it necessary for Washington to send a larger force to the aid of the Marquis, and two brigades being ordered to join him, the whole force was placed under the command of Major General Lee. Clinton, with his whole army, lay at Monmouth, a few miles from the heights of Middletown; it was important therefore that the attack should be made before he could reach so advantageous a position. At day light on the morning of the 28th, General Knyphausen moved on from Monmouth with the baggage, while Sir Henry with the *elite* of the army, maintained his position until eight o'clock. Upon receiving intelligence of this movement, Washington sent orders to Lee at English-town, seven miles from Monmouth, to march on to the attack of the British rear; unless there should appear "*very powerful reasons*" to deter him—giving him information, at the same time, that he was approaching to his support.

Lee lost no time in putting his troops into motion, and by the time he had advanced within a few miles of Monmouth, he discovered that Clinton was also in motion, and advancing to meet him. General Grayson, with the two brigades of Scott and Varnum led the van of Lee's division, and were soon joined by the Marquis de la Fayette. The whole party seemed to be at a loss to understand the movements of the enemy, and continued to pass and repass the ravines which every where intersect this part of the country. In this state of indecision, Cornwallis, who led the van of the enemy, made a furious charge with his dragoons, upon the Marquis de la Fayette, and drove him back in some confusion. Lee, in the mean time, under supposition that Cornwallis was detached from the main army, made a feint of retreating, that he might draw the General after him; but one of his officers, General Scott, who had under him the greater part of Lee's forces, misunderstood the orders, and actually retreated. This obliged Lee to follow until he could overtake him, the army hanging upon his rear—in this situation, he was met by Washington, who, vexed at a supposed disobedience of his orders,

accosted him with rather more vehemence than the hot temper of Lee could brook—he refused to explain his conduct, and a warm altercation ensued.

Washington now himself at the head of the army, moved on to battle, and a general action was soon brought on, which lasted through the whole of one of the hottest days of the summer.

Lee who had been ordered again to lead the van, met the whole shock of the British advance, which he sustained with his usual gallantry, until so closely pressed by the British horse, that his troops gave way, and he was again compelled to retreat; which he did with the most perfect order and coolness. Before the retreat of Lee, General Greene moved up with his division, and in conjunction with General Wayne, took such a position that the British gave way, and retired behind a defile; where before any disposition could be made to attack them, night came on, and both armies drew off from the contest.

No advantage was gained to either party by this hard-fought battle; nor was the loss very great on either side. The British left on the field *two hundred and forty-nine*, who were afterwards buried by our men, besides those that were buried by their own men during the night—and *forty-four* wounded. Among their killed was Lieutenant Colonel Monckton, an officer of considerable distinction.

The Americans lost 69 killed, and 160 wounded. Among the killed, were Lieutenant Colonel Bonner, and Major Dickman. Many of the soldiers of both armies fell dead upon the field, from excess of fatigue and heat.

Washington lay upon his arms all night, expecting to renew the attack in the morning; but Sir Henry Clinton disappointed him by moving off at midnight with his whole army; and as Washington, though he might very justly claim the victory, was not in a situation to pursue him over the deep sands of Jersey, he continued his route without further molestation to New-York. Washington after refreshing his wearied troops, and providing as far as possible for the comfort of the wounded, moved on at his leisure towards the Hudson.<sup>27\*</sup>

General Lee's conduct, at several times before this, had been very suspicious. In December, 1776, he lay at Chatham, about eleven miles from Elizabeth Town, with a brigade of troops, when a great quantity of baggage was stored at Elizabeth Town, under a guard of only five hundred Hessians. General Lee was apprised of this, and might have surprised the guard and taken the baggage. But he neglected the opportunity, and, after several marches and counter-marches between Troy, Chatham and Morris Town, he took up his quarters at or near White's tavern, where he was surprised and taken prisoner by a party of the British horse. He was heard to say, repeatedly, that General Washington would ruin a fine army. It was suspected that he had designs to supplant the general, and his friends attempted to place him at the head of the army. General Wash-

\* Allen's Revolution, vol. ii. p. 280-4.



ington's prudent delays and cautious movements afforded General Lee's friends many opportunities to spread reports unfavourable to his character. It was insinuated, with some success, that General Washington wanted courage and abilities. Reports of this kind, at one time, rendered General Lee very popular, and it is supposed he wished to frustrate General Washington's plans, in order to increase the suspicions already entertained of his generalship, and turn the public clamour in his own favour. His conduct at Monmouth was, by some, supposed to have proceeded from such a design ; for he commanded the flower of the American army, and was not destitute of courage.

In August, General Sullivan, with a large body of troops, landed on Rhode-Island, and successfully fought the enemy ; but not being supported by the French fleet, as was expected, he was obliged to leave the island.

" The militia, thus deserted by their allies, on whose co-operation much dependance had been placed, went home in great numbers ; and General Sullivan soon found it expedient to raise the siege. Having, on the twenty-sixth, sent off his heavy artillery and baggage, he on the night of the twenty-eighth retreated from his lines. Very early the next morning, the enemy, discovering his retreat, followed in two columns ; and the whole day was spent in skirmishes between them and covering parties of the Americans, which successively fell back on the main body of the army. This was now encamped in a commanding situation at the north end of the island, and, on the approach of the enemy, it drew up in order of battle. The British formed on Quaker Hill, about a mile in front of the American line. Sullivan's rear was covered by strong works, and in his front, somewhat to the right, was a redoubt. A cannonade and skirmishes having mutually been kept up until about two o'clock, the enemy, then advancing in force, attempted to turn the right flank, and made demonstrations of an intention to dislodge General Greene, who commanded the right wing, from the redoubt in its front. Four regular regiments were moved forward to meet them, and General Greene advanced with two other regiments of continental troops, and Lovell's brigade of militia. Colonel Livingston's regiment was ordered to re-enforce the right. After a very sharp and obstinate engagement of half an hour, the enemy gave way, and retreated to Quaker Hill. The loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and missing, was two hundred and eleven. The loss of the enemy is stated to have been two hundred and sixty.\*

The day after the action, a cannonade was kept up by both armies. A letter was now received by General Sullivan from General

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\* Nearly 1200 Americans were engaged in the action ; and they are said to have shown great firmness. Particular praise was bestowed on Col. Henry B. Livingston, and John Lawrence (aid-de-camp to General Washington), who had the command of light troops, and led them on against the two columns of the advancing enemy. Mr. Lawrence (who, for his good conduct on this occasion, received from congress a con-



Washington, giving him information, that a large body of troops had sailed from New-York, most probably for the relief of Newport ; and a resolution was immediately formed to evacuate the island. This movement was effected with great judgment, and entire success. General Sullivan, while making every show of an intention to resist the enemy and maintain his ground, passed his army over, by the way of Bristol and Howland ferries, on the night of the thirtieth, to the continent. It was a remarkable escape. The delay of a single day would probably have been fatal to the Americans ; for Sir Henry Clinton, who had been delayed by adverse winds, arrived with a re-enforcement of four thousand men the very next day, when a retreat, it is presumed, would have been impracticable.”\*

“ The American war, and many of its consequences, so late as 1778,” says the Annual Register, “ were now scarcely objects of curiosity, much less of surprize ; and being in the habit of deriving no benefit from our colonies, and of considering them only in a state of enmity and hostility, it seemed as if their total loss would be no longer a matter of much wonder or concern ; but that rather, on the contrary, that event would be felt as a cessation from war, expense and trouble usually is felt, in other cases.

The loss and ruin, brought upon numbers of individuals, by this fatal quarrel between the mother country and her colonies, was little thought of, excepting by the sufferers, and had, as yet, produced no apparent change in the face of public affairs. For although our foreign commerce was by this time considerably embarrassed, and loaded with extraordinary charges ; although it was already reduced, in some of its parts, and in others, such as the African branch, nearly annihilated ; it had not yet received those strokes, or at least they were not so sensibly felt, which have since shaken the mercantile interest of this country to a degree which it had not often before experienced.

Indeed that commerce, which had so long equally excited the envy of other nations, and the admiration of mankind, was so immense in extent, and involved such a multitude of great and material objects in its embrace, that it was not to be shaken by any usual convulsion of nature, nor to be endangered by any common accident of fortune. It accordingly bore many severe shocks, and sustained losses of a prodigious magnitude, before they were capable of apparently affecting its general system.

We have formerly shown that the American war, from its peculiar nature, and the greatness of the expense, with which it was conducted and supplied, had produced a new species of commerce, which, however ruinous in its ultimate effects, had, for the present, a

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tinental commission of lieutenant-colonel) was declared by General Greene to have displayed, in an eminent degree, the talents of a partizan and a general. Colonel Jackson, Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury, and Major Talbot, were also particularly mentioned.

\* Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 403-5.

flattering appearance. For this substitute, including all the traffic appertaining to, or consequent of, the war, as well as the commercial speculations which arose by licensed exception or evasion of the several restraining acts of parliament, afforded employment, like a great and legitimate commerce, to an infinite number of persons, and quantity of shipping, yielding at least equal benefits to the gross of those who were concerned; and far greater emoluments, devoid of risque, or even of the employment of much capital, to the principals, than the profits of any real or open trade could possibly admit.

Thus, however frail its establishment, and necessarily short its duration, a new, powerful, and numerous connection was formed, totally distinct from the great, ancient, mercantile interest; and thus, although our Gazettes teemed with bankruptcies, generally doubling and trebling in number, what ever had been usually known, in the same time, in this country, yet the gainers, or the candidates for gain in the new adventures, were so numerous, and presented such an appearance of ease, affluence, and content, that the plaintive but feeble voice of the unfortunate, was little attended to; and the cheerfulness which the splendour and happiness of the former spread all around, prevented any gloomy reflections from arising in the minds of those who had as yet no sensible feeling of the public calamity.

It is true, that the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland were insulted by American privateers, in a manner which our hardest enemies had never ventured in our most arduous contentions with foreigners. Thus were the inmost and most domestic recesses of our trade rendered insecure; and a convoy for the protection of the linen ships from Dublin and Newry, was now for the first time seen.\* The

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\* The writer here alludes to the singular exploits of the celebrated PAUL JONES, who ranks high among the early heroes of the revolution.

Paul Jones was a native of Scotland, bred to the sea. His true name was *John Paul*. Disgusted with some treatment which he received in his own country, he changed his name, as above, and embarked for the United States, in the early part of the revolution, and entered with zeal into the war. Under his assumed name he received a lieutenant's commission, and proceeded under Commodore Hopkins on the expedition to New Providence, from which he returned successful; and afterward was promoted to the command of the *Ranger*, a ship of war of 13 guns, and sailed from Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, early in the year 1778, for the British coast. In April of that year, towards the close of the month, he landed with about thirty men at Whitehaven, in Cumberlandshire, and succeeded in firing one of the ships in the harbor, which the inhabitants extinguished before the flames had communicated to the rigging. Having effected this, he caused a descent on the coast of Scotland to be made by a party commanded by his first lieutenant, for the object as he avowed, in a letter to the Countess of Selkirk, of making the Earl a prisoner, and carrying him to France. The Earl being absent, attending Parliament, of which he was a member, frustrated the intentions of Jones. The party, nevertheless, carried off the family plate, and many other valuable articles, and made good their retreat to the vessel. For this act, Jones has been highly censured; but probably without just cause. The vessel being a privateer, the fruits of all enterprise against the enemy were not under his control. Jones sailed for France, and landed his plunder at Brest. The property, upon representation to Dr. Franklin, the American Minister, was re-shipped on board a cartel, and returned to its original owner. He again put to sea with the *Ranger*, and appeared cruising



Thames also presented the unusual and melancholy spectacle, of numbers of foreign ships, particularly French, taking in cargoes of English commodities from various parts of Europe, the property of

off the Irish coast. Upon learning, that a British king's vessel, called the *Drake*, mounting twenty-two guns, was in the harbour of Waterford, Jones sent the captain of that ship a challenge for combat, mentioning, at the same time, his force of men and metal. The challenge was accepted—the complement of the *Drake* was immediately made up of volunteers—she put to sea—the ships met, fought, and Jones conquered, after an hour and a quarter's combat. The guns of the English ship, which was of superior force in men and metal, were said to have been badly worked, while those of the *Ranger* gave proof of the superior skill of the American commander, officers and men. In the contest, the British lost one hundred and five killed, and seventy-two wounded—Jones' loss was about twelve killed, and nine wounded.

Of the numerous other exploits of this singular man, we mention only one.—When cruising off Flamborough Head, about two leagues from the shore, on the 22d September, at 2 o'clock, P. M., he descried the Baltic fleet, for which he had been so long on the look-out, under convoy. The fleet was convoyed by a frigate and a sloop of war. Preparations were immediately made for action.

When the hostile ships had sufficiently neared, their respective captains hailed each other, and commenced the scene of carnage, at moon-rise, about a quarter before eight, at pistol shot distance. The English ship gave the first fire from her upper and quarter deck, which Jones returned with alacrity. Three of his lower deck guns on the starboard side, burst in the gun room, and killed the men stationed at them, in consequence of which, orders were given not to fire the other three eighteen pounders mounted on that deck, lest a similar misfortune should occur. This prevented him from the advantage he expected to have derived from them in the then existing calm. Having to contend alone with both the enemy's ships, and the *Bonne Homme Richard* having, received several shot, between wind and water, he grappled with the larger vessel, to render her force useless, and to prevent firing from the smaller one. In effecting this object, the superior manœuvring of the larger ship embarrassed him greatly. He succeeded, however, in laying his ship athwart the hawse of his opponent's. His mizzen shrouds struck the jib-boom of the enemy, and hung for some time; but they soon gave way, when both fell along side of each other, head to stern. The fluke of the enemy's spare anchor, hooked the *Bonne Homme Richard's* quarter, both ships being so closely grappled, fore and aft, that the muzzles of their respective guns touched each other's sides. The captain of the enemy's smaller ship judiciously ceased firing, as soon as Jones had effected his design, lest he should assist to injure his consort. In this situation, the crews of both ships continued the engagement most desperately for several hours. Many of the guns of the American ships were rendered useless, while those of the English remained manageable. Some time after, a brave fellow, posted in the *Bonne Homme Richard's* main top, succeeded in silencing a number of the enemy's guns. This man, with a lighted match and a basket filled with hand grenades, advanced along the main yard, until he was over the enemy's deck. Being enabled to distinguish objects by the light of the moon, wherever he discovered a number of persons together, he dropped a hand grenade among them. He succeeded in dropping several through the scuttles of the ship—these set fire to the cartridge of an eighteen pounder, which communicated successively to other cartridges, disabled all the officers and men, and rendered useless all the guns abaft the main mast. The enemy's ship was, many times, set on fire, by the great quantity of combustible matter thrown on board, and with much difficulty and toil the flames were as often extinguished. Towards the close of the action, all the guns of the *Bonne Homme Richard* were silenced, except four on the fore-castle, which were commanded by the purser, who was dangerously wounded. Jones immediately took their command on himself. The two guns next the enemy were well served. The seamen succeeded in removing another from the opposite side. Hence only three guns were used towards the close of the action on board of Jones' ship. The musketry and swivels, however, did great execution, as did also the incessant fire from the round tops, in consequence of which the enemy were several times driven from their quarters.

About 10 o'clock, a report was in circulation, between decks, that Jones and the chief officers were killed; that the ship had four or five feet water in her hold, and was



our own merchants, who were thus reduced to seek that protection under the colours of other nations, which the British flag used to afford to all the world."

Another ineffectual attempt to negotiate a peace was made in June, 1778. The reciprocal communications, on this occasion, will speak for themselves.

sinking. The crew became alarmed, and the gunner, the carpenter, and the master-at-arms were deputed to go on deck, and beg quarters of the enemy. They ascended the quarter-deck, and whilst in the act of fulfilling their mission, were discovered by the Commodore, crying for quarters. Hearing the voice of Jones, calling, "what rascals are these—shoot them—kill them," the carpenter and master-at-arms succeeded in getting below. The Commodore threw both his pistols at the gunner, who had descended to the foot of the gang-way ladder, and his skull was thereby fractured. The man lay there until the action was over, after which his skull was trepanned, and he recovered.

While the action continued to rage with relentless fury, both ships took fire, in consequence of which the crews were obliged to cease from firing, and exert themselves in extinguishing the flames, in which their respective vessels were enveloped, and thus prevent the certain destruction of all the combatants. The fire being extinguished, the Captain of the hostile ships asked, if Jones had struck, as he heard a cry for quarters. Jones replied, that his colours would never descend, till he was fairly beaten. The action re-commenced with renewed vigor. Shortly after, the *Alliance*, Captain Landais, came up within pistol shot, and began a heavy firing, injuring both friend and foe; nor did the firing cease from her, notwithstanding repeated hailing, until the signal of recognition was fully displayed on board the *Bonne Homme Richard*. Nearly one hundred of the prisoners, previously captured, had been suffered to ascend the deck by Jones' master-at-arms, during the confusion occasioned by the cry for quarters, owing to a belief that the vessel was sinking. To prevent danger from this circumstance, they were stationed at the pumps, where they remained in active employ, during the remainder of the battle.

The sides of the *Bonne Homme Richard* were nearly stove in, her helm had become unmanageable: a splintered piece of timber alone supported the poop. A brisk firing, however, was kept up from her three guns on the quarter deck. Their shot raked the enemy fore and aft, cutting up his rigging and spars, so that his mainmast had only the yard-arm of the *Bonne Homme Richard* for support. The enemy's fire subsided by degrees, and when his guns could no longer be brought to bear, he struck his colours.

At this juncture, his mainmast went by the board. Lieut. Dale was left below, where being no longer able to rally his men, he, although severely wounded, superintended the working of the pumps. Notwithstanding every effort, the hold of the *Bonne Homme Richard* was half full of water, when the enemy surrendered. After the action, the wind blew fresh, and the flames on board the *Richard* spread anew, nor were they extinguished until day-light appeared. In the mean time all the ammunition was brought on deck to be thrown overboard, in case of necessity. The enemy had nailed his flag to the mast, at the beginning of the action, and after the Captain had called for quarters, he could not prevail upon his men to bring down his colours, as they expressed their dread of the American rifles. He was, therefore, obliged to do that service himself. In taking possession of the enemy, three of Jones' men were killed after the surrender, for which an apology was afterwards made. The captured vessel proved to be his Britannic Majesty's ship *Serapis*, Captain Pearson, rating forty-four, but mounting fifty carriage guns. The *Bonne Homme Richard* had one hundred and sixty-five killed, and one hundred and thirty-seven wounded and missing. The *Serapis* one hundred and thirty-seven killed, and seventy-six wounded. All hands were removed on board the prize, together with such articles as could be saved, and at about 10 o'clock, A. M. the next day, the *Bonne Homme Richard* sunk.

After the peace, Jones entered into the service of Russia, and afterwards returned to Paris, where he died, in 1792, and was buried with every honorable distinction, at the expense of the French National Convention.

“ IN CONGRESS, JUNE 13, 1778.

An express arrived with a letter of the 11th, from General Washington, which was read, and a packet in which it was inclosed, together with other papers ; a letter signed ‘ Carlisle, William Eden, G. Johnstone,’ dated ‘ Philadelphia, June 9th, 1778,’ and directed ‘ to his Excellency Henry Laurens, the president, and other members of the Congress.’

The letters are as follows :—

*‘To his Excellency Henry Laurens, the President, and other members of Congress.*

‘ GENTLEMEN—With an earnest desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and the calamities of war, we communicate to you, with the least possible delay after our arrival in this city, a copy of the commission with which his Majesty is pleased to honour us, as also the acts of parliament on which it is founded ; and at the same time that we assure you of our most earnest desire to re-establish, on the basis of equal freedom and mutual safety, the tranquillity of this once happy empire, you will observe that we are vested with powers equal to the purpose, and such as are even unprecedented in the annals of our history.

‘ In the present state of affairs, though fraught with subjects of mutual regret, all parties may draw some degree of consolation, and even an auspicious hope from the recollection that cordial reconciliation and affection have, in our own and other empires, succeeded to the contentions and temporary divisions not less violent than those we now experience.

‘ We wish not to recal subjects which are now no longer in controversy, and will reserve, to a proper time of discussion, both the hopes of mutual benefit, and the consideration of evils that may naturally contribute to determine your resolutions, as well as our own, on this important occasion.

‘ The acts of parliament, which we transmit to you, having passed with singular unanimity, will sufficiently evince the disposition of Great Britain, and show that the terms of agreement, in contemplation with his majesty and with his parliament, are such as come up to every wish that North America, either in the hour of temperate deliberation, or of the utmost apprehension of danger to liberty, has expressed.

‘ More effectually to demonstrate our good intentions, we think proper to declare, even in this, our first communication, that we are disposed to concur in every satisfactory and just arrangement towards the following, among other purposes :—

‘ To consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by sea and land. To restore free intercourse, to revive mutual affection, and restore the common benefits of naturalization through the several parts of this empire. To extend every freedom to trade that our respective interests can require. To agree that no military force shall be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general congress, or particular assemblies. To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and raise the value and credit of the paper circulation.

‘ To perpetuate our union, by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different states, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the Parliament of Great Britain ; or, if sent from Britain, to have in that case a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they may be deputed respectively, in order to attend to the several interests of those by whom they are deputed.

‘ In short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that the British states, throughout North America, acting with us in peace and war, under our common sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that is short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of our common religion and liberty depends.



‘In our anxiety for preserving these sacred and essential interests, we cannot help taking notice of the insidious interposition of a power, which has, from the first settlement of these colonies, been actuated with enmity to us both. And, notwithstanding the pretended date, or present form, of the French offers to America, yet it is notorious, that these were made in consequence of the plans of accommodation previously concerted in Great Britain, and with a view to prevent our reconciliation, and to prolong this destructive war.

‘But we trust that the inhabitants of North America, connected with us by the nearest ties of consanguinity, speaking the same language, interested in the preservation of similar institutions, remembering the former happy intercourse of good offices, and forgetting recent animosities, will shrink from the thought of becoming an accession of force to our late mutual enemy, and will prefer a firm, free, and perpetual coalition with the parent state, to an insincere and unnatural foreign alliance.

‘This despatch will be delivered to you by De Ferguson, the secretary to his majesty’s commission; and, for further explanation and discussion of every subject of difference, we desire to meet you, either collectively or by deputation, at New-York, Philadelphia, York-Town, or such other place as you may propose. We think it right, however, to apprise you, that his majesty’s instructions, as well as your own desire, to remove from the immediate seat of war, in the active operations of which we cannot take any part, may induce us speedily to remove to New-York; but the commander in chief of his majesty’s land forces, who is joined with us in this commission, will, if it should become eligible, either concur with us in a suspension of hostilities, or will furnish all necessary passports and safe conduct, to facilitate our meeting, and we shall, of course, expect the same of you.

‘If, after the time that may be necessary to consider of this communication, and transmit your answer, the horrors and devastations of war should continue, we call God and the world to witness, that the evils which follow are not to be imputed to Great Britain; and we cannot, without the most real sorrow, anticipate the prospect of calamities which we feel the most ardent desire to prevent.

‘We are, with perfect respect, gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servants,

CARLISLE,  
W. EDEN,  
G. JOHNSTONE.’

‘To his Excellency Henry Laurens, President, and other members of Congress.

GENTLEMEN—The despatch inclosed with this, was carried this morning to the nearest post of General Washington’s army, by Dr. Ferguson, Secretary to his majesty’s commission for restoring peace, &c. but he, not finding a passport, has returned to this place. In order to avoid every unnecessary delay, we now again send it by the ordinary conveyance of your military posts. As soon as the passport arrives, Dr. Ferguson shall wait upon you, according to our first arrangement.

‘We are, with perfect respect, gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servants,

CARLISLE,  
W. EDEN,  
G. JOHNSTONE.’

Ordered, That they be referred to a committee of five.

“*Eodem Die, P. M.*—The committee to whom was referred the letters and papers from the Earl of Carlisle, &c. commissioners from the King of Great Britain, reported the draft of a letter which was read.

Resolved, That the consideration thereof be postponed till tomorrow.

June 17th, 1778.—Congress resumed the consideration of the draft of the



letter, in answer to the letter and papers received from the Earl of Carlisle, &c. commissioners from the King of Great Britain, which was unanimously agreed to, and is as follows :—

*'To their Excellencies the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle, William Eden, and George Johnstone, Esqrs. Commissioners from his Britannic Majesty, Philadelphia.*

'I have received the letter from your Excellencies of the 9th instant, with the inclosures, and laid them before Congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood, could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his most Christian Majesty, the good and great ally of these states, or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation.

'The acts of the British Parliament, the commission from your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these states to be subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and are founded on an idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmissible.

'I am further directed to inform your Excellencies, that Congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted. They will therefore be contented to enter upon a consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the King of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these states ; or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.

'I have the honour to be your Excellencies' most obedient and humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS, *President.*

*York-Town, July 17, 1778.'*

*Resolved, unanimously, That Congress approve the conduct of General Washington, in refusing a passport to Dr. Ferguson.*

*Published by order of Congress.*

CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*"

An important fact, connected with this attempt at negotiation, we give from Dr. Thacher's Journal.

"The public mind," says Dr. Thacher, "is now in a state of excitement, occasioned by the improper proceedings of the royal commissioners for restoring peace. They have made a second communication to Congress, but still without any intimation of a recognition of the independence of the United States ; but address them on the supposition, that the people of America are still the subjects of the crown of Britain. This last communication is drafted with much art and address, calculated to excite jealousies and division among the people. Not content with their public declarations, and proposals addressed to Congress, they have actually descended to the dishonorable act of insidious offers to corrupt some distinguished individuals. Governor Johnstone, one of the commissioners, with inexcusable effrontery, offered a bribe to Mr. Reed, a member of Congress. In an interview with Mrs. Ferguson at Philadelphia, whose husband is a royalist, he desired she would mention to Mr. Reed, that if he would engage his interest to promote the object of their commission, he might have any office in the colonies, in the gift of his Britannic majesty, and ten thousand pounds in

*hand.* Having solicited an interview with Mr. Reed, Mrs. Ferguson made her communication. Spurning the idea of being purchased, he replied, "that he was not worth purchasing, but such as he was, the king of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it." Congress declined all further intercourse with the commissioners, and terminated their attempts at negotiation, unless their royal master would first withdraw his fleets and armies, or expressly acknowledge the independence of the United States. In order to demonstrate their most pointed indignation against such daring attempts to corrupt their integrity, they resolved, that it was incompatible with their honour to hold any further intercourse with George Johnstone, Esquire, more especially to negotiate with him on affairs in which the cause of liberty and virtue are interested."\*

"About the middle of the winter of 1778, while General Putnam was on a visit to his out-post at Horse-Neck, he found Governor Tryon advancing upon that town with a corps of fifteen hundred men—to oppose these, General Putnam had only a picket of one hundred and fifty men, and two iron field pieces without horses or drag-ropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground by the meeting-house, and retarded their approach by firing several times, until perceiving the horse (supported by the infantry) about to charge, he ordered the picket to provide for their safety by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse; and secured his own by plunging down the steep precipice at the church upon a full trot. This precipice is so steep, where he descended, as to have artificial stairs composed of nearly one hundred stone steps for the accommodation of foot passengers. There the dragoons, who were but a sword's length from him, stopped short. For the declivity was so abrupt that they ventured not to follow: and, before they could gain the valley by going round the brow of the hill in the ordinary road, he was far enough beyond their reach. He continued his route unmolested to Stamford, from whence, having strengthened his picket by the junction of some militia, he came back again, and in turn, pursued Governor Tryon in his retreat. As he rode down the precipice, one ball, of the many fired at him, went through his beaver. But Governor Tryon by way of compensation for spoiling his hat, sent him soon afterwards, as a present, a complete suit of clothes."†

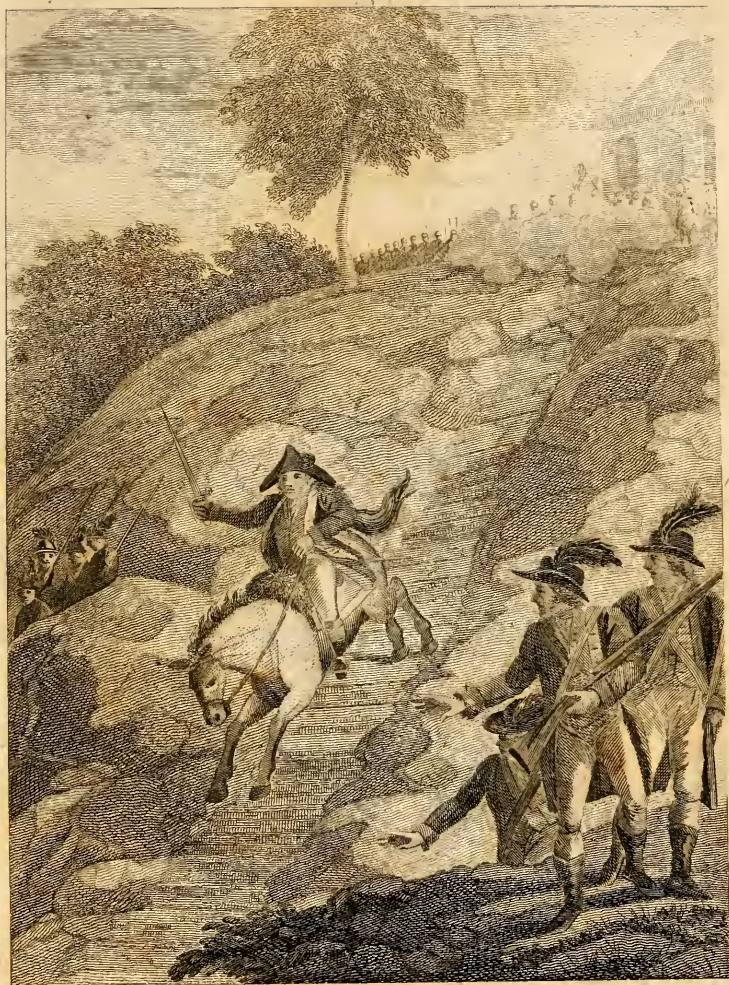
"Toward the close of the preceding year, General Lincoln was appointed by Congress to take the command in the southern department. That able officer was second in command in the army, which had captured Burgoyne; his military reputation was high; and the delegates of South Carolina and Georgia had solicited this appointment. On his arrival in South Carolina, he established his first post at Purisburgh, a small village on the northern banks of the Savannah river. The royal army at Savannah having been re-enforced by the junction of the troops from St. Augustine under General Prevost; an attempt had been made to take possession of Port Royal Island, but without effect. Although the failure in this

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\* Thacher's Military Journal.

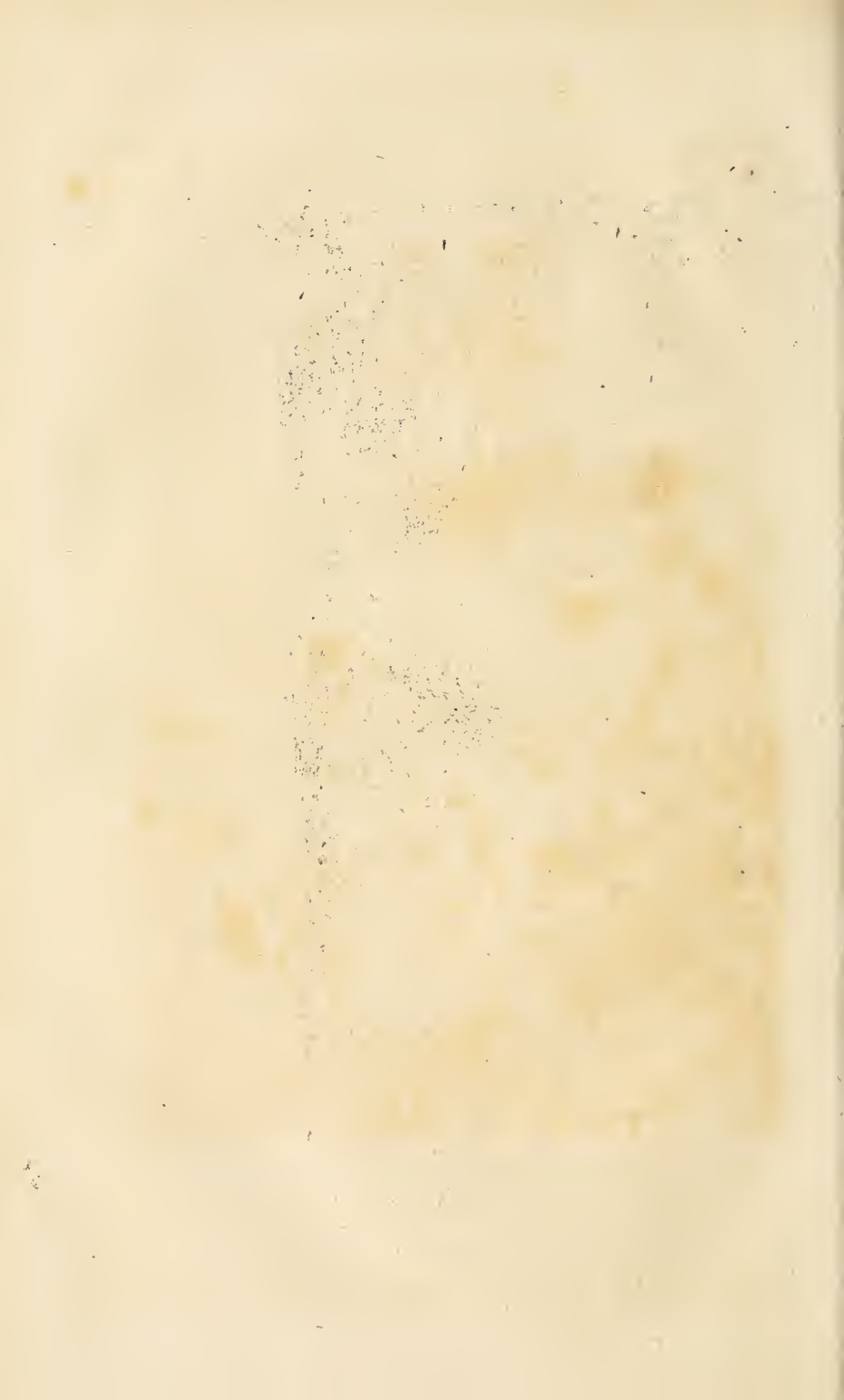
† Life of Putnam.





GEN<sup>L</sup>. PUTNAM'S ESCAPE  
from the British at Horse-neck.





enterprise checked the British, and prevented any attempt for the present against South Carolina ; yet they extended themselves over a great part of Georgia, and had already established posts at Ebenezer, and at Augusta. As they extended their posts up the river Savannah on the south side, General Lincoln extended his on the north side ; and fixed one encampment at Black Swamp, above Purisburgh, and another, nearly opposite to Augusta. It was the general's intention, as soon as a sufficient force should be collected, to cross the Savannah River above his upper encampment, and oblige the enemy to evacuate the upper parts of Georgia. Before he was able to execute this plan, General Prevost withdrew his troops from Augusta, and fell back to Hudson's Ferry, about twenty-four miles above Ebenezer. General Lincoln, in prosecution of his object, ordered the detachment, commanded by General Ash, consisting of fifteen hundred North Carolina militia, and about sixty continentals, to cross the Savannah, and take post near the confluence of Briar Creek with that river. No sooner had they taken this well chosen position, than General Prevost determined to dislodge them. Having made dispositions for keeping up the attention of General Lincoln by the semblance of a design to cross the Savannah, and for amusing General Ash with a feint on his front, he took a circuit of fifty miles, and, crossing Briar Creek fifteen miles above the ground occupied by Ash, came down unsuspected on his rear. The continental troops under Brigadier General Elbert commenced the action, and fought with great bravery ; but most of the militia threw away their arms, and fled in confusion. The handful of continentals, aided by one regiment only of the militia, could not long maintain the action ; and the survivors were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The killed and taken amounted to upward of three hundred men. General Elbert and Colonel M'Intosh were among the prisoners. By this victory, which cost the British, in killed and wounded, but one officer and fifteen privates, their communication with the Indians and their friends in the back country was restored.

The southern army being afterward re-enforced with a body of one thousand militia ; General Lincoln was enabled to resume his design of entering Georgia by the way of Augusta. His whole force amounted to five thousand men ; of which number he left about one thousand to garrison Purisburgh and Black Swamp ; and with the rest, on the twenty-third of April, he began his march up Savannah River. Five days afterward, General Prevost, to oblige him to return, passed two thousand four hundred men over the same river, near its mouth, into South Carolina. The posts at Purisburgh and Black Swamp were immediately abandoned ; and General Moultrie, unable to withstand the force, which advanced against him, retired toward Charlestown, destroying all the bridges in his rear. Lincoln, on receiving information of these movements, detached three hundred of his light troops to re-enforce Moultrie ; but, believing that Prevost

merely intended to divert him by a feint on Carolina, he proceeded with the main army toward Augusta. The original intention of the British general was no other than what General Lincoln supposed ; but meeting with scarcely any impediment in his progress, and learning that Charlestown, on that side on which he could approach it, was in a defenceless state, he began to cherish the hope of being able to reduce it before General Lincoln could come to its relief. Happily for the Carolinians, Prevost, when advanced about half the distance, halted two or three days ; and in that interval they made every preparation for the defence of their capital. All the houses in its suburbs were burnt. Lines and abatis were carried across the peninsula between Ashley and Cooper Rivers ; cannon were mounted at proper intervals ; and in a few days a force of three thousand three hundred men assembled in Charlestown for its defence. On the tenth of May, in the evening, the British troops reached Ashley Ferry ; and, having passed the river, appeared before the town on the following day. After inconsiderable skirmishes, the town on the twelfth was summoned to surrender ; and favourable terms of capitulation were offered, but rejected. It being known, on the part of the Americans, that General Lincoln was hastening for the relief of Charlestown, it was an object with them to gain as much time as possible ; and by dextrous management a whole day was spent in sending and receiving messages. When the commissioners from the town were at length told, that, as the garrison were in arms, they must surrender as prisoners of war, the negotiation terminated, and the inhabitants expected nothing else than an assault ; but on the following morning they were agreeably surprised to find, that the British troops had been withdrawn during the night, and had recrossed Ashley Ferry.

Prevost, after foraging some days, knowing by an intercepted letter that Lincoln was coming on his rear, retired with his whole force from the main to the islands near the sea. Both armies encamped in the vicinity of Charlestown, and watched each other's movements. Although it was not the interest of general Lincoln to hazard a general engagement with the enemy ; it was his wish to attack their outposts, and cut them off in detail. With this view, he appeared with his army on the fourth of June in front of the British post at Stono Ferry ; but, after viewing the lines, thought fit to retire. Not long after, Prevost departed for Savannah, carrying with him the grenadiers of the sixtieth regiment ; and about this time it seems to have been determined to abandon the post at Stono. Measures for this purpose were taken by lieutenant colonel Maitland, on whom the command devolved after the departure of Prevost. The garrison had now become much weakened ; and general Lincoln, knowing its weak state, renewed his design of cutting it off. On the twentieth of June he advanced against it with about twelve hundred men. The garrison had redoubts with a line of communication, and field pieces in the intervals, and the whole was secured by



an abbatis. According to a preconcerted plan, a feint was to have been made from James' Island with a body of Charlestown militia, at the moment when General Lincoln began the attack from the main ; but, from some mismanagement, they did not reach the place of destination until the action was over. The attack was continued an hour and twenty minutes, and the assailants had the advantage ; but the appearance of a re-enforcement, which the feint was to have prevented, rendered their retreat necessary. The whole garrison sallied out on the retiring Americans ; but the light troops, commanded by Colonel Malmedy and Lieutenant Colonel Henderson, so effectually retarded their pursuit, that the troops, commanded by General Lincoln, retreated with regularity, and brought off their wounded in safety. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was one hundred and seventy-nine. Among the slain, was Colonel Roberts, an artillery officer of distinguished abilities, whose early fall was the subject of universal regret. The British, after this attack, retreated from the islands near Charlestown. General Prevost established a post at Beaufort, in Port Royal Island, the garrison of which was left under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Maitland ; and their main army returned to Savannah. General Lincoln, at the head of about eight hundred men, retired to Sheldon, in the neighbourhood of Beaufort.

The Count D'Estaing, after repairing and victualing his fleet, at Boston, sailed for the West Indies ; and, having taken St. Vincent's and Grenada, retired to Cape Francois about the beginning of this year. On the solicitation of General Lincoln, President Lowndes, of South Carolina, and Mr. Plombard, consul of France, he sailed for the American continent, and arrived on the coast of Georgia with a fleet, consisting of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. As soon as his arrival was known, General Lincoln with the army under his command marched for Savannah ; and orders were given for the militia of Georgia and South Carolina to rendezvous near the same place. The British, to prepare for their defence, employed great numbers by day and night in strengthening and extending their lines, while the American militia, sanguine in the hope of expelling the enemy from their southern possessions, turned out with unusual alacrity. Before the arrival of General Lincoln, Count D'Estaing demanded a surrender of the town to the arms of France. Prevost asked a suspension of hostilities twenty four hours for preparing terms ; and the request was incautiously granted. Before the stipulated time had elapsed, Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, with about eight hundred men, after struggling with great difficulties, arrived from Beaufort, and joined the royal army at Savannah. The arrival of so considerable a reinforcement of chosen troops, and especially the presence of the officer who commanded them, in whose zeal, ability, and military experience much confidence was justly placed by the army, inspired the garrison in Savannah with new animation ; and an answer was returned to the count,

that the town would be defended to the last extremity. The zeal and ardour of both officers and men rose with the occasion; and new defences were daily constructed under the masterly direction of an able engineer, Captain Moncrieff.

On the morning of the fourth of October, the batteries of the besiegers were opened with nine mortars, thirty seven pieces of cannon from the land side, and fifteen from the water. It being at length ascertained, that considerable time would be necessary to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, it was determined to make an assault. In pursuance of this determination, on the ninth of October, while two feints were made with the militia, a real attack was made on Spring Hill battery just as day light appeared, with two columns, consisting of three thousand five hundred French troops, six hundred continentals, and three hundred and fifty of the inhabitants of Charlestown. The principal of these columns, commanded by Count D'Estaing and General Lincoln, marched up boldly to the lines: but a heavy and well directed fire from the galleys threw the front of the column into confusion. The places of those who fell being instantly supplied by others, it still moved on until it reached a redoubt, where the contest became more fierce and desperate. Captain Tawse fell in defending the gate of his redoubt, with his sword plunged in the body of the third assailant whom he had slain with his own hand, and a French and an American standard were for an instant planted on the parapet; but the assailants, after sustaining the enemy's fire fifty-five minutes, were ordered to retreat. Six hundred and thirty-seven of the French, and two hundred and forty one of the continentals and militia, were killed or wounded. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault, the militia almost universally went to their homes, and Count D'Estaing, re-embarking his troops and artillery, left the continent.\*†

"One of the most extraordinary enterprises ever related in history, one indeed which nothing but the respectability of the testimony could have prevented our considering as marvellous, occurred during the siege of Savannah. It was an enterprise conceived and executed by Colonel John White, of the Georgia line. A Captain French of Delancey's 1st battalion, was posted with 100 men, British regulars, on the Ogeechee River, about 25 miles from Savannah. There lay also at the same place five armed vessels, the

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\* An assault is believed to have been unadvisable: but this measure was forced on D'Estaing by his marine officers, who remonstrated against his continuing to risk the French fleet on a dangerous coast, in the hurricane season, and at such a distance from the shore, as to be endangered by a British squadron. "In a few days, the lines of the besiegers might have been carried, by regular approaches, into the works of the besieged." Count Pulaski was mortally wounded in this assault; and Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory. He was a Polisher of high birth, who with a few men had carried off King Stanislaus from the middle of his capital. The king, after being some time a prisoner, made his escape; and soon after declared Pulaski an outlaw. Thus proscribed, he came to America, and offered his service to congress, which honoured him with the rank of brigadier general.

† Holmes' Annals, vol. ii. p. 410-16.



largest mounting 14 guns, and having on board altogether 41 men. Colonel White, with Captain Etholm, three soldiers, and his own servant approached this post on the evening of the 30th of September, kindled a number of fires, arranging them in the manner of a large camp, and summoned French to surrender, he and his comrades in the mean time riding about in various directions, and giving orders in a loud voice, as if performing the duties of the staff to a large army. French, not doubting the reality of what he saw, and anxious to spare the effusion of blood which a contest with a force so superior would produce, surrendered the whole detachment, together with the crews of the five vessels, amounting in all to 141 men, and 130 stand of arms! Colonel White, however, had still a very difficult game to play; it was necessary to keep up the delusion of French, until the prisoners should be secured; and with this view, he pretended that the animosity of his troops was so ungovernable that a little stratagem would be necessary to save the prisoners from their fury, and that he should therefore commit them to the care of three guides with orders to conduct them to a place of safety. With many thanks for the Colonel's humanity, French accepted the proposition, and marched off at a quick pace under the direction of the three guides, fearful at every step that the rage of White's troops would burst upon them in defiance of his humane attempts to restrain it. White, as soon as they were out of sight, employed himself in collecting the militia of the neighbourhood, with whom he soon overtook his prisoners, and they were conducted in safety for 25 miles to an American post.\*

"The operations of the British in the more northern parts of America were predatory, rather than military. In May, 1779, a naval and land force, commanded by Sir George Collier and general Matthews, made a descent on Virginia. On their arrival, they took possession of Portsmouth, and of Norfolk; destroyed the houses, vessels, naval stores, and a large magazine of provisions, at Suffolk; made a similar destruction at Kemp's Landing, Shepherd's Gosport, Tanner's Creek, and other places in the vicinity; and, after setting fire to the houses and other public buildings in the dockyard at Gosport, embarked with their booty for New-York.

A similar expedition was soon after undertaken from New-York against the southern margin of Connecticut, by Governor Tryon, with two thousand six hundred land forces, supported by Brigadier General Garth, and accompanied by Sir George Collier with armed vessels to cover the transports. Early in the morning of the fifth of July, the fleet, consisting of about forty sail, anchored off West Haven; and at sunrise, a detachment of one thousand troops, under General Garth, landed at that place. No soldiers were at this time stationed at New-Haven; but the militia and citizens made instant preparations to harass the enemy, whom they could not hope effectually to resist. Captain James Hillhouse with a small band of brave young men, some of whom were students at Yale College,

\* Allen's Revolution, vol. ii. p. 272.



advanced very near the royal troops while on parade near West Haven Church; and, when they commenced their march, fired on the advanced guards, and drove them back to the main body. The enemy, though checked in their march, proceeded in force, and entered New-Haven about one in the afternoon, from which time until eight in the evening the town was subjected to almost indiscriminate ravage and plunder. During these transactions on the west side of the harbour, Governor Tryon landed about one thousand troops at East Haven; and, though severely harassed, effected a junction with Garth's division in New-Haven. The enemy evacuated the town the next morning. The fleet left the harbour the next succeeding night, and the morning after anchored off Fairfield. The militia of that town and the vicinity, posting themselves at the court house green, gave the enemy considerable annoyance, as they advanced; but soon retreated. The royal army plundered and burned the town; and the greatest part of the neighbouring village of Green Farms. A few days afterward they laid the town of Norwalk in ashes.\*†

"By the time Sir George Collier had returned from the Chesapeake, Sir Henry Clinton had planned another expedition against the American fortresses on the Hudson. The command of this river had always been considered, by both parties, as highly important, and Washington had employed the opportunity which the cessation of active operations on the part of Sir Henry had allowed him, in constructing several works, particularly at Verplank's, and at Stony Point. His army lay at Middle Brook, in Jersey, and these posts were garrisoned by a small number of men, chiefly artificers and labourers. Major-General Vaughan, the former despoiler of the beautiful banks of the Hudson, was again chosen to command this expedition, which embarked under the convoy of Sir George Collier, on the 30th of May. On the 31st, General Vaughan, with the main body of the army, landed on the east side of the river, a few miles below Verplank's; General Pattison, accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton himself, advanced with the remainder of the army

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\* At East Haven the British burned several houses; but they burned nothing in New-Haven, excepting some stores on the Long Wharf. There were burnt at Fairfield 85 dwelling houses, 2 churches, a handsome court house, several school houses, 55 barns, 15 stores, and 15 shops; at Green Farms, 15 dwelling houses, 1 church, 11 barns, and several stores; at Norwalk, 80 dwelling houses, 2 churches, 87 barns, 17 shops, 4 mills, and 5 vessels.—The royal commanders, in addresses to the inhabitants of the places which they invaded, invited them to return to their allegiance, and promised protection to all, who should remain peaceably in their usual places of residence. One of these addresses was sent by a flag to Colonel Whiting of the militia, near Fairfield, who was allowed an hour for his answer; but he had scarcely time to read the address before the town was in flames. His answer expressed at once the general principles of the colony, and the certain influence of this outrage: "Connecticut, having nobly dared to take up arms against the cruel despotism of Great Britain, and the flames having preceded the answer to your flag, they will persist to oppose to the utmost the power exerted against injured innocence."—The loss of the British troops in this expedition was 20 killed, 96 wounded, and 32 missing.

† Holms' Annals, vol. ii. p. 417.





*E. Tisdale Del.*

*J. B. Leitch Sc.*

STORMING OF STONEY POINT.



to within three miles of Stony Point, and landed on the west side. The garrison at this place withdrew on the approach of the enemy, and made some show of resistance by drawing up on the hills above, but retired without giving battle. Opposite to Stony Point the Americans had constructed a small fort, which they had named after the gallant Marquis de la Fayette. It was a single redoubt, mounted with four pieces of artillery, and manned by about seventy men. The approach to it, from its own side, was almost impracticable, but it was completely commanded by Stony Point, and General Fattison prepared for a vigorous bombardment of it, by drawing up his heavy artillery in the night, from his landing place, and fixing them on the commanding rocks of Stony Point.

On the 1st of June, a tremendous fire, from cannon and mortars, was opened upon the little fort la Fayette, by 5 o'clock in the morning, while Sir George Collier advanced with his galleys and gunboats to the support of the attack, sending some of them above the fort, in order to prevent the escape of the garrison by water. General Vaughan had, in the mean time, by a circuitous route, gained the summits of the hills on the side of the fort, thus investing it on all sides. After sustaining a continued storm of fire, for the whole day, this brave band surrendered prisoners of war. Sir Henry Clinton leaving a strong force to garrison these two posts, with orders to place Stony Point in the strongest possible state of defence, moved with the army and shipping to Phillipsburg, which completely blockaded the navigation of the river, and rendered the intercourse between the people of Jersey and those east of the Hudson, extremely hazardous, as well as circuitous.

These movements of the enemy led Washington to suspect a design of attacking West Point, for the protection of which he moved, with his army, from Middlebrook, and took post on the high grounds, above Verplank's and Stony Point. In this situation an enterprise was planned for the recapture of the latter post, which had been considerably strengthened by the enemy, and was now garrisoned by the 17th regiment of infantry, the grenadiers of the 71st, a company of tories, and a company of artillery, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson. The enterprise was entrusted to the command of General Wayne, who marched from Sandybeach, a distance of fourteen miles from the object of attack, on the 15th July, at noon, with the choicest troops of the army. The road traversed numerous, difficult and dangerous defiles and morasses, which so retarded the march, that it was 8 o'clock in the evening when the van arrived within a mile and a half of the point. Here Wayne halted for the rest of the army, and employed the delay in reconnoitering the enemy's works. The troops were formed into two columns as they came up, and at half past 11 o'clock the whole advanced to the attack. General Wayne had determined to depend upon the bayonet alone, and the advance were therefore not even permitted to load their muskets. Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury, at the

head of 150 men, led the van of the right column, and Major Stewart that of the left, with a like number of picked troops, all with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. The van of each column was preceded by an avant-guard, or forlorn hope, of 20 men each, under Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, two young officers chosen for their undaunted valour. These were intended to remove the abbatis and other obstructions that might impede the march of the attacking columns; and both officers fortunately escaped unhurt, though each of them lost more than three-fourths of their brave followers.

The natural difficulties, in the approach to this post, were at this moment considerably increased by the overflowing of the tide, which completely covered the deep morass that surrounded the works. The two attacking columns, however, moved on to different points, in spite of every obstacle, and in the face of an incessant fire from the enemy's cannon and musketry, driving every thing before them at the point of the bayonet, until they met in the centre of the works. General Wayne, who had placed himself at the head of the right division, received a slight wound in the head, from a musket ball, just as he had passed the last abbatis, but bravely insisted upon being carried on, that if it were his lot to die, he might breathe his last in the enemy's fort. He was supported through the fire by his two gallant Aids-de-Camp, Fishbourn and Archer. Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury, who led the van of the right column, a young French officer who had, on many previous occasions, greatly distinguished himself, was the first to fly to the enemy's standard, which he struck with his own hand.

By this most brilliant enterprise, two flags, two standards, fifteen pieces of ordnance, and a large quantity of military stores fell into the hands of the Americans, besides 543 prisoners. Of the assailants 98 were killed and wounded; of the enemy, 63 were killed, among whom were several of their bravest and most meritorious officers.

About the same time, another daring and brilliant enterprise was undertaken, for the surprise of the British garrison at Powle's Hook, the execution of which was entrusted to Major Lee. On the morning of the 19th July, before day-light, he proceeded with a detachment, consisting of 300 Virginians, one company of the Maryland line, and a small party of dismounted dragoons, and succeeded in completely surprising the garrison commanded by Major Southerland. The Major, however, had the good fortune to escape, with a party of his Hessians, to a small block house, on the left of the fort, from which he opened an immediate fire upon the assailants, and the retreat of Lee was called by the enemy a cowardly abandonment of his design at the moment when victory was within his grasp. But Lee's object was entirely accomplished; his orders were positive to effect an immediate retreat, which the near vicinity of the enemy's main body rendered all important, and this he did after killing 30 of the enemy and taking 161 prisoners, with the trifling loss of six or seven of his own men killed and wounded.\*

\* Allen's American Revolution, vol. ii. p. 241-46.



A party of British forces attempted, this summer, to build a fort on Penobscot River, for the purpose of cutting timber in the neighbouring forest. A plan was laid in Massachusetts to dislodge them, and a considerable fleet collected for the purpose. But the plan failed of success, and the whole marine force fell into the hands of the British, except some vessels which were burnt by the Americans themselves.

"Congress, though its measures toward the Indians were conciliatory, could not secure the western frontiers. The Six Nations had been advised by that body, and had promised, to observe a neutrality in the war; but, excepting the Oneidas and a few others, who were friendly to the Americans, those Indians took a decided part against them. The presents and promises of Sir John Johnson and other British agents, with the desire of plunder, induced them to invade the frontiers; and wherever they went, they carried slaughter and devastation. An expedition was therefore ordered against them; and General Sullivan, to whom the conduct of it was intrusted, marched into their country. The Indians, on hearing of the projected expedition, collected their strength, took possession of proper ground, and fortified it with judgment. General Sullivan attacked them in their works, and they sustained a cannonade more than two hours; but they then gave way, and, after their trenches were forced, they fled with precipitation. The victorious army, penetrating into the heart of their country, laid it desolate. Their villages, their detached habitations, their corn fields, their fruit trees, and gardens, were indiscriminately destroyed.

Other expeditions, beside this decisive one, were conducted against the Indians in the course of the year. In April, Colonel Van Schaick with fifty-five men marched from Fort Schuyler, and burned the whole Onondago settlements, consisting of about fifty houses, with a large quantity of provisions, killed twelve Indians, and made thirty-four prisoners, without the loss of a single man. In August, General Williamson and Colonel Pickens, of South Carolina, entered the Indian country adjacent to the frontier of their state; burned and destroyed the corn of eight towns; and required the Indians to remove into more remote settlements. In the same month, Colonel Broadhead made a successful expedition against the Mingo, Munsey, and Seneca Indians. Leaving Pittsburg with six hundred and five men, he in about five weeks penetrated about two hundred miles from the fort, destroyed a number of Indian huts, and about five hundred acres of corn.

Detached parties of Indians distressed different portions of the United States. In July, a party of sixty Indians and twenty-seven white men under Brandt,\* attacked the Munisink settlement, in the

\* Brandt was a half blooded Indian, ferocious and desperate. He with Colonel John Butler, the year before, headed a party of 1100 men, 900 of whom were Indians, against the settlements on the Susquehanna. The weight of their vengeance fell on Wyoming, a young but flourishing settlement on the eastern branch of that river, which was



State of New-York, and burned ten houses, twelve barns, a fort, and two mills, and carried off much plunder, with several prisoners. In August, the Indians with their tory associates, burned fifty houses and forty-seven barns at Canajoharie, a fine settlement about fifty-six miles from Albany; and destroyed twenty-seven houses at Schoharie, and two at Norman's Creek.

No sooner did Sir Henry Clinton receive certain information of the departure of Count D'Estaing from the American coast, than he set forward an expedition against South Carolina. The troops designed for this service, consisting of four flank battalions, twelve regiments, and a corps, British, Hessian, and provincial, a powerful detachment of artillery, and two hundred and fifty cavalry, escorted by Admiral Arbuthnot, arrived at Tybee, in Georgia, before the end of January. Sir Henry Clinton accompanied the expedition, leaving the garrison at New-York under the command of Lieutenant General Knyphausen. In a few days, the transports with the army on board sailed for North Edisto; and the troops, making good their landing about thirty miles from Charlestown, took possession of John's Island and Stone Ferry, and soon after of James' Island and Wappoo Cut. A bridge was thrown over the canal; and part of the royal army took post on the banks of Ashley River, opposite to Charlestown. Governor Rutledge, to whom the assembly of the state had recently given extraordinary powers, ordered the militia to rendezvous, and issued a proclamation, requiring such of them as were regularly draughted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to join the garrison immediately, on pain of confiscation; but the late repulse at Savannah had produced such a dispiriting effect, that few complied with the order. The defences of Charlestown now consisted of a chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries extending from Ashley to Cooper River, on which were mounted upward of eighty pieces of cannon and mortars. In front of the lines had been dug a canal, which was filled with water; and from the dam at each end a swamp, filling the intervening spaces to each river, formed natural impediments. Behind these were two rows of abattis, some other obstructions, and immediately in front of the works, a double picketed ditch. The works on the right and left were very strong, and advanced so far beyond the range of the intermediate lines, as to enfilade the canal almost from one end to the other; and in the centre was a horn-work of masonry, which, being closed during the siege, formed a kind of citadel. On all sides of the town, where a landing was practicable, batteries were erected, and covered with artillery; the works on Sullivan's Island had been strengthened and enlarged;

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destroyed, July 1778, with circumstances of horrid treachery and cruelty. A large proportion of the male inhabitants were slaughtered in one day; and in a single engagement nearly 200 women were made widows. This settlement, comprising 4 townships, each five miles square, was formed by people of Connecticut, that colony having claimed the soil under the original grant of Charles II.; and so rapidly had its population increased, that it sent 1000 men to serve in the continental army.





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SCENE AT FORT MOULTRIE, S. C.

Engr'd by G. R. Hall



and commodore Whipple with a squadron of nine sail lay just within the bar.

General Lincoln, trusting to these defences, and expecting large reinforcements, remained in Charlestown at the earnest request of the inhabitants, and with the force under his command, amounting to seven thousand men of all denominations under arms, resolved to defend the place. On the twenty-first of March, the British marine force, consisting of one ship of fifty guns, two of forty guns, four of thirty-two, and the Sandwich armed ship, crossed the bar, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. Commodore Whipple, finding it impracticable to prevent the enemy from passing over the bar, fell back to Fort Moultrie, and afterward to Charlestown. The crews and guns of all his vessels, excepting one, were put on shore to re-enforce the batteries. Some of his ships he stationed in Cooper River; and the rest, with some other vessels, were sunk across the mouth of it, to prevent the British fleet from entering. On the ninth of April, Admiral Arbuthnot passed Fort Moultrie, without stopping to engage it. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded on Sullivan's Island with three hundred men, kept up a brisk and well directed fire on the ships in their passage. Twenty-seven seamen were killed or wounded, and the ships in general sustained damage. As the fleet was precluded from an entrance into Cooper River, it anchored near the remains of Fort Johnston, just without the range of shot from the batteries of the town. The same day on which the fleet passed Fort Moultrie, the first parallel of the besiegers was finished. The town being now almost invested by sea and land, the British commanders summoned General Lincoln to surrender; but the general with modest firmness replied: "Sixty days have passed since it has been known that your intentions against this town were hostile, in which time has been afforded to abandon it; but duty and inclination point to the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity."

The batteries of the first parallel were now opened upon the town, and soon made a visible impression; but the communication between the country and the garrison was still kept open across Cooper River, through which General Lincoln expected to receive his reinforcements, and, if it should become necessary, to make good his retreat. To prevent the reception of those reinforcements, and to cut off that retreat, Sir Henry Clinton detached Lieutenant Colonel Webster with one thousand four hundred men. By the advanced guard of this detachment, composed of Tarleton's legion and Ferguson's corps, the American cavalry, with the militia attached to them, were surprised in the night of the fourteenth of April, at Biggin's Bridge, near Monk's Corner, thirty two miles from Charlestown, and completely routed and dispersed. The British now extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper river; and about this time Sir Henry Clinton received a re-enforcement of three thousand men from New-York. The garrison having no reasonable hope of effecting a retreat, by advice of a council of war, called on the twenty-



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ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION

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first of April, an offer was made for surrendering the town on certain conditions ; but those conditions were instantly rejected by the British commanders. The besiegers in the mean time were daily advancing their works, and their third parallel was completed on the sixth of May. On the same day, the garrison of Fort Moultrie surrendered to Captain Hudson of the royal navy ; Colonel Pinckney with one hundred and fifty of the men under his command having been withdrawn from that post to Charlestown. On the same day, also, the broken remains of the American cavalry, under Colonel White, were again surprised by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, on the banks of the Santee ; and the whole either killed, captured, or dispersed.

Sir Henry Clinton, while thus successful in every operation, began a correspondence with General Lincoln, and renewed his former offers to the garrison, in case of their surrender ; but the terms, so far as they respected the citizens, being not satisfactory, the garrison recommenced hostilities. The British batteries of the third parallel now opened on the town, and did great execution. Shells and carcasses were thrown into almost all parts of the town ; and several houses were burned. The Hessian yagers, posted advantageously, fired their rifles with such effect, that numbers of the besieged were killed at their guns ; and scarcely any escaped, who showed themselves over the lines. During this fire, which continued two days without intermission, the besiegers gained the counterscarp of the work that flanked the canal ; passed the canal itself ; and, advancing within twenty five yards of the American works, prepared to make a general assault by land and water. The siege having been protracted until the eleventh, a great number of citizens of Charlestown on that day addressed General Lincoln in a petition, requesting his acceptance of the terms, which had been offered. The general wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, offering to accept those terms, and received a favourable answer. A capitulation was signed on the twelfth of May ; and the next day Major General Leslie took possession of the town. The loss of the king's troops, during the siege, was seventy-six killed, and one hundred and forty wounded. The loss of the Americans was eighty-nine killed, and one hundred and forty wounded. Upward of four hundred pieces of artillery were surrendered.\*

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\* By the articles of capitulation the garrison were to march out of town and to deposit their arms in front of the works ; but the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and remain prisoners of war until exchanged. The militia were to be permitted to return home as prisoners on parole ; and, while they should adhere to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops, in person or property. The inhabitants of all conditions, were to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia. The officers of the army and navy were to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and baggage unsearched. The number of persons who surrendered prisoners of war, inclusive of the militia and every adult male inhabitant, was above 5000, but the proper garrison did not exceed 2500. The number of privates in the continental army was 1977 ; 500 of whom were in the hospitals. [Ramsay.]

After the surrender of Charlestown, Sir Henry Clinton made three detachments from his army ; the first and most considerable, to the north of the Santee, toward the frontiers of North Carolina ; the second, into the heart of the state on the south side of that river ; and the third, up the Savannah toward Augusta. Lord Cornwallis, who commanded the northern detachment, receiving intelligence, after passing the Santee, that Colonel Buford with about four hundred men was lying near the borders of North Carolina, detached Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton with the cavalry, and a new corps of light infantry, called the legion, mounted on horse-back, to disperse that party. After a rapid movement of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, Tarleton overtook Buford, in a line of march, at the Waxhaws, and totally defeated him.\*

Sir Henry Clinton, leaving about four thousand men for the southern service under the command of Lieutenant-General Cornwallis, embarked early in June with the main army for New-York.

As the British advanced to the upper part of South Carolina, a considerable number of determined whigs retreated before them into North Carolina. Colonel Sumpter, a distinguished partisan in this class of exiles, at the head of a little band of freemen, returned to his own state ; and, after all ideas of farther resistance had been generally abandoned by his fellow-citizens, took the field against the victorious British. On the twelfth of July, one hundred and thirty-three of his corps attacked and routed a detachment of the royal forces and militia, which were posted in a lane at Williamson's plantation. This first success had a happy effect on the numerous friends of America in the north-western frontier of South Carolina ; and the troops of Sumpter amounted in a few days to six hundred men. With this increase of strength, he made a spirited attack on a party of the British at Rocky Mount, but was obliged to retreat. He next attacked another of the royal detachments, consisting of the Prince of Wales' regiment, and a large body of tories, posted at the Hanging Rock. The regiment of the Prince of Wales was almost totally destroyed. From two hundred and seventy-eight men it was reduced to nine.

In the mean time several corps of continental troops and militia, having formed a junction, were conducted by Major-General Baron de Kalb into South Carolina. On the twenty-seventh of July,

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\* Colonel Buford with a few cavalry escaped, and about 100 infantry saved themselves by flight ; but the regiment was almost demolished. According to Tarleton's statement, 113 were killed on the spot ; 150 so badly wounded as to be paroled because they were incapable of being removed ; and 53 were carried away as prisoners. The loss of the British amounted to 12 killed, and 5 wounded. It is affirmed, that the instant a truce was over, the design of which had been to consider the expediency of surrendering on the summons of Tarleton, the British cavalry made a furious charge on the Americans, who had received no orders to engage, and who seem to have been uncertain whether to defend themselves or not ; that, in this state of dismay and confusion, some threw down their arms and begged for quarter, while others fired on the assailants ; and that no quarter was given.



they were joined by General Gates, who, taking the chief command, advanced by the main road toward Camden; and after a tedious march through a country of pine barrens, sand hills, and swamps, reached Clermont. At this place, thirteen miles from Camden, General Stephens arrived the next day with a large body of Virginia militia. The American army now amounted to three thousand six hundred and sixty-three; but of this number nine hundred only were continental infantry, and seventy cavalry. Lord Rawdon, who had the principal command of the British troops on the frontiers of Carolina, had concentrated his forces at Camden; to which place Earl Cornwallis hastened, on the approach of Gates, and arrived there on the fourteenth of August. At ten in the evening of the fifteenth, his Lordship marched from Camden with his whole force, consisting of seventeen hundred infantry, and three hundred cavalry, with the intention of attacking the Americans in their camp at Clermont; and nearly at the same time, Gates, after ordering his baggage to the Waxhaws, put his army in motion, to take a position about seven miles from Camden, with a deep creek in front. As the two armies were marching on the same road, in opposite directions, their advanced guards met and fired on each other about half past two in the morning. From some prisoners made on both sides, the commanders learned each other's movements. Both armies halted, and were formed; and the firing soon ceased, as if by mutual consent. The ground, on which the two armies thus accidentally met, was exceedingly favourable to Lord Cornwallis. A swamp on each side secured his flanks, and narrowed the ground in front; so as to render the superiority of the Americans, in numbers, of less consequence.

In the morning of the 16th of August, a severe and general action was fought. The American army was formed in the following manner. The second Maryland brigade, commanded by General Gist, composed the right line, and was flanked by a morass; the North Carolina militia, commanded by Major-General Caswell, composed the centre; and the Virginia militia, under General Stephens, flanked also by a morass, and by the light infantry, assisted by Colonel Armand's corps, composed the left. The artillery was divided to the brigades. The Baron de Kalb commanded on the right of the line; and the militia generals, their respective troops. The first Maryland brigade, under General Smallwood, was posted two or three hundred yards in the rear, as a corps de reserve. General Gates resolved to be in person where his presence would be most useful. The British army was formed in the following manner. The front line was composed of two divisions of the army under Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant-Colonel Webster; Webster's division being to the right, and Lord Rawdon's to the left. These divisions were disposed in such a manner, that the thirty-third regiment on the left of Webster's, communicating with the volunteers of Ireland on the right of Rawdon's, formed the centre



of the line; and to the front were attached two six pounders and two three pounders, under the direction of Lieutenant Macleod of the royal artillery. The seventy-first regiment, with two six pounders, formed a second line, or reserve, one battalion being posted behind each wing; and in the rear of the whole was the cavalry.

The opposite armies were thus ranged in order of battle. At the dawn of day, a British column appearing about two hundred yards in front of some pieces of artillery, which had been posted near the road in the American centre, Colonel Williams ordered those pieces to play on them; and about the same time the British began to form the line on their right. Orders to attack being given to Stephens, he immediately prepared to obey them. Advancing with his brigade of militia within fifty paces of the enemy, who were also advancing, he called out to his men, "my brave fellows, we have bayonets as well as they, we will charge them." Lord Cornwallis, mistaking the first movement of the Virginia militia for a mere change of disposition, gave orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Webster to begin the attack. The charge was made with such promptitude and vigour, that the Virginia militia threw down their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation; and the greatest part of the North Carolina militia soon followed the example. The American reserve was now brought into action; and General Gates, in conjunction with General Caswell, retiring with the militia, endeavoured to rally them at advantageous passes in the rear of the field of action, but in vain. Lord Rawdon began the action on the left with no less vigour than Webster had done on the right; but here and in the centre the contest was more obstinately maintained by the Americans, whose artillery did considerable execution. By the flight of the militia however, their left flank was exposed, and the British light infantry and the twenty-third regiment, instead of pursuing the fugitives, came upon the flank of the continentals, who, after a brave resistance nearly three quarters of an hour, were thrown into total confusion, and forced to give way. Tarleton's legion charged them as they broke, and continued the pursuit to Hanging Rock, twenty-two miles from the field of action. Two hundred and ninety American wounded prisoners were carried into Camden; of which number two hundred and six were continentals; eighty-two, North Carolina militia; and two, Virginia militia. The Americans lost the whole of their artillery, eight field pieces, and the greatest part of their baggage. The Baron de Kalb, while making a vigorous charge at the head of the regiment of infantry, fell under eleven wounds; and with his aid-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Du Buysson, was taken prisoner. The Baron expired in a few hours.\* General Rutherford, of North Car-

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\* The Baron de Kalb was a German by birth, and had formerly been long in the French service. He was the second in command in this action; and gave new proofs of the brave and experienced officer. When he made his last charge, he was still ignorant of the flight of the left wing and centre, by reason of a thick atmosphere; and,

olina, was wounded and taken prisoner. The number of Americans killed in the action is not ascertained.\* The loss of the British troops in this battle amounted to three hundred and twenty-five; of whom sixty-nine were killed, two hundred and forty-five wounded, and eleven missing.

It had been the policy of the British, since the general submission of the inhabitants of South Carolina, to increase the royal force by embodying the people of the country as a British militia. In the district of Ninety-Six, Major Ferguson, a partisan of distinguished merit, had been employed, to train the most loyal inhabitants, and to attach them to his own corps. That officer was now directed by Lord Cornwallis to enter the western part of North Carolina near the mountains, and to embody the loyalists in that quarter for co-operation with his army. Cornwallis in the mean time commenced his march with the main army from Camden, through the settlement of the Waxhaws, to Charlotteville in North Carolina. About the same time, Colonel Clark, of Georgia, at the head of a small body of men, which he had collected in the frontiers of North and South Carolina, advanced against Augusta, and laid seige to that place. Colonel Brown, who with a few loyal provincials held that post for the British, made a vigorous defence; and, on the approach of Colonel Cruger with a re-enforcement from Ninety-Six, Clark relinquished the enterprise, and made a rapid retreat through the country, along which he had marched to the attack. Major Ferguson, receiving intelligence of his movements, prepared to intercept him. The hardy mountaineers of Virginia and North Carolina, collecting at this time from various quarters, constituted a formidable force, and advanced by a rapid movement toward Ferguson. At the same time Colonel Williams, from the neighbourhood of Ninety-Six, and Colonel Tracy and Banan, also of South Carolina, conducted parties of men toward the same points. Ferguson, having notice of their approach, commenced his march for Charlotteville. The several corps of militia, amounting to nearly three thousand men, met at Gilbert town, lately occupied by Ferguson. About one thousand six hundred riflemen were immediately selected, and mounted on their fleetest horses, for the purpose of following the retreating army. They came up with the enemy at King's Mountain, where Ferguson, on finding that he should be overtaken, had chosen his ground, and waited for an attack. The Americans formed themselves into three divisions, led by Colonels Campbell, Shelby, and Cleaveland, and began to ascend the mountain in

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when wounded and taken, would scarcely believe that General Gates was defeated. [Tarleton.] Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory in Annapolis.

\* Exclusively of Baron de Kalb and General Rutherford, the numbers of killed, captured, and missing, in the actions of the 16th and 18th, were 4 lieutenant-colonels, 3 majors, 14 captains, 4 captain lieutenants, 16 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 4 staff, 78 subalterns, and 604 rank and file. [Gordon.] On the 18th, Tarleton surprised a body of Americans under General Sumpter, near Catawba Ford, and killed, captured or dispersed them, with the loss of 9 men only killed, and 6 wounded.



three different and opposite directions. Ferguson, falling with great boldness and impetuosity on the first assailants with fixed bayonets, compelled them to give way; but before one division could be dispersed, another came up, and poured in a heavy fire. Against the second body of assailants the bayonet was again used with success; but before any material advantage could be gained, a new enemy presented himself in another quarter. Ferguson again successfully used the bayonet; but both the corps, which had been repulsed, now returning to the charge, a very galling fire was kept up against him on all sides. The action having been continued in this manner nearly an hour, Major Ferguson received a mortal wound, and instantly expired. The survivors ended the contest by submission. In this sharp action, one hundred and fifty of Ferguson's party were killed on the spot, and about the same number wounded; eight hundred and ten, of whom one hundred were British troops, were made prisoners; and one thousand five hundred stand of excellent arms were taken.

General Sumpter, although his corps had been dispersed on the eighteenth of August by Colonel Tarleton, near the Catawba, soon after collected a band of volunteers; and kept the field in South Carolina three months, when there was no continental army in the state. Varying his position about Evoree, Broad, and Tyger rivers, he had frequent skirmishes with the enemy, whom he incessantly harassed. On the 12th of November he was attacked at Broad River by Major Wemys, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons; but the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Eight days afterward he was attacked at Black Stocks, near Tyger River, by Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, who began the attack with one hundred and seventy dragoons, and eighty men of the sixty-third regiment; but, finding himself unable to dislodge the Americans, he retreated with considerable loss, and left Sumpter in quiet possession of the field. The zeal and activity, the bravery and good conduct of this American officer, at that trying period, procured him the thanks of congress, and the applause of his country.

In the northern states, the military transactions of this year were unimportant. Lord Stirling, in January, made an ineffectual attempt to surprise a party of the enemy on Long Island.

In June, five thousand men, commanded by Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, made an incursion from New-York into New-Jersey. Landing at Elizabethtown, they proceeded to Connecticut Farms, where they burned about thirteen houses, and the presbyterian church, and then proceeded to Springfield. As they advanced, they were annoyed by Colonel Dayton, with a few militia; and, on their approach to the bridge, near the town, they were farther opposed by General Maxwell, who, with a few continental troops, was prepared to dispute the passage. They made a halt, therefore, and soon after returned to Elizabethtown. Before they had retreated, the



whole American army at Morristown marched to oppose them. In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton, returning with his victorious troops from Charlestown, ordered a re-enforcement to Knyphausen, who, with the whole body, advanced a second time toward Springfield. The British were now opposed by General Greene, with a considerable body of continental troops. Colonel Angel, with his regiment and a piece of artillery, was posted to secure the bridge. A severe action was fought, which was kept up forty minutes ; after which the Americans were forced, by superior numbers, to retire. General Greene took post with his troops on a range of hills, in the hope of being attacked ; but the British, having burned the town, consisting of nearly fifty dwelling-houses, retreated to Elizabethtown, and the next day set out on their return to New-York. The loss of the Americans in the action was about eighty ; and that of the British was supposed to be considerable more.\*

The year 1780 was distinguished by the infamous treason of Arnold. We quote Dr. Thacher's account of this affair, as the best we have seen.

" From the commencement of the American war, General Arnold had been viewed in the light of a brave and heroic officer, having exhibited abundant proof of his military ardour, and invincible temper. He fought in various battles, with an intrepid gallantry which cannot be exceeded, and it was from his bravery in the field, more than any intrinsic merit, that his character and fame were established. His meritorious services were amply rewarded by his promotion to the rank of Major-General, but his name has been transmitted to posterity with marks of infamy, and the pages of our history are tarnished by the record of crimes of the most atrocious character, by a native of our land. After the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British, Arnold was appointed to the command in that city, and such was his conduct, as respects both his official station, and individual concerns, that his former standing and important services could no longer shield him from public odium, and the just censure of the government. Being afterward, by his own solicitation, entrusted with the command of the post at West Point, he engaged in a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, and actually agreed to put him in possession of this very important garrison. The British general, ever ready to avail himself of treachery, to accomplish an object which he could not achieve by the strength of his arms, selected Major John Andre, his adjutant-general and aid-de-camp, to have a personal interview with the traitor, to mature the plan, and make arrangements for the surrender of the post. A British sloop of war, called the Vulture, went up the North River, and anchored near King's Ferry, about twelve miles below West Point. On board of this vessel were a Colonel Robinson and Major Andre, under the assumed name of John Anderson. A communication was now

\* Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 424-27.

maintained between Arnold, and the persons on board the *Vulture*, without exciting the least suspicion of treasonable designs. But a personal interview was found necessary, and the place chosen for this purpose was the beach near the house of Joshua Smith, Esq. who had long been suspected of a predilection for the British interest. In the night of the 21st September, Smith, by the desire of Arnold, went with a boat, rowed by some men employed on his farm, and brought Major Andre, alias John Anderson, on shore, where he was received by Arnold, and conducted to the house of Smith, within our lines. Andre remained concealed at Smith's house till the following night, when he became extremely anxious to return on board the *Vulture*; but the boatmen, whom Arnold and Smith had seduced to bring him on shore the preceding night, could not be prevailed on to reconduct him on board, as the *Vulture* had been driven from her station by a cannon on shore. Finding it impossible to procure a boat and men for the purpose, it was resolved that Andre should return to New-York by land, to which he reluctantly submitted, as the only alternative, to escape the danger into which he had been betrayed. For this hazardous attempt Arnold and Smith furnished him with a horse, and with clothes, in exchange for his military uniform; and Arnold gave him a passport under the fictitious name of John Anderson, as being on public business. Thus prepared, and accompanied by Smith part of the way, he proceeded on his journey. The passport served his purpose till he got beyond all our out-posts and guards, without suspicion. They lodged together at Crompond, that night, and Smith having given him directions about the road, left him the next morning, within about thirty miles of New-York. Having arrived at Tarrytown, however, near the lines of the royal army, Andre was arrested by one of three men, who were patrolling between the out-posts of the two armies. He held his horse by the bridle, till his two companions came from their concealment, to his assistance. This was the moment which was to decide the fate of the adjutant-general of the royal army. Alarmed and disconcerted, instead of producing his passport, he asked where they belonged? they replied, "To below," alluding to New-York, "And so do I," said Andre, "I am a British officer, on urgent business, and must not be detained." He was soon, however, undeceived, and confounded, on being obliged to yield himself a prisoner, and finding his passport, though having the authority of Arnold's signature, availed him nothing. His captors, suspecting that they had taken a valuable prize, resolved to hold him in durance, and realize his worth. The unfortunate prisoner now produced his gold watch, and said, "this will convince you that I am a gentleman, and if you will suffer me to pass, I will send to New-York, and give you *any amount you shall name*, in cash,

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\*English goods were, at that time, more valuable than gold or silver. It has, in general, been understood, that Andre offered his captors his horse, his purse, and a valuable watch, but Dr. Eustis assures me that the above are the facts, as stated to him by Isaac Van Wert, who first stopped Andre.



or in dry goods ;”\* and, pointing to an adjacent wood, “ you may keep me in that wood till it shall be delivered to you.” All his offers, however, were rejected with disdain, and they declared that ten thousand guineas, or any other sum, would be no temptation. It was to *their virtue, no less glorious to America*, than Arnold’s apostacy was disgraceful, that his detestable crimes were discovered. Their names are John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert.\* Taking their prisoner into the bushes, to undergo a search and examination, they found, concealed in his boots, the important papers, containing exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance and defences at West Point, and its dependencies, with critical remarks on the works, with a return of the number of troops at West Point, and their distribution : copies of confidential letters from General Washington. &c. &c., all in the hand writing of General Arnold. Besides which, it was ascertained that the traitor carried with him to the interview, a general plan of West Point and its vicinity, and all the works, and also particular plans of each work on a large scale, elegantly drawn by the engineer at that post. But these were not given up to Major Andre ; it was supposed they were to be delivered at a future time. The captors then very properly delivered their prisoner, with the papers found on him, into the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, the commanding officer on our lines. Andre, with the view, no doubt, of giving Arnold an opportunity to escape, had the address to induce Colonel Jameson to inform the traitor, by letter, that John Anderson was taken on his way to New-York. It is probable that Colonel Jameson had not examined the papers in his possession, or it may well be supposed, that having such ample evidence before him, he would have hesitated before complying with this request ; but unsuspecting of treachery, and under the embarrassment of the moment, as though his mind was bewildered, or devoid of reason, he immediately despatched an express to Arnold, at Robinson’s house, with the intelligence.

After sufficient time had elapsed for Arnold to receive the information, and make his escape, Major Andre declared himself, to Colonel Jameson, to be the Adjutant-General of the British army. Sensible of the *finesse* which had been practised on him, Colonel Jameson now despatched an express to meet General Washington, on his return from Hartford to Arnold’s quarters, with an account of the capture of Major Andre, and the papers which were found on him, and this was accompanied by a letter from the prisoner, disclosing to his Excellency his real character and condition, and

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\* Congress resolved “ That they have a high sense of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert—In testimony whereof, ordered, that each of them receive annually, two hundred dollars in specie, or an equivalent in the current money of these states, during life, and that the Board of War be directed to procure each of them a silver medal, on one side of which shall be a shield, with this inscription, *Fidelity*, and on the other, the following motto, *Vincit amor Patriæ*, and forward them to the commander in chief, who is requested to present the same, with a copy of this resolution, and the thanks of Congress for their fidelity, and the eminent service they have rendered their country.





E. Tladale Del.

W. H. Bassett Sc.

CAPTURE OF ANDRE



relating the manner of his capture, &c. It unfortunately happened that the express took a different road and missed of meeting the Commander in Chief, and Arnold first received the information about ten o'clock on the morning of the 25th September. At this moment Major Shaw and Dr. McHenry, two of his Excellency's aids, had arrived, and were at breakfast at Arnold's table. His confusion was visible, but no one could devise the cause. Struck with the pressing danger of his situation, expecting General Washington would soon arrive, the guilty traitor called instantly for a "*horse, any one, even if a waggon horse,*"—bid a hasty adieu to his wife, and enjoined a positive order on the messenger not to inform that he was the bearer of a letter from Colonel Jameson, and having repaired to his barge, he ordered the cockswain, with eight oarsmen, to proceed down the river, and he was soon on board the *Vulture*, which Andre had left two nights before, and which immediately sailed with her prize for New-York. General Washington arrived about twelve o'clock, and was informed that Arnold had absented himself, saying he was going to West Point, and should soon return. His Excellency passed over the river to view the works there, but not finding Arnold at his post he returned in the hope of meeting him at his quarters. But here he was again disappointed, for no person could account for his absence. Mrs. Arnold was now in her chamber, in great agitation and distress deprived of her reason, and Dr. Eustis in attendance. At a lucid interval she inquired of the doctor if General Washington was in the house, desiring to see him. Believing that she intended to say something which would explain the secret of Arnold's unaccountable absence, he hastened below, and conducted the general to her chamber, who remained no longer than to hear her deny that he was General Washington, and to witness the return of her distraction. His Excellency sat down to dine, but soon rose from the table with apparent agitation, called out Colonel Lamb, the commander of artillery at West Point, and expressed to him his suspicion that Arnold had deserted to the enemy. In less than two hours it was ascertained that the conjecture was too well founded, for the despatches arrived from Colonel Jameson, with an account of the capture of Major Andre, accompanied by his own letter of confession. Major Andre was conducted to West Point, and thence to head quarters at Tappan, and a board, consisting of fourteen general officers, was constituted and directed to sit on the 29th September, for his trial. It was to have been expected that Sir Henry Clinton would make every possible overture and exertion with the hope of rescuing his friend, and the adjutant-general of his army, from an ignominious death. Accordingly he addressed General Washington, claimed the release of Major Andre, alleging that he ought not to be considered in the character of a spy, as he had a passport from, and was transacting business under the sanction of General Arnold; but arguments so obviously absurd and futile could have no influence, and the prisoner was ordered before



the military tribunal for trial, and the following are the particulars of their proceedings :—

Major Andre, Adjutant-General to the British army, was brought before the board, and the following letter from General Washington to the board, dated Head Quarters, Tappan, September 29th, 1780, was laid before them and read.

“GENTLEMEN,

“Major Andre, Adjutant-General to the British army, will be brought before you, for your examination. He came within our lines in the night, on an interview with Major-General Arnold, and in an assumed character ; and was taken within our lines, in a disguised habit, with a pass under a feigned name, and with the enclosed papers concealed on him. After a careful examination, you will be pleased, as speedily as possible, to report a precise state of his case, together with your opinion of the light in which he ought to be considered, and the punishment that ought to be inflicted. The Judge Advocate will attend to assist in the examination, who has sundry other papers relative to this matter, which he will lay before the Board.

“I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your  
most obedient and humble servant,

“G. WASHINGTON.

“*To the Board of General Officers, }  
convened at Tappan.*” }

The names of the officers, composing the Board, were read to Major Andre, with the following letter of his to General Washington, namely :

“Salem, 24th September, 1780.

“SIR—What I have as yet said, concerning myself, was in the justifiable attempt to be extricated ; I am too little accustomed to duplicity to have succeeded.

“I beg your Excellency will be persuaded, that no alteration in the temper of my mind, or apprehension for my safety, induces me to take the step of addressing you, but that it is to secure myself from an imputation of having assumed a mean character for treacherous purposes or self interest—a conduct incompatible with the principles that actuated me, as well as with my condition in life.

“It is to vindicate my fame, that I speak, and not to solicit security.

“The person in your possession, is Major John Andre, Adjutant-General to the British army.

“The influence of one commander in the army of his adversary is an advantage taken in war. I agreed to meet on ground not within the posts of either army, a person who was to give me intelligence ; I came up in the Vulture, man of war, for this effect, and was fetched by a boat from the shore to the beach : being there, I was told that the approach of day would prevent my return, and that I must be concealed till the next night. I was in my regimentals and had fairly risked by person.

“Against my stipulation, my intention, and without my knowledge before hand, I was conducted within one of your posts. Your Excellency may conceive my sensation on this occasion, and will imagine how much more I must have been affected by a refusal to reconduct me back the next night, as I had been brought. Thus become a prisoner, I had to concert my escape. *I quit-  
ted my uniform*, and was passed another way in the night, without the American posts to neutral ground, and informed, I was beyond all armed parties and left to press for New-York. I was taken at Tarrytown by some volunteers.

"Thus as I have had the honour to relate, was I betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise within your posts.

"Having avowed myself a British officer, I have nothing to reveal but what relates to myself, which is true on the honour of an officer and a gentleman.

"The request I have to make your Excellency, and I am conscious I address myself well, is that in any rigour which policy may dictate, a decency of conduct towards me, may evince that though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonourable, as no motive could be mine but the service of my king, and as I was involuntarily an impostor.

"Another request is, that I may be permitted to write an open letter to Sir Henry Clinton, and another to a friend for clothes and linen.

"I take the liberty to mention the condition of some gentlemen at Charleston, who, being either on parole or under protection, were engaged in a conspiracy against us. Though their situation is not similar, they are objects who may be set in exchange for me, or are persons whom the treatment I receive might affect.

"It is no less, sir, in a confidence in the generosity of your mind, than on account of your superior station, that I have chosen to importune you with this letter. I have the honour to be, with great respect, sir, your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

"JOHN ANDRE, Adjutant-General.

"*His Excellency General Washington, &c. &c. &c.*"

On being asked whether he confessed or denied the matters contained in this letter, he acknowledged the letter, and in addition stated, that he came on shore from the *Vulture*, sloop of war, in the night of the 21st of September instant, somewhere under the Haverstraw Mountain. That the boat he came on shore in, carried *no flag*, and that he had on a surtout coat over his regimentals, and that he wore his surtout coat when he was taken. That he met General Arnold on the shore, and had an interview with him there. He also said, that when he left the *Vulture*, sloop of war, it was understood, he was to return that night; but it was then doubted, and if he could not return, he was promised to be *concealed on shore* in a place of safety till the next night, when he was to return in the same manner he came on shore, and when the next day came he was solicitous to get back, and made inquiries in the course of the day how he should return, when he was informed he could not return that way, and he must take the route he did afterwards. He also said, that the first notice he had of his being within *any of our posts*, was, his being challenged by the sentry, which was the first night he was on shore. He also said, that in the evening of the 22d of September instant, he passed *King's ferry, between our posts of Stony and Verplank's points*, in the dress he is at present in, and which he said was *not his regimentals*, and which dress he procured after he landed from the *Vulture*, and when he was within *our post*, and that he was proceeding to New York, but was arrested at Tarrytown, as he has mentioned in his letter, on Saturday, the 23d of September, instant, about nine o'clock in the morning.

The Board having interrogated Major Andre, about his conception of his coming on shore under the sanction of a flag, he said, that *it was impossible for him to suppose he came on shore under that sanc-*

tion, and added, that if he came on shore under that sanction, he certainly might have returned under it.

Major Andre having acknowledged the preceding facts, and being asked whether he had any thing to say respecting them, answered, he left them to operate with the Board.

The examination of Major Andre being concluded, he was remanded into custody.

"The Board having considered the letter from his Excellency, General Washington, respecting Major Andre, Adjutant General to the British army, the confession of Major Andre, and the papers produced to them, report to his Excellency, the Commander in Chief, the following facts, which appear to them relative to Major Andre. First, that he came on shore from the Vulture, sloop of war, in the night of the 21st of September, instant, on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and secret manner. Secondly, that he changed his dress within our lines, and under a feigned name, and disguised habit, passed our works at Stony and Vexplank's Points, in the evening of the 22d of September, instant, and was taken on the morning of the 23d of September, at Tarrytown, in a disguised habit, being then on his way to New-York; and when taken he had in his possession several papers which contained intelligence for the enemy. The Board having maturely considered these facts, do also report to his Excellency General Washington, that Major Andre, Adjutant-General to the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that agreeably to the law and the usage of nations it is their opinion he ought to suffer death."

Signed.

NATHANIEL GREENE, Major-General and President.

STIRLING, — —

ST. CLAIR, — —

LA FAYETTE, — —

R. HOWE, — —

STEBEN, — —

SAMUEL H. PARSONS, Brigadier-General.

JAMES CLINTON, — —

HENRY KNOX, — —

JOHN GLOVER, — —

JOHN PATERSON, — —

EDWARD HAND, — —

JOHN HUNTINGTON, — —

JOHN STARK, — —

Artillery

JOHN LAWRENCE, Judge Advocate General

Head Quarters. {

September 30th, 1780. }

"The Commander in Chief approves of the opinion of the Board of General Officers, respecting Major Andre, and orders that the execution of Major Andre take place to-morrow, at five o'clock, P. M."

During the trial of this unfortunate officer, he conducted with unexampled magnanimity and dignity of character. He very freely and candidly confessed all the circumstances relative to himself, and carefully avoided every expression that might have a tendency to implicate any other person. So firm and dignified was he in his manners, and so honourable in all his proceedings on this most trying occasion, that he excited universal interest in his favour. He re-



requested only to die the death of a soldier, and not on a gibbet. The following is a copy of a very pathetic letter from Major Andre to General Washington, dated

*Tappan, October 1st, 1780.*

"SIR,

"Buoyed above the terrors of death, by the consciousness of a life devoted to honourable pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust that the request I make to your Excellency at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected. Sympathy towards a soldier will surely induce your Excellency, and a military tribunal, to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honour. Let me hope, Sir, if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me, if aught in my misfortunes marks me as the victim of policy, and not of resentment, I shall experience the operation of these feelings in your breast by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet.

I have the honour to be your Excellency's

most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN ANDRE, Adjutant-General

to the British army.

This moving letter, as may be supposed, affected the mind of General Washington with the tenderest sympathy, and it is reported that he submitted it to a council of general officers, who decided that as Major Andre was condemned as a spy, the circumstances of the case would not admit of the request being granted, and his Excellency, from a desire to spare the feelings of the unfortunate man, declined making a reply to the letter.

*October 1st.*—I went this afternoon to witness the execution of Major Andre,—a large concourse of people had assembled, the gallows was erected, and the grave and coffin prepared to receive the remains of this celebrated but unfortunate officer; but a flag of truce arrived with a communication from Sir Henry Clinton, making another and further proposals for the release of Major Andre, in consequence of which the execution was postponed till to-morrow, at twelve o'clock.

The flag which came out this morning brought General Robertson, Andrew Eliot, and William Smith, Esqrs. for the purpose of pleading for the release of Major Andre, the royal army being in the greatest affliction on the occasion. The two latter gentlemen, not being military officers, were not permitted to land, but General Greene was appointed by his excellency to meet General Robertson at Dobb's Ferry, and to receive his communications. He had nothing material to urge, but that Andre had come on shore under the sanction of a flag, and therefore could not be considered as a spy. But this is not true; he came on shore in the night, and had no flag, on business totally incompatible with the nature of a flag. Besides, Andre himself, candidly confessed, on his trial, that he did not consider himself under the sanction of a flag. General Robertson, having failed in his point, requested that the opinion of disinterested persons might be taken, and proposed Generals Knyphausen and

Rochambeau as proper persons. After this he had recourse to threats of retaliation on some people in New-York and Charleston, but he was told that such conversation could neither be heard nor understood. He next urged the release of Andre on motives of humanity, saying, he wished an intercourse of such civilities as might lessen the horrors of war, and cited instances of General Clinton's merciful disposition, adding that Andre possessed a great share of that gentleman's affection and esteem, and that he would be infinitely obliged if he was spared. He offered, that if his earnest wishes were complied with, to engage that any prisoner in their possession, whom General Washington might name, should immediately be set at liberty. But it must be viewed as the height of absurdity that General Robertson should, on this occasion, suffer himself to be the bearer of a letter which the vile traitor had the consummate effrontery to write to General Washington. This insolent letter is filled with threats of retaliation, and the accountability of his Excellency for the torrents of blood that might be spilt if he should order the execution of Major Andre. It should seem impossible that General Robertson could suppose that such insolence would receive any other treatment than utter contempt.

*October 2d.*—Major Andre is no more among the living. I have just witnessed his exit. It was a tragical scene of the deepest interest. During his confinement and trial, he exhibited those proud and elevated sensibilities which designate greatness and dignity of mind. Not a murmur or a sigh ever escaped him, and the civilities and attentions bestowed on him were politely acknowledged. Having left a mother and two sisters in England, he was heard to mention them in terms of the tenderest affection, and in his letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he recommends them to his particular attention.

The principal guard officer, who was constantly in the room with the prisoner, relates that when the hour of his execution was announced to him in the morning, he received it without emotion, and while all present were affected with silent gloom, he retained a firm countenance, with calmness and composure of mind. Observing his servant enter the room in tears, he exclaimed, "leave me till you can show yourself more manly." His breakfast being sent to him from the table of General Washington, which had been done every day of his confinement, he partook of it as usual, and having shaved and dressed himself, he placed his hat on the table, and cheerfully said to the guard officers, "I am ready at any moment, gentlemen, to wait on you." The fatal hour having arrived, a large detachment of troops was paraded, and an immense concourse of people assembled; almost all our general and field officers, excepting his Excellency and his staff, were present on horseback; melancholy and gloom pervaded all ranks, and the scene was affectingly awful. I was so near during the solemn march to the fatal spot, as to observe every movement, and participate in every emotion which the melancholy scene was calculated to produce. Major Andre walked from



the stone house, in which he had been confined, between two of our subaltern officers, arm in arm; the eyes of the immense multitude were fixed on him, who, rising superior to the fears of death, appeared as if conscious of the dignified deportment which he displayed. He betrayed no want of fortitude, but retained a complacent smile on his countenance, and politely bowed to several gentlemen whom he knew, which was respectfully returned. It was his earnest desire to be shot, as being the mode of death most conformable to the feelings of a military man, and he had indulged the hope that his request would be granted. At the moment, therefore, when suddenly he came in view of the gallows, he involuntarily started backward, and made a pause. "Why this emotion, sir," said an officer by his side? Instantly recovering his composure, he said, "I am reconciled to my death, but I detest the mode." While waiting and standing near the gallows, I observed some degree of trepidation; placing his foot on a stone, and rolling it over, and choking in his throat, as if attempting to swallow. So soon, however, as he perceived that things were in readiness, he stepped quickly into the waggon, and at this moment he appeared to shrink, but instantly elevating his head with firmness, he said, "It will be but a momentary pang," and taking from his pocket two white handkerchiefs, the provost marshal with one, loosely pinioned his arms, and with the other, the victim, after taking off his hat and stock, bandaged his own eyes with perfect firmness, which melted the hearts, and moistened the cheeks, not only of his servant, but of the throng of spectators. The rope being appended to the gallows, he slipped the noose over his head and adjusted it to his neck, without the assistance of the awkward executioner. Colonel Scammel now informed him that he had an opportunity to speak, if he desired it; he raised the handkerchief from his eyes and said, "I pray you to bear me witness that I meet my fate like a brave man." The waggon being now removed from under him, he was suspended, and instantly expired; it proved indeed "but a momentary pang." He was dressed in his royal regimentals and boots, and his remains, in the same dress, were placed in an ordinary coffin, and interred at the foot of the gallows; and the spot was consecrated by the tears of thousands. Thus died, in the bloom of life, the accomplished Major Andre, the pride of the royal army, and the valued friend of Sir Henry Clinton. He was about twenty-nine years of age, in his person well proportioned, tall, genteel and graceful. His mien respectable and dignified. His countenance mild, expressive and prepossessing, indicative of an intelligent and amiable mind. His talents are said to have been of a superior cast, and being cultivated in early life, he had made very considerable proficiency in literary attainments. Colonel Hamilton, aid de camp to General Washington, having had an interview with him, entertained an exalted opinion of his character. In the line of his profession, Major Andre was considered as a skilful, brave and enterprising officer, and he is reported to have been benevolent and



humane to our people who have been prisoners in New-York. Military glory was the main spring of his actions, and the sole object of his pursuits, and he was advancing rapidly in the gratification of his ambitious views, till, by a misguided zeal, he became a devoted victim. He enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Sir Henry Clinton, being consulted in his counsels and admitted to the secrets of his cabinet. The heart of sensibility mourns when a life of so much worth is sacrificed on a gibbet. General Washington was called to discharge a duty from which his soul revolted; and it is asserted that his hand could scarcely command his pen, when signing the warrant for the execution of Major Andre. But, however abhorrent in the view of humanity, the laws and usages of war must be obeyed, and in all armies it is decreed, that the gallows shall be the fate of spies from the enemy. It was universally desired that Major Andre should experience every possible favour and indulgence, consistent with his peculiar circumstances, but it was well considered, that should he be indulged in his request to be shot, it would imply that his case admitted of extenuation, and it might be doubted whether in justice he ought to be convicted as a spy.”\*

The following anecdotes of Major Andre, are worth preserving in this connexion—the first is given by a Mr. Drewy:—

A foraging party from New-York made an inroad into our settlement near that city. The neighbours soon assembled to oppose them; and, though not above fifteen years old, I turned out with my friends. In company was another boy, in age and size nearly about my own speed. We had counted on a *fine chase*: But the British were not to be driven so easily as we had expected. Standing their ground, they not only put us to flight, but captured several of our party; *myself* and the *other boy* among them. They presently set out with us for New-York: and, all the way, as we were going, my heart ached to think how my poor mother and sisters would be distressed when night came, and I did not return. Soon as they brought me in sight of the prison, I was struck with horror. The gloomy walls, and frightful guards at the doors, and wretched crowds at the iron windows, together with the thoughts of being locked up there in dark dungeons with disease and death, so overcame me, that I bursted into tears. Instantly a richly dressed officer stepped up, and taking me by the hand, with a look of great tenderness, said, “*My dear boy! what makes you cry?*” I told him I could not help it when I compared my present sad prospect with the happy one I enjoyed in the morning with my mother and sisters at home. “*Well, well, my dear child, (said he) don't cry, don't cry any more.*” Then turning to the jailor ordered him to stop till he should come back. Though but a boy, yet I was deeply struck with the wonderful difference betwixt *this man* and the rest around me. He appeared to me like a *brother*; *they like brutes*. I asked the jailor who he was. “*Why, that's Major Andre, (said he angrily) the adjutant-general of the army; and you may thank your stars that he saw you; for I suppose he is gone to the general to beg you off as he has done many of your d—d rebel countrymen.*” In a short time he returned; and with great joy in his countenance called out—“*Well, my boys, I've good news, good news for you! The General has given you to me, to dispose of as I choose; and now you are at liberty! So run home to your fond parents, and be good boys; mind what they tell you: say your prayers; love one another; and God Almighty will bless you.*”

Just before his fatal enterprize to west Point, Major Andre, who was a poet

\* Thacher's Military Journal, p. 258-75.

published, his Hudibrastic poem, called the "Cow-chase," the object of which was to ridicule some of the American officers, particularly General Wayne. The last verse seems prophetic—

"And now I close my epic strain,  
I tremble as I shew it,  
Lest this same warrio-drover, Wayne,  
Should ever catch the Poet."

"In November, Major Talmage crossed the Sound to Long Island with eighty men; made a circuitous march of twenty miles to Fort George, and almost instantly reduced it. He had but one man wounded. Eight of the enemy were killed and wounded, and a lieutenant colonel, a captain, and fifty-five privates, captured.

The British corps and recruits, sent to America and the West Indies this year, amounted to ten thousand two hundred and thirty-seven. By returns on the first of December, the British land forces, serving under General Clinton, amounted to nineteen thousand one hundred and fifty-three; in Canada, three thousand three hundred and eighty-five; in the West-Indies, seven thousand one hundred and thirty; and under the convention of Saratoga, one thousand six hundred and forty-six.

The successes of the British, after the reduction of Savannah and Charlestown, encouraged them to a vigorous invasion of North Carolina. The American army, after its defeat and dispersion on the sixteenth of August, 1780, rendezvoused at Hillsborough; and toward the close of the year advanced to Charlottetown. At this place General Gates transferred the command to General Greene, whom congress had sent to take charge of the southern army. The whole of this army consisted of about two thousand men, more than half of whom were militia. With this inconsiderable body of troops, miserably provided, General Greene took the field against a superior regular force, which had already marched in triumph two hundred miles from the sea-coast. Soon after he took the command, he divided his force, and sent General Morgan with a respectable detachment to the western extremity of South Carolina, and marched with the main body to Hick's Creek, on the north of the Pedee, opposite to Cheraw Hill.

On the entrance of General Morgan into the district of Ninety-Six, Lord Cornwallis, who was far advanced in his preparations for the invasion of North Carolina, found it necessary to drive him from this station, that he might not leave an enemy in his rear. Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton was therefore ordered to proceed with about eleven hundred men, and "push him to the utmost." Tarleton had two field pieces, and a superiority of infantry in the proportion of five to four, and of cavalry the proportion of three to one. With these advantages, he engaged Morgan at the Cowpens, near Pacolet River, on the seventeenth of January, 1781. The attack was begun by the first line of infantry, consisting of the seventh regiment, the infantry of the legion, and corps of light infantry annexed to it; a troop of cavalry was placed on each flank; the first battalion of the seventy



first and the remainder of the cavalry formed the reserve. General Morgan had drawn up his men in two lines. The front line was composed entirely of militia, placed under the command of Colonel Pickens, and was advanced a few yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second when forced to retire. Major McDowell with a battalion of the North Carolina volunteers, and Major Cunningham with a battalion of Georgia volunteers, were advanced about one hundred and fifty yards in front of this line. The second line consisted of the light infantry, and a corps of Virginia riflemen. The cavalry under Lieutenant Colonel Washington were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The British, led to the attack by Tarleton himself, advanced with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musketry. The militia, though they received the charge with firmness, were soon compelled to fall back into the rear of the second line; and this line, in its turn, after an obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. At this juncture, Lieutenant Colonel Washington made a successful charge on Captain Ogilvie, who with about forty dragoons was cutting down the retreating militia; Lieutenant Colonel Howard, almost at the same moment, rallied the continental troops, and charged with fixed bayonets; and the militia instantly followed the example. By these sudden and unexpected charges, the British, who had considered the fate of the day decided, were thrown into confusion, and driven from the ground with great slaughter. Howard and Washington pressed the advantage, which they had respectively gained, until the artillery and a great part of the infantry had surrendered. So sudden was the defeat, that two hundred and fifty horse, which had not been brought into action, fled with precipitation. The first battalion of the seventy-first, and two British light infantry companies, laid down their arms to the American militia. Upward of three hundred of the British were killed or wounded, and above five hundred taken prisoners. Eight hundred muskets, two field pieces, two standards, thirty-five baggage waggons, and one hundred dragoon horses, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Of the Americans, twelve men only were killed, and sixty wounded. Congress, in honour of the good conduct of General Morgan, presented him a gold medal; to Lieutenant Colonels Washington and Howard, medals of silver; and to Colonel Pickens, a sword.

Lord Cornwallis was surprised and mortified, but not dispirited, by intelligence of this disastrous event. With the expectation of retaking the prisoners, and the intention of obliterating the impression made by the late defeat, his lordship instantly determined on the pursuit of Morgan, who had moved off with his prisoners toward Virginia. The movements of the royal army induced General Greene immediately to retreat from Hick's Creek; and, leaving the main army under the command of General Huger, he rode one hundred and fifty miles through the country to join the detachment under General Morgan, that he might be in front of Lord Cornwallis,



and so direct both divisions of his army, as to form a speedy junction between them. Greene, on his arrival, ordered the prisoners to Charlotteville, and directed the troops to Guilford court house, to which place he had ordered General Huger to proceed with the main army. In this retreat the Americans endured extreme hardships with admirable fortitude. The British urged the pursuit with such rapidity, that they reached the Catawba on the evening of the same day on which the Americans crossed it; and before the next morning a heavy fall of rain rendered that river impassable. A passage at length being affected, the pursuit was continued. The Americans, by expeditious movements, crossed the Yadkin on the second and third days of February, and secured their boats on the north side; but the British, though close in their rear, were incapable of crossing it, through the want of boats, and the rapid rising of the river from preceding rains. This second remarkable escape confirmed the Americans in the belief, that their cause was favoured by Heaven.

After a junction of the two divisions of the American army at Guilford court house, it was concluded in a council of officers, called by General Greene, that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid an engagement until he should be re-enforced. Lord Cornwallis kept the upper countries, where only the rivers are fordable, and attempted to get between General Greene and Virginia, to cut off his retreat, and oblige him to fight under many disadvantages; but the American general completely eluded him. So urgent was the pursuit of the British, that on the fourteenth of February the American light troops were compelled to retire upward of forty miles; and on that day General Greene, by indefatigable exertions, transported his army over the Dan into Virginia. Here again the pressure was so close, that the van of the British just arrived, as the rear of the Americans had crossed. The continental army being now driven out of North Carolina, Earl Cornwallis left the Dan, and proceeded to Hillsborough, where he set up the royal standard. Greene, perceiving the necessity of some spirited measure to counteract his Lordship's influence on the inhabitants of the country, concluded at every hazard to recross the Dan. After manoueuering in a very masterly manner to avoid an action with Cornwallis three weeks, during which time he was often obliged to ask bread of the common soldiers, his army was joined by two brigades of militia from North Carolina, and one from Virginia, together with four hundred regulars. This re-enforcement giving him a superiority of numbers, he determined no longer to avoid an engagement. The American army consisted of about four thousand four hundred men, of which more than one half were militia; the British, of about two thousand four hundred, chiefly veteran troops. The Americans were drawn up in three lines. The front line was composed of North Carolina militia, commanded by Generals Butler and Eaton; the second, of Virginia militia, commanded by Stephens and Law-

son; the third, of continental troops, commanded by General Hunger and Colonel Williams. The British, after a brisk cannonade in front, advanced in three columns, the Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and Lieutenant-Colonel Webster's brigade on the left; and attacked the front line. The militia composing this line, through the misconduct of an officer in giving occasion to a false alarm, precipitately quitted the field. The Virginia militia stood their ground, and kept up their fire, until they were ordered to retreat.\* The continental troops were last engaged, and maintained the conflict with great spirit an hour and a half; but then were forced to give way before their veteran adversaries. The British broke the second Maryland brigade; turned the American left flank; and got in rear of the Virginia brigade. On their appearing to be gaining Greene's right, and thus threatening to encircle the whole of the continental troops, a retreat was ordered, which was well conducted. This was a dear victory to the British, whose killed and wounded amounted to several hundred.† Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, an officer of distinguished merit, died of his wounds, much regretted by the whole royal army. About three hundred of the continentals, and one hundred of the Virginia militia, were killed or wounded; among the former was Major Anderson, a most valuable officer of the Maryland line.

Soon after the action, Lord Cornwallis began a march toward Wilmington. General Greene, on receiving intelligence of this movement, put his army in motion to follow him, and conducted the pursuit to Ramsay's mill, on Deep River. Cornwallis, having halted and refreshed his men about three weeks at Wilmington, marched across the country to Petersburg in Virginia. Greene, before he had knowledge that his Lordship intended this movement, had formed the bold resolution of returning into South Carolina. Before he commenced his march back, he sent orders to General Pickens to prevent supplies from going to the British garrisons at Ninety-Six and Augusta, and detached Lieutenant-Colonel Lee to advance before the continental troops. Lee in eight days reached General Marion's quarters on the Santee; and the main army a few days after completed its march from Deep River to Camden.

While the army was on its march to Camden, General Marion and Lieutenant-Colonel Lee invested Fort Watson, which lay between Camden and Charlestown. This fort was built on an Indian mount, upward of thirty feet high; but the besiegers, speedily erecting a work which overlooked the fort, fired into it with such execu-

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\* General Stephens, their heroic commander, had posted forty riflemen at equal distances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to shoot every man who should leave his post.

† The return of killed, wounded and missing, on the part of the British, stated the whole number to be 532. [See Tarleton, p. 310, note B.] Lieut. Col. Stewart, of the guards, was killed; and Lieut. Col. Tarleton, of the British legion, wounded.



tion, that the garrison, consisting of one hundred and fourteen men, surrendered by capitulation. Camden was at this time defended by Lord Rawdon with about nine hundred men. General Greene, whose army consisted but of about an equal number of continentals, and between two and three hundred militia, took a good position about a mile distant, in expectation of alluring the garrison out of their lines. On the twenty-fifth, Lord Rawdon sallied out with great spirit; and an engagement ensued. The American army, in the first of the action, had essentially the advantage; but, in the progress of it, the premature retreat of two companies occasioned a total defeat. Greene, to prevent Lord Rawdon from improving the success that he had gained, made an orderly retreat, and encamped about five miles from his former position. Most of his wounded, and all his artillery, together with a number of prisoners, were safely brought off from the field. The British retired to Camden. Lord Rawdon, receiving a reinforcement, attempted the next day to compel General Greene to another action; but, not succeeding in that design, he returned to Camden, and, having burned the gaol, mills, many private houses, and a great part of his own baggage, evacuated that post, and retired to the southward of the Santee. The day after the evacuation, the post of Orangeburg, consisting of seventy British militia and twelve regulars, surrendered to General Sumpter. On the day following, Fort Motte, situated above the fork on the south side of the Congaree, capitulated. The British had built their works around the dwelling-house of Mrs. Motte, who cheerfully furnished the Americans with materials for firing it; by which means the garrison, consisting of one hundred and sixty-five men, were constrained to surrender at discretion. Two days afterward, the British evacuated their post at Nelson's Ferry. On the succeeding day, Fort Granby, garrisoned by three hundred and fifty-two men, mostly royal militia, surrendered to Lieutenant-Colonel Lee.

About this time, General Marion, with a party of forty militia, marched to Georgetown, and began regular approaches against the British post in that place; but on the first night after his men had broken ground, the garrison evacuated their works, and retreated to Charlestown. Shortly after, Manson, a Carolinian tory, appearing in an armed vessel, and being refused permission to land his men in the town, sent a few of them ashore, and set fire to it. Upward of forty houses were burnt.

On the twenty-first of May, the British post at Silver Bluff, with a field piece and considerable stores, surrendered to a detachment of Lee's legion, commanded by Captain Rudolph. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, immediately after the surrender of Fort Granby, marched to Augusta, and joined Brigadier-General Pickens, who with a body of militia had some time before taken post in the vicinity; and these two able officers jointly carried on their approaches against Fort Cornwallis. Two batteries were erected within thirty yards of the parapet, which overlooked the fort; and from them the American



riflemen shot into the inside of the works with effect. The garrison, almost entirely burying themselves under ground, obstinately refused to capitulate until resistance became useless ; and then the fort with about three hundred men surrendered on honourable terms of capitulation. The Americans, during the siege, had about forty men killed and wounded.

On the twenty-second of May, General Greene laid siege to Ninety-Six, which was defended by Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger with upward of five hundred men. The works of the besiegers were carried forward with indefatigable industry and success until the eighteenth of June, when, on intelligence of the approach of Lord Rawdon for the relief of the place, it was concluded to attempt its reduction by assault. The assailants displayed great resolution ; but, failing of success, General Greene raised the siege, and retreated over the Saluda. His loss, in the assault and previous conflicts, was about one hundred and fifty men.

The British having evacuated all their posts to the northward of the Santee, and Congaree, and to the westward of Edisto, once more resumed their station near the junction of the Wateree and Congaree. Upon this movement, General Greene, with the intention of forcing them down toward Charlestown, crossed the Wateree and Congaree, and collected his whole force on the south side of the last mentioned river. On his approach, the British retired about forty miles nearer Charlestown, and took post at the Eutaw Springs. On the eighth of September, at four in the morning, General Greene advanced with two thousand men, to attack them in their encampment. His army moved from the ground in the following order. The South and North Carolina militia, commanded by Generals Marion and Pickens, and by Colonel Malmedy, composed the front line ; the continental troops, from North-Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, led on by General Sumner, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and Colonel Williams, composed the second line. The legion of Lieutenant-Colonel Lee covered the right flank ; and the state troops of South-Carolina, under Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, covered the left. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, and Captain Kirkwood, with the Delaware troops, formed a corps de reserve. As the army advanced, the van fell in with two parties of the British, about four miles from the camp of Eutaw, and was briskly attacked ; but the enemy, on receiving a heavy fire from the state troops, and a charge with the bayonet from the infantry of the legion, soon retired. On notice of the approach of the Americans, Lieut. Colonel Stewart, who commanded the British army, immediately formed the line of battle. It was drawn up obliquely across the road, on the heights near Eutaw Springs. The right flank was covered by a battalion, commanded by Major Majoribanks, the left of which approached the road, and was concealed by a thick hedge. The road was occupied by two pieces of artillery, and a covering party of infantry. The front line of the Americans continuing to

fire and advance, the action soon became general. In the heat of the engagement, Colonel Williams and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with the Maryland and Virginia continentals, were ordered to charge with trailed arms ; and nothing could exceed the intrepidity with which these orders were executed. The troops rushed on in good order through a tremendous fire of artillery and musketry, and bore down all before them. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, while leading on his men to the decisive charge, received a mortal wound. On inquiring, after he had fallen, who gave way, and being told, that the British were fleeing in all quarters, he said " I die contented," and immediately expired. A part of the British line, consisting of new troops, broke, and fled ; but the veteran corps received the charge of the assailants on the points of their bayonets. The hostile ranks were a short time intermingled, and the officers fought hand to hand ; but Lee, who had turned the British left flank, charging them at this instant in the rear, their line was soon completely broken, and driven off the field. They were vigorously pursued by the Americans, who took upward of five hundred of them prisoners. The enemy, on their retreat, took post in a large three story brick house, and in a picketed garden ; and from these advantageous positions renewed the action. Four six pounders were ordered up before the house ; but the Americans were compelled to leave these pieces and retire. They formed again at a small distance in the woods ; but General Greene, thinking it inexpedient to renew the desperate attempt, left a strong picket on the field of battle, and retired with his prisoners to the ground from which he had marched in the morning. In the evening of the next day, Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, leaving seventy of his wounded men and a thousand stand of arms, moved from Eutaw toward Charlestown. The loss of the British, inclusive of prisoners, was supposed to be not less than eleven hundred men.\* The loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and missing, was five hundred and fifty-five.

Congress passed a vote of thanks to every corps in the army ; and a resolution for presenting to Major-General Greene, " as an honourable testimony of his merit, a British standard, and a golden medal, emblematic of the battle, and of his victory."

The battle of Eutaw may be considered as closing the revolutionary war in South Carolina.

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\* It was stated by themselves to be 693 men ; of whom 85 only were killed in the field. General Greene, in his letter to Congress of 11th September, says, that, including 70 wounded, who were left at Eutaw, he had made 500 prisoners. " The fugitives," he observes, " spread such an alarm, that the enemy burnt their provisions at Dorchester, and quitted their post at Fajrlawn. Nothing but the brick house, and their strong post at Eutaw's, hindered the remains of the British army from falling into our hands." General Greene testified high respect for the memory of Lieut. Col. Campbell. Col. Henderson, a valuable officer, received a dangerous wound during the action, and the command of the South Carolina state troops devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Hampton, an officer of distinguished merit. Colonel Washington was wounded ; and, while disengaging himself from his horse, which was shot under him, he was taken prisoner.



Virginia was destined to be a theatre of still more decisive operations. Lord Cornwallis reached Petersburg, without much opposition, on the 20th May ; and, forming a junction with Major-General Phillips, was now at the head of a very powerful army. The defensive operations, in opposition to this hostile force, were principally entrusted to the Marquis de la Fayette.\* The Marquis advanced to Richmond ; but such was the superiority of numbers on the side of the British, that he retired with his little army, which consisted of about one thousand regulars, two thousand militia, and sixty dragoons. Lord Cornwallis advanced from Petersburg to James River, which he crossed at Westown ; and, marching through Hanover county, crossed the Pamunkey River. The young Marquis followed his motions, but at a guarded distance ; and his judgment in the selection of posts, with the vigour of his movements, would have reflected honour on a veteran commander. In the course of these marches and countermarches, immense quantities of property were destroyed by the British troops, and several unimportant skirmishes took place. Earl Cornwallis, who had marched with his army to Portsmouth, was at length instructed, by an express from Sir Henry Clinton, to secure Old Point Comfort, or Hampton Road, as a station for line of battle ships ; and was allowed to detain any part, or the whole of the forces under his command, for completing that service. A strong and permanent place of arms in the Chesapeake, for the security of both the army and navy, being a principal object of the campaign, and Portsmouth and Hampton Road having been pronounced unfit for that purpose, Portsmouth was evacuated, and the British troops, amounting to seven thousand men, were transferred to Yorktown. Lord Cornwallis assiduously applied himself to fortify his new posts. While the officers of the British navy were expecting to be joined by their fleet in the West-Indies, preparatory to vigorous operations in Virginia, Count de Grasse, with a French fleet of twenty-eight sail of the line, entered the Chesapeake ; and, having blocked up York River with three large ships and some frigates, moored the principal part of his fleet in Lynnhaven Bay. Three thousand two hundred French troops, on board this fleet, commanded by the Marquis de St. Simon, were disembarked, and soon after formed a junction with the continental troops under the Marquis de la Fayette ; and the whole combined army took post at Williamsburg. Admiral Graves, with twenty sail of the line, attempted the relief of Lord Cornwallis ; but, when he appeared off the Capes of Virginia, M. de Grasse went out to meet him, and an indecisive engagement took place. While the two admirals were manœuvring near the mouth of the Chesapeake, Count de Barras, with a French fleet of eight line of battle ships from Rhode-Island, passed the British fleet in the night, and got within the Capes

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\* The Marquis had been detached, early in the year, from the main army, to Virginia, to co-operate with the French fleet in attempting the capture of Arnold.



of Virginia ; and by this combination the French had a decided superiority. Admiral Graves soon took his departure ; and M. de Grasse re-entered the Chesapeake.

In the mean time, the combined forces of France and America, by an effectual but unsuspected plan of operations, were tending, as to a central point, to Virginia. As early as the month of May, a plan of the whole campaign had been fixed on by General Washington, in consultation with General Knox and Du Portail on the part of the Americans, and Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier Chastellux on the part of the French, in an interview at Wethersfield. The project was, to lay siege to New-York in concert with a French fleet, which was to arrive on the coast in the month of August. In prosecution of this plan, the northern states were called on to fill up their battalions, and to have their quotas of militia in readiness, on a week's notice. The French troops marched from Rhode-Island, and joined the American army early in July. About the same time, General Washington marched his army from its winter encampment, near Peek's Kill, to the vicinity of King's Bridge ; General Lincoln fell down North River, and took possession of the ground where Fort Independence formerly stood ; and the British, with almost the whole of their force, retired to York Island. General Washington was diligent in preparing to commence operations against New-York. Flat bottomed boats, sufficient to transport five thousand men, were built near Albany, and brought down Hudson's River to the neighbourhood of the American army ; ovens were built opposite to Staten Island for the use of the French troops : and every movement was made for the commencement of a siege. About the middle of August, General Washington was induced to make a total change of the plan of the campaign. The tardiness of the states in filling up their battalions and embodying their militia ; the peculiar situation of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia ; the arrival of a re-enforcement of three thousand Germans from Europe to New-York ; the strength of the garrison in that city ; and especially intelligence from Count de Grasse, that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeake ; determined the General to direct the operations of the combined arms against Lord Cornwallis. Having resolved to lead the expedition in person, he committed the defence of the posts on Hudson's River to Major-General Heath, and proceeded on the grand enterprise. While, with consummate address, he kept up the appearance of an intention to attack New-York ; the allied army, amounting collectively to twelve thousand men, crossed the North River, and passed on by the way of Philadelphia to Yorktown. General Washington and Count Rochambeau reached Williamsburg on the fourteenth of September ; and with Generals Chastellux, Du Portail, and Knox, visited Count de Grasse on board his ship, and agreed on a plan of operations.

Yorktown is a small village on the south side of York River, whose southern banks are high, and in whose waters a ship of the

line may ride with safety. Gloucester Point is a piece of land on the opposite shore, projecting deeply into the river. Both these posts were occupied by Lord Cornwallis ; and a communication between them was commanded by his batteries, and by some ships of war. The main body of his army was encamped on the open grounds about Yorktown, within a range of outer redoubts and field works ; and Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with a detachment of six or seven hundred men, held the post at Gloucester Point. The legion of the Duke de Lauzun, and a brigade of militia under General Weedon, the whole commanded by the French General de Choise', were directed to watch and restrain the enemy on the side of Gloucester ; and the grand combined army, on the thirtieth of September, moved down to the investiture of Yorktown. In the evening, the troops halted about two miles from York, and lay all night on their arms. Causeways having been constructed in the night over a morass in front of the British works, the continental infantry marched the next morning in columns to the right of the combined forces. A few cannon shot were fired from the British work on the Hampton Road, and some riflemen skirmished with the pickets of the Anspach battalions on the left. The two armies cautiously observed each other ; but nothing material occurred until evening, when an express boat arrived at Yorktown with a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to Earl Cornwallis, giving him assurance that joint exertions of the army and navy would be made for his relief. To this letter is attributed an order for the British troops to quit the outward and retire to the inner position ; in compliance with which, that movement was effected before day-break. The next morning, Colonel Scammel, with a reconnoitering party, falling in with a detachment of picked dragoons, was driven back, and in attempting a retreat was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. He was an officer of great merit, and his death was deeply lamented. In the course of the forenoon, the allies took possession of the ground that had been abandoned by the British."\*

"On the 6th, Washington's heavy ordnance and other implements for the siege arrived, and the first parallel was immediately commenced, under a constant, but ineffectual fire from Cornwallis' batteries. By the 10th, our batteries and redoubts were ready to open along the whole fosse, and their effect upon the defences of the town was so immediately destructive, that Cornwallis would no doubt have sought the means of safety, either by offering instant battle, or capitulation, but for the arrival of another messenger from Sir Henry Clinton on this day, who brought assurances that an armament of 7000 men was on its way for his relief. This reanimated his confidence, and determined him to hold out to the last moment, repairing with great assiduity during the night the breaches and dilapidations of the day. But so powerful was even our first parallel.

\* Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 439-55.



that our shells and red hot balls reached the enemy's ships in the harbour, and one of their best frigates was destroyed.

On the night of the 11th, Washington commenced his second parallel within three hundred yards of the enemy's lines, and so expeditiously and secretly was the work carried on, that the trench was nearly completed before the dawn of day. Upon perceiving this extraordinary despatch of his besiegers, Cornwallis redoubled his exertions to strengthen his defence, still trusting to the promised aid of the British commander in chief. All his batteries were opened to stop the progress of this second parallel; but though his fire was considerably destructive, particularly from two redoubts on his left, our work was continued without intermission. At this moment Washington determined to carry these two redoubts by a coup de main. The detachment ordered against that on our right was entrusted to the Marquis de la Fayette, who conducted it in person, the other to the French under the Baron de Viomenil. Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, assisted by Lieutenant Colonel Laurens, led the van of la Fayette, and so vigorously was the assault conducted, that they soon forced their way into the redoubt, and made the whole party consisting of 60 men, under Major Campbell, prisoners, only five of their number being killed. The détachment had been ordered in the assault to remember the recent massacre at New-London after fort Griswold had surrendered; but Hamilton upon being questioned why he had spared the lives of his prisoners, answered, that his detachment could not imitate deeds of barbarity upon men who begged for quarters.

The enterprise against the other redoubt conducted by the Baron Viomenil, was equally successful, though more difficult, the number of the enemy here being double that of the other, and the resistance proportionately formidable. The commandant of the redoubt with half his force, escaped, leaving the other half, of whom 18 were killed, to fall into the hands of the Baron. The loss of the latter was very severe, having 100 men killed and wounded. Our loss in the other affair was 9 killed and 32 wounded. These two redoubts were soon added to our second parallel, and the equal honours acquired by the French and Americans in the enterprise, infused a mutual confidence in the allies, and added more vigour to the further prosecution of the siege.

Lord Cornwallis in the mean time, more and more straitened in his position, and still without the expected reinforcements, though ten days had elapsed since it was said they were to sail from New-York, projected a sally against two of our redoubts, which were not yet completed. Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie conducted the enterprise with 400 men, of the guards and light infantry; and before day light on the morning of the 16th he advanced upon our lines. His party were divided into two detachments, the first of the guards under Lieutenant Colonel Luke, the second of the light infantry under Major Armstrong. Both officers succeeded in driving out



the French who occupied these redoubts, and in spiking eleven pieces of cannon, besides killing a number of men; but this success was of little benefit to the besieged, for being unable to hold possession of the redoubts, the party was compelled to retire on the approach of the assailants; and the redoubts were soon made ready and the cannon unspiked.

This completed the second parallel of the besiegers, who now displayed a front of nearly one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, while the defences of the town were so much demolished that scarcely a gun could be shown. In this situation Cornwallis was reduced to the alternative of attempting his escape, or of offering terms of capitulation; the latter was too humiliating to his proud military spirit, and a plan was instantly conceived for carrying the former into effect. He determined to pass his whole army over in the night to Gloucester Point, and by falling upon General Choise to possess himself of all his horses, by which the greater part of his army would be mounted, and his further movements were to depend on contingent occurrences. The attempt was equally bold and desperate; but whatever might have been its ultimate issue, fortune had prepared another fate for Cornwallis. After the first division of his army had actually crossed, and while he was waiting for the return of the boats to embark the remainder, a violent storm arose, which dispersed the boats and drove them down the river considerably below the town; so that day light approached before they could be brought up to the place of embarkation. It was now too late; and his lordship was compelled to employ the forenoon in reuniting his divided force, by recalling the division which had crossed the river.

The last hope of his lordship being thus disconcerted by a destiny beyond his control, he considered any further resistance as an useless expenditure of the lives of his men, and having beat a parley, sent a messenger to Washington, with a proposition for a cessation of hostilities for the space of twenty-four hours, with a view of settling by commissioners, terms for the surrender of his two posts. After requiring from his lordship a previous avowal of the basis upon which he meant to propose the surrender, the request for a cessation of hostilities was granted, and commissioners were mutually appointed. On the part of the allied armies, the Viscount de Noailles, and Lieutenant Colonel Laurens, aid de camp to Washington; and on the part of the British, Lieutenant Colonel Dundas, and Major Ross, aid de camp to his lordship, met on the 18th, but not being able to agree upon definitive terms, rough drafts of their proceedings were submitted to the respective commanders. Washington, perceiving that Cornwallis insisted upon terms unwarranted by the situation of the two armies, and unwilling to lose a moment's time in fruitless negotiation, transmitted to his lordship on the morning of the 19th, his *ultimatum*, declaring that hostilities should recommence at 11 o'clock, unless the terms were previously ratified. Cornwallis strenuous as had been his efforts to procure certain advantages



the French who occupied these redoubts, and in spiking eleven pieces of cannon, besides killing a number of men; but this success was of little benefit to the besieged, for being unable to hold possession of the redoubts, the party was compelled to retire on the approach of the assailants; and the redoubts were soon made ready and the cannon unspiked.

This completed the second parallel of the besiegers, who now displayed a front of nearly one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, while the defences of the town were so much demolished that scarcely a gun could be shown. In this situation Cornwallis was reduced to the alternative of attempting his escape, or of offering terms of capitulation; the latter was too humiliating to his proud military spirit, and a plan was instantly conceived for carrying the former into effect. He determined to pass his whole army over in the night to Gloucester Point, and by falling upon General Choise to possess himself of all his horses, by which the greater part of his army would be mounted, and his further movements were to depend on contingent occurrences. The attempt was equally bold and desperate; but whatever might have been its ultimate issue, fortune had prepared another fate for Cornwallis. After the first division of his army had actually crossed, and while he was waiting for the return of the boats to embark the remainder, a violent storm arose, which dispersed the boats and drove them down the river considerably below the town; so that day light approached before they could be brought up to the place of embarkation. It was now too late; and his lordship was compelled to employ the forenoon in reuniting his divided force, by recalling the division which had crossed the river.

The last hope of his lordship being thus disconcerted by a destiny beyond his control, he considered any further resistance as an useless expenditure of the lives of his men, and having beat a parley, sent a messenger to Washington, with a proposition for a cessation of hostilities for the space of twenty-four hours, with a view of settling by commissioners, terms for the surrender of his two posts. After requiring from his lordship a previous avowal of the basis upon which he meant to propose the surrender, the request for a cessation of hostilities was granted, and commissioners were mutually appointed. On the part of the allied armies, the Viscount de Noailles, and Lieutenant Colonel Laurens, aid de camp to Washington; and on the part of the British, Lieutenant Colonel Dundas, and Major Ross, aid de camp to his lordship, met on the 18th, but not being able to agree upon definitive terms, rough drafts of their proceedings were submitted to the respective commanders. Washington, perceiving that Cornwallis insisted upon terms unwarranted by the situation of the two armies, and unwilling to lose a moment's time in fruitless negotiation, transmitted to his lordship on the morning of the 19th, his *ultimatum*, declaring that hostilities should recommence at 11 o'clock, unless the terms were previously ratified. Cornwallis strenuous as had been his efforts to procure certain advantages





CORNWALLIS PRESENTING HIS  
SWORD TO WASHINGTON



conditions for his army and the citizens in York and Gloucester, who had joined the British standard, now perceived that further delay would be hazardous, and the surrender was made on the following terms :—

1st. That the British land and naval forces at York and Gloucester, surrender themselves respectively to the combined forces of America and France. 2d. That the artillery, arms and stores of every description, be delivered, unimpaired to officers appointed to receive them. 3d. That the two redoubts on the left flank of York, be delivered up at twelve o'clock, the one to a detachment of the American army, the other to a detachment of the French grenadiers. The garrison of York to march out at 2 o'clock, to a place appointed in front of the posts, with shouldered arms, colours cased, and drums beating a British or German march, there to ground their arms, and return to their encampment, until despatched to the places of their destination. The same to be done at 3 o'clock, with the garrison of Gloucester. 4th. Officers to retain their side arms and private property of every kind, with the exception of such as obviously belongs to the inhabitants of the United States. 5th. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland or Pennsylvania, and supplied with the same rations as are allowed to the soldiers of the United States. To be kept as much as possible in regiments, and a suitable number of field officers to reside near them on parole, with permission to visit them frequently, and examine into their treatment. 6th. The British general and his staff, and other officers, civil and military, who desire it, to be permitted to go on parole to Europe, New-York, or any other place in possession of the British, at their option; proper vessels to be furnished by the Count de Grasse for this purpose, and passports to go by land to be given to those for whom vessels cannot be furnished. 7th. The officers to be allowed to keep soldiers as servants, and the servants not soldiers not to be considered as prisoners. 8th. The Bonetta sloop of war, with her present equipment and crew, to be left at the disposal of the British general, to carry such soldiers as he may think proper to send, and despatches to Sir Henry Clinton; to be permitted to sail without examination, and to be afterwards delivered to the order of the Count de Grasse; the soldiers and crew to be accounted for. 9th. Traders to be considered as prisoners of war on parole, and allowed to dispose of their property, giving to the allied armies the right of preemption. 10th. In this article Cornwallis required that the inhabitants of different parts of the country then in York and Gloucester, should not be punished for having joined the British army; but it was objected to by Washington, as belonging altogether to the civil department, for whom he would make no stipulation. The 11th and 12th articles related to the sick, who were to be supplied with hospital stores at the expense of the British, and attended by their own surgeons. 13th. The shipping and boats in the two harbours, with all their stores, guns, tackling, and apparel, to be delivered up to an officer of the navy appointed to take possession of them. And lastly, no article of the capitulation to be infringed on pretence of reprisals.

These articles being mutually signed and ratified, General Lincoln was appointed by the commander in chief to receive the submission of the royal army. Cornwallis, unable to bear up against the humiliation of marching at the head of his garrison, constituted General O'Hara his representative, and the conquered army moved in silence through the columns of French and American soldiers, drawn up on each side of the road. On the other side of the river, Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas had been transferred to York during the last movements of the troops, and the command had devolved on



Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton. This officer, conscious of the many causes he had given to the inhabitants of the United States to detest his character, and to inspire correspondent feelings of revenge, waited upon the French General de Choise, previous to his surrender, and expressing apprehensions for his personal safety, requested that he might not be placed at the disposal of the American militia. This request, though founded upon idle fears, or what is worse, a desire to throw a stigma upon the American character, was readily granted; and the Duke de Lauzun and Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer were selected, with their respective corps, to receive the submission of Tarleton's garrison.

Thus was this siege happily brought to a conclusion, and a second British army, whose march through a wide extent of country, had been every where traced by ruin and devastation, brought to submit to American prowess. The number of men which surrendered to Washington, amounted in the whole to 7107, but more than 3000 of these are said to have been unfit for duty; the combined army appears to have been 16,000 strong, 7000 of whom were French. Thus Cornwallis was far from losing any part of the great reputation which his repeated successes had gained him, by surrendering to a force so greatly superior; he had done all that could be done under circumstances of so much embarrassment, and it is not hazarding too much to say, that if he had been left to his own discretion, his army would have been saved, or his own life offered a sacrifice to the enterprise of his genius. A second elegant park of field artillery, entirely of brass, came into our possession at this surrender. This, together with every thing appertaining to the army, fell to the Americans in the distribution, while the shipping and its concerns, became the property of our brave allies. During the siege about 300 of the combined army were killed and wounded, and on the part of the British upwards of 500.

The officers particularly distinguished by the commander in chief for their zeal, activity and valour, on this occasion, were the Count de Rochambeau, Generals Chatelleux and Viomenil, of the French, and Generals Lincoln, La Fayette and Steuben of the American army. General Knox who commanded the artillery, and General Du Portail, chief engineer, were also mentioned in terms of signal respect. Lieutenant Colonels Hamilton and Laurens, gained imperishable honours for the intrepidity displayed in storming the redoubt on the 14th.

Nothing could exceed the universal joy at this great and important event.”\*

“For some months previous to the capture of Cornwallis, and while his army was traversing the states of the Carolinas and Virginia, he was opposed by the Marquis de la Fayette with an inferior force. His Lordship having received a reinforcement, was so confident of

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\* *Allen's Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 461-9.

success against his opponent, that he unguardedly wrote in a letter, which was afterwards intercepted, "*the boy cannot escape me ;*" but he was disappointed in his sanguine expectations. Cornwallis at one time formed a plan to surprise the Marquis while on the same side of James River with himself, but the attempt was prevented by the following incident. The Marquis, unapprised of the particular situation of his opponent, contrived to send into his camp, a spy to obtain intelligence. A soldier belonging to New-Jersey, by the name of Charles Morgan, generally called Charley, agreed to undertake this hazardous service ; but insisted that, in case he should be discovered and hanged, the Marquis, to secure his reputation, should have it inserted in the New-Jersey paper, that he was employed in the service of his commander. Having reached the royal camp, he was soon introduced into his Lordship's presence, who inquired the reason of his deserting. Charley replied, " that he had been in the continental service from the beginning, and while under Washington, he was well satisfied ; but being now commanded by a Frenchman, he was displeased with it, and had quitted the service." His Lordship commended and rewarded him for his conduct, and Charley soon commenced the double duty of soldier under the English commander, and a spy in the employment of the Marquis, without suspicion. Lord Cornwallis, while in conversation with several of his officers, inquired of Charley, how long a time it would take for the Marquis to cross James River ? Pausing a moment, he replied, " three hours, my Lord." His Lordship exclaimed, " three hours ! it will take three days." " No, my Lord," said Charley, " the Marquis has such a number of boats, and each boat will carry so many men ; if you will please to calculate, you will find he can pass in three hours." His Lordship turning to the officers, said, " the scheme will not do." After having obtained the information required, Morgan began to prepare for a return to the Marquis, and he prevailed with several British soldiers to desert with him. When challenged by the sentinels, he artfully tampered with them by giving them rum, and while drinking he seized their arms and then compelled them to go ; and this brave fellow actually brought off seven deserters to our camp. On his return to head quarters, the Marquis accosted him with " well Charley, have you got back ?" " Yes, please your Excellency, and have brought seven men with me." Having communicated his information, the Marquis offered to reward him, but he declined receiving money, and when it was proposed to promote him to a corporal or sergeant, he replied, " I have ability to discharge the duties of a common soldier, and my character stands fair ; but should I be promoted, I may fail, and lose my reputation."\*

" General Washington, on the very joyful occasion of the capture of Cornwallis, ordered, that those, who were under arrest, should be

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\* Thacher's Journal, p. 359.



pardoned and set at liberty ; and closed his orders in the following pious and impressive manner : " Divine service shall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and divisions. The commander in chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty do assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart, which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of divine Providence in our favour claims." Congress resolved to go in solemn procession to the Dutch Lutheran Church, to return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied arms with success ; and issued a proclamation, appointing the thirteenth day of December " as a day of general thanksgiving and prayer, on account of this signal interposition of divine Providence."

The capture of Lord Cornwallis may be considered as the closing scene of the revolutionary war. Events of less magnitude, that occurred in the course of the year, require less detail. On the night of the first of January, a mutiny broke out in the Pennsylvania line of the continental army, and soon became so universal in the line of that state, as to defy all opposition. A destitution of pay and of suitable clothing was the cause of the mutiny. Congress sent a committee of their body to procure an accommodation. The complaints of the soldiers, being founded in justice, were redressed ; and the revolt was completely quelled. A part of the Jersey troops soon after revolted ; but by prudent and vigorous measures this revolt was seasonably suppressed.

Benedict Arnold, who, after his treachery to his country, had been appointed a brigadier-general in the royal army, made a descent on Virginia in January, with about fifteen hundred men, and committed extensive ravages on the unprotected coasts of that state.\*

While the combined armies were advancing to the siege of Yorktown, General Arnold, who had lately returned from Virginia, was appointed to conduct an expedition against New-London. The troops, employed in this service, were landed on each side of the harbour in two detachments ; the one commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, and the other by General Arnold. New-London is a seaport town, situated near the mouth of the Thames, and on the west side of that river. For the defence of the place, there had been constructed below the town, and on the western side of the harbour, a fort, called Fort Trumbull, with a redoubt ; and opposite to it, on Groton Hill, another fort, called Fort Griswold, a strong square fortification, insufficiently garrisoned. Fort Trumbull, the redoubt, and the town of New-London, being totally untenable, were evacuated on the approach of Arnold, who took possession of them with inconsiderable loss. Fort Griswold was defended by Colonel Ledyard with a garrison of about one hundred and sixty men, some of whom had just evacuated the works on the opposite side of the

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\* Arnold landed his men about fifteen miles below Richmond, and marched into that town on the 5th of January. The public stores and buildings there, and many stores, mills, and vessels in other places, were taken or destroyed.



river. On the rejection of a summons to surrender, the British marched up to the assault on three sides ; and, though the ascent was steep, and a continued fire was directed against them, they at length made a lodgment on the ditch and finished work, and entered the embrasures with charged bayonets. An officer of the conquering troops, on entering the fort, asked who commanded. "I did," answered Colonel Ledyard, "but you do now," and presented him his sword, which was instantly plunged into his own bosom. Although resistance had now ceased, yet, to the indelible infamy of the conquerors, they commenced a merciless slaughter, which "was kept up until the greater part of the garrison was killed or wounded." The town of New-London, and the stores contained in it, were reduced to ashes ; and General Arnold, having completed the object of the expedition, returned in eight days to New-York.\*

The military operations of the year 1782 present little more than a few skirmishes, and predatory excursions, and these were principally confined to the states of South Carolina and Georgia, in which the enemy still maintained a few trifling posts.

"Nothing had occurred north of the Potomac, to interrupt the tranquillity of the year 1782, save only the wanton and atrocious execution of a Captain Huddy, of Jersey. It will be recollected that an association of refugees had been formed in New-York, under the auspices of Sir Henry Clinton, calling themselves the *associated board of loyalists*, by whom depredations and enormities had been committed against their defenceless countrymen, which far outstripped in number and atrocity, the most vindictive cruelties of any other portion of the enemy. The prospect of peace, which filled the breasts of every other class of people in our country, both friends and foes, with joyous anticipations, was to them the harbinger of despair. Disappointed in all their sanguine expectations of arresting the *rebellion* of their countrymen, and conscious that their conduct had excluded them from all claim to mercy at their hands, they saw in the defeat of their ministerial friends, the ruin of their own hopes, and in the desperation of their feelings, they resolved upon plunging into still deeper atrocities, and adding still more deadly injuries to the provocations already given to their countrymen. In this vindictive spirit a party of the loyalists under the direction of a Captain Lippincott, marched over to Jersey, and on *Sunday*, the 24th of March, attacked the block-house on Tom's River, commanded by Captain Joshua Huddy, who after a gallant defence was taken prisoner and carried to New-York, where he was kept in close confinement until the 12th of April.

While he remained in custody, a man by the name of Philip White, was taken by a party of the Jersey people, and killed in attempting to make his escape from the guard. This served as a pretext for revenge, and Captain Huddy was immediately conveyed to

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\* Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 459-61.

the Jersey shore, and without trial, and with every mark of cruel indignity, hanged : the loyalists at the moment of his execution, exclaiming with shouts of savage joy, "*Up goes Huddy for Philip White.*" When this affair was made known, the whole American army cried out for retaliation; and General Washington found himself under the painful necessity of informing Sir Henry Clinton, that unless the murderers of Huddy were given up to justice, a British officer of equal rank should suffer death. For this purpose it became necessary to decide by lot among a number of British prisoners in the American camp, and the chance fell upon Captain Asgill, a young gentleman of family, of high accomplishments and interesting manners. He was immediately put into close custody, and sentence of death passed upon him. A court-martial was in the mean time ordered by Sir Henry Clinton, for the trial of Lippincott, but before its investigations were commenced, Sir Guy Carleton arrived to take the command. From the known humanity of this officer, every thing was expected which could satisfy the claims of justice, and Washington himself hoped that he would be spared the painful task of making the innocent suffer for the guilty. One of Sir Guy's first acts was to break up the associated board of loyalists, and thus put a stop to the insults and cruelties which they were continually practising upon their countrymen. This strongly evinced his disposition to do justice, and when after a long sitting the court-martial acquitted Captain Lippincott of the murder laid to his charge, Sir Guy Carleton forwarded the proceedings to Washington, accompanied with a letter, in which he assured him that notwithstanding the acquittal of Lippincott, a further inquiry should be prosecuted into the measure, which he unequivocally condemned. During all this time, the interest which the fate of Captain Asgill had excited, was gradually extending itself. A pathetic letter was addressed by his mother, Lady Asgill, to the Count de Vergennes, by whom it was communicated to the King and Queen of France, who joined in an appeal to Washington, which the humanity of his feelings could not withstand. If his own heart alone had been consulted, his instant release of the prisoner would have rendered this appeal unnecessary : but the private feelings of Washington were ever subservient to public duty.\*

The two memorials which are subjoined, merit being preserved as historical monuments.

*Letter from Lady Asgill, to the Comte de Vergennes.*

"SIR,—If the politeness of the French court will permit a stranger to address it, it cannot be doubted but that she who unites in herself all the more delicate sensations with which an individual can be penetrated, will be received favourably by a nobleman, who reflects honour not only on his nation, but on human nature. The subject on which I implore your assistance, is too heart-rending to be dwelt on ; most probably, the public report of it has already reached you ; this relieves me from the burthen of so mournful a duty. My son, my only son, dear to me as he is brave, amiable as he is beloved, only nineteen years of age, a prisoner of war, in consequence of the capitulation of Yorktown, is at present confined in America as an object of reprisal.—Shall

\* Allen's Revolution, vol. ii. p. 490-2.



the innocent share the fate of the guilty ? Figure to yourself, Sir, the situation of a family in these circumstances. Surrounded as I am with objects of distress, bowed down by fear and grief, words are wanting to express what I feel, and to paint such a scene of misery : my husband given over by his physicians some hours before the arrival of this news, not in a condition to be informed of it ; my daughter attacked by a fever, accompanied with delirium ; speaking of her brother in tones of wildness, and without an interval of reason, unless it be to listen to some circumstances which may console her heart. Let your sensibility, Sir, paint to you my profound, my inexpressible misery, and plead in my favour ; a word, a word from you, like a voice from Heaven, would liberate us from desolation, from the last degree of misfortune. I know how far General Washington reveres your character. Tell him only that you wish my son restored to liberty, and he will restore him to his desponding family ; he will restore him to happiness. The virtue and courage of my son will justify this act of clemency. His honour, Sir, led him to America ; he was born to abundance, to independence, and to the happiest prospects. Permit me, once more to entreat the interference of your high influence in favour of innocence, and in the cause of justice and humanity. Despatch, Sir, a letter from France to General Washington, and favour me with a copy of it, that it may be transmitted from hence. I feel the whole weight of the liberty taken in presenting this request ; but I feel confident, whether granted or not, that you will pity the distress by which it was suggested ; your humanity will drop a tear on my fault, and blot it out forever

“May that Heaven which I implore, grant that you may never need the consolation which you have it in your power to bestow on

“THERESA ASGILL.”

*Second letter of Lady Asgill to the Comte de Vergennes.*

“SIR,—Exhausted by long suffering, overpowered by an excess of unexpected happiness, confined to my bed by weakness and langour, bent to the earth by what I have undergone, my sensibility alone could supply me with strength sufficient to address you.

“Condescend Sir, to accept this feeble effort of my gratitude. It has been laid at the feet of the Almighty ; and believe me, it has been presented with the same sincerity to you, Sir, and to your illustrious sovereigns ; by their august and salutary intervention, as by your own, a son is restored to me, to whom my own life was attached. I have the sweet assurance, that my vows for my protectors are heard by Heaven, to whom they are ardently offered ; yes, Sir, they will produce their effect before the dreadful and last tribunal, where I indulge in the hope, that we shall both appear together ; you to receive the recompense of your virtues ; myself, that of my sufferings. I will raise my voice before that imposing tribunal, I will call for those sacred registers, in which your humanity will be found recorded. I will pray that blessings may be showered on your head, on him, who, availing himself of the noblest privilege received from God, a privilege no other than divine, has changed misery into happiness, has withdrawn the sword from the innocent head, and restored the worthiest of sons, to the most tender and unfortunate of mothers.

“Condescend, Sir, to accept this last tribute of gratitude due to your virtuous sentiments. Preserve this tribute, and may it go down to your posterity as a testimony of your sublime and exemplary beneficence to a stranger, whose nation was at war with your own ; but these tender affections have not been destroyed by war. May this tribute bear testimony to my gratitude long after the hand that expresses it, with the heart which at this moment only vibrates with the vivacity of grateful sentiments, shall be reduced to dust ; even to the last day of my existence, it shall beat but to offer all the respect and all the gratitude with which it is penetrated.

“THERESA ASGILL.”

“Congress had now taken up the affair, and it became necessary to refer the communications of the Count de Vergennes to their deci-



sion. This he did in a letter from himself, in which he pronounced his opinion on the side of humanity. Congress after some deliberation gave orders for the release of Captain Asgill, and the joyful tidings were communicated to the Captain in a letter from the commander in chief himself, in which he declared that his release was as great a relief to his own feelings, as it could be to those of his prisoner.\*

"The capture of a second British army in America essentially affected the measures of the ministry. It rendered the American war unpopular in Great Britain, and emboldened the minority in parliament more vigorously to oppose its continuance. After repeated but unsuccessful motions against the measures of administration respecting America, it was resolved by the commons, "That the house would consider as enemies to his majesty and the country, all those who should advise or attempt the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America."

Sir Guy Carleton, who had lately been appointed to the command of the royal army in North America, was instructed to use his endeavours for carrying into effect the wishes of Great Britain for an accommodation with the Americans. Commissioners for negotiating peace were soon after appointed. On the part of the United States the commissioners were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens; on the part of Great Britain, Mr. Fitzherbert, and Mr. Oswald. On the thirtieth of November, these commissioners agreed on provisional articles of peace between Great Britain and the United States, which were to be inserted in a future treaty of peace, to be finally concluded between the parties when peace should take place between Great Britain and France. By these articles, the independence of the United States was acknowledged in its fullest extent; and all, that could reasonably be expected by them, was obtained.†

\*Allen's Revolution, vol. ii. p. 492.

† The Definitive Treaty was signed at Paris, September 3, by John Adams, David Hartley, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay. By Article I, his Britannic Majesty acknowledges the United States of America to be free, sovereign, and independent States; treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claim to the government, property, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof.—By Article II, the boundaries of the said States are declared and described from St. Croix in Nova Scotia to Canada, by the lakes and the River Mississippi to East Florida.—By Article III, it is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested, the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all other banks of Newfoundland, also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish.—By Article IV, it is agreed, that the creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted.—By Article V, it is agreed, that congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective States, to provide for the restitution of all confiscated estates, belonging to real British subjects, &c.—By Article VI, it is agreed, that there shall be no future confiscations, &c.—By Article VII, it is agreed, that there shall be a mutual, firm, and perpetual peace, and that his Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, withdraw all his armies, garrisons and fleets from the United States.—By article VIII, the navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, is forever to remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

The military events of this year were inconsiderable. On the twenty-first of May, Colonel Brown having marched out in force from Savannah, General Wayne, rapidly advancing from Ebenezer, got between him and the British garrison in Savannah; attacked him at twelve o'clock at night; and routed his whole party.\*

On the twenty-fourth of June, General Wayne was violently attacked at a plantation about five miles from Savannah, by a large body of Creek Indians, who at first drove his troops, and took two pieces of artillery; but they were soon charged with great spirit, and completely routed. Fourteen Indians and two white men were killed. Emistessigo, a famous Indian chief, was among the slain. The royalists, coming out from Savannah to join the Indians, were driven back by General Wayne, who took one British standard, and one hundred and twenty-seven horses with packs. Of the continentals, five were killed, and eight wounded.

In July, the British evacuated Savannah; and General Wayne soon after took possession of it.

On the twenty-seventh of August, Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, in opposing a foraging party of the British, near Combahee River, in South Carolina, was mortally wounded.

General Leslie, with the royalists, evacuated South Carolina, on the fourteenth of December; and General Wayne, with five thousand continental troops, took possession of Charlestown on the seventeenth.

The independence of America was acknowledged by the United Provinces of Holland on the nineteenth of April. A treaty of amity and commerce was concluded at the Hague between those provinces and the United States of America on the eighth of October.

The British fleet in the West-Indies, under Admiral Sir George B. Rodney, on the twelfth of April gained a complete victory over the French fleet under the Count de Grasse.†

“In December, 1782, the officers of the army being apprehensive that they should be disbanded before their accounts should be liquidated and the engagements of government complied with, resolved to memorialize Congress on the subject, and Major-General McDougall, Colonel Ogden and Colonel Brooks, were deputed as a committee to wait on that honourable body, requesting their attention to the distresses under which the army laboured, and to solicit payment of the money actually due to the army, and security for the

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\* After the reduction of Lord Cornwallis, the Pennsylvania line marched to South Carolina, and this increase of force enabled General Greene to detach General Wayne with a part of his army to Georgia. The action, above related, was fought about four miles to the southwest of Savannah, on the Ogeechee road. The van guard of the Americans, consisting of 60 horse and 40 infantry, was led on by Colonel White of the cavalry, and Captain Parker of the infantry, to a spirited charge, in which 40 of the enemy were killed or wounded, and about 20 taken prisoners. This advantage was gained by the use of the sword and bayonet. The Americans had only 5 privates killed, and 2 wounded.

† Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 463-65.

commutation of half pay, stipulated by the resolve of October, 1780. for a sum in gross, which they conceive would be less objectionable than the half pay establishment. Subsequent to this proceeding, a report was circulated in camp, that Congress did not mean to comply with their resolves respecting half pay, &c. This operated very powerfully on the minds of the officers of the army, and occasioned them to forward an address to Congress, in behalf of themselves, and their brethren, the soldiers. They asked for a supply of money, to be forwarded immediately to the army, for a settlement of the accounts of arrearages of pay, and security for what is due ; for a commutation of half for *full* pay for a certain number of years, or for a sum in gross, as should be agreed on ; for a settlement of accounts, for deficiencies of rations and compensations, and of the deficiencies of clothing and compensations. They conclude their address in these words : "The pressure of evils and injuries in the course of seven long years have made their condition, in many instances, wretched ; they therefore entreat that Congress, to convince the army, and the world, that the independence of America shall not be placed on the ruin of any particular class of citizens, will point out a mode for immediate redress ; and that the disabled officers and soldiers, with the widows and orphans of those who have lost or may lose their lives in the service of their country, may be included, and that some mode be pointed out for the eventual payment of those soldiers, who are the subjects of the resolution of Congress of the 15th of May, 1778." In consequence of this address, Congress passed the following resolves, namely,—

"That the superintendent of finance be directed, conformably to the measures already taken for that purpose, so soon as the state of the public finances will permit, to make such payment, and in such manner as he shall think proper, till the further order of Congress.

"With respect to the second article of the address, the settlement of accounts of the arrearages of pay, that the several states be called on to complete, without delay, the settlements with their respective lines of the army, up to the first day of August, 1780 ; and that the superintendent of finance take such measures, as shall appear to him most proper for effecting the settlement from this period. That the troops of the United States, in common with all creditors of the same, have an undoubted right to expect security, for what shall be found due, and Congress will make every effort in her power, to obtain from the respective states substantial funds, adequate to the object of funding the whole debt of the United States, and will enter on an immediate and full consideration of the nature of such funds, and the most likely mode of obtaining them."

The remainder of the report of the committee, on the subject of the address, was referred to a committee of five.

General McDougall and Colonel Ogden, in a letter to General Knox, made known to the army their success ; and Colonel Brooks returned to camp, to inform them, verbally, of the prospect of commutation, or of obtaining an equivalent for half pay, which they had proposed in their address. General McDougall continued at Con-



gress on the army business, while the impression of the report which occasioned the address to Congress, however false, remained on the minds of some officers ; notwithstanding Congress were doing all that the circumstances of the states would admit, to relieve and satisfy the army.

*March 10th, 1783.*—In the midst of this perturbed state of affairs in camp, and while the day of final separation was supposed to be near at hand, the following anonymous letter, calculated to exasperate the passions of the moment, was privately circulated :—

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

"GENTLEMEN,—A fellow soldier, whose interest and affections bind him strongly to you, whose past sufferings have been as great, and whose future fortune may be as desperate as yours—would beg leave to address you.

"Age has its claims, and rank is not without its pretensions to advise ; but, though unsupported by both, he flatters himself, that the plain language of sincerity and experience will neither be unheard nor unregarded.

"Like many of you he loved private life, and left it with regret. He left it, determined to retire from the field, with the necessity that called him to it, and not till then—not till the enemies of his country, the slaves of power, and the hirelings of injustice, were compelled to abandon their schemes, and acknowledge America as terrible in arms, as she had been humble in remonstrance. With this object in view, he has long shared in your toils and mingled in your dangers. He has felt the cold hand of poverty without a murmur, and has seen the insolence of wealth without a sigh. But, too much under the direction of his wishes, and sometimes weak enough to mistake desire for opinion, he has till lately—very lately, believed in the justice of his country. He hoped, that as the clouds of adversity scattered, and as the sunshine of peace and better fortune broke in on us, the coldness and severity of government would relax, and that more than justice, that gratitude would blaze forth on those hands which had upheld her, in the darkest stages of her passage from impending servitude to acknowledged independence. But faith has its limits, as well as temper, and there are points beyond which neither can be stretched, without sinking into cowardice, or plunging into credulity. This, my friends, I conceive to be your situation,—hurried to the very edge of both, another step would ruin you forever. To be tame and unprovoked when injuries press hard on you, is more than weakness ; but to look up for kinder usage, without one manly effort of your own, would fix your character, and show the world how richly you deserve those chains you broke. To guard against this evil, let us take a review of the ground on which we now stand, and thence carry our thoughts forward for a moment, into the unexplored field of experiment.

"After a pursuit of seven long years, the object for which we set out is at length brought within our reach—yes, my friends, that suffering courage of yours was active once,—it has conducted the United States of America through a doubtful and bloody war. It has placed her in the chair of independency, and peace returns again to bless—who ? A country willing to redress your wrongs, cherish your worth and reward your services ? A country courting your return to private life, with tears of gratitude, and smiles of admiration, longing to divide with you that independency which your gallantry has given, and those riches which your wounds have preserved ? Is this the case ? or is it rather a country that tramples on your rights, disdains your cries, and insults your distresses ? Have you not more than once suggested your wishes, and made known your wants to Congress ? wants and wishes which gratitude and policy should have anticipated rather than evaded ; and have you not lately, in the meek language of entreating memorials, begged from their justice, what

you could no longer expect from their favour? How have you been answered? Let the letter which you are called to consider to-morrow reply.

"If this then be your treatment, while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America; what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division? when those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction be left but your wants, infirmities and scars? Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honour? If you can—go—and carry with you the jest of Tories and the scorn of Whigs—the ridicule, and what is worse, the pity of the world. Go, starve, and be forgotten! But if your spirit should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit enough to oppose tyranny under whatever garb it may assume; whether it be the plain coat of republicanism, or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have not yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles—awake; attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain; and your threats then, will be as empty as your entreaties now.

"I would advise you, therefore, to come to some final opinion on what you can bear, and what you will suffer. If your determination be in any proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal to the justice, to the fears of government. Change the milk and water style of your last memorial; assume a bolder tone—decent, but lively, spirited and determined, and suspect the man who would advise to more moderation and longer forbearance. Let two or three men, who can feel as well as write, be appointed to draw up your *last remonstrance*; for I would no longer give it the suing, soft, unsuccessful epithet of memorial. Let it be represented in language that will neither dishonour you by its rudeness, nor betray you by its fears, what has been promised by Congress, and what has been performed—how long and how patiently you have suffered—how little you have asked, and how much of that little has been denied. Tell them, that, though you were the first, and would wish to be the last to encounter danger, though despair itself can never drive you into dishonour, it may drive you from the field; that the wound often irritated, and never healed, may at length become incurable; and that the slightest mark of indignity from Congress now must operate like the grave, and part you forever; that in any political event, the army has its alternative. If peace, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death; if war, that courting the auspices, and inviting the directions of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some unsettled country, smile in your turn, and "mock when their fear cometh." But let it represent also, that should they comply with the request of your late memorial, it would make you more happy, and them more respectable. That while war should continue, you would follow their standard into the field, and when it came to an end you would withdraw into the shade of private life, and give the world another subject of wonder and applause; an army victorious over its enemies—victorious over itself."

Alarmed and distressed, says Dr. Thacher, with this vile attempt to stimulate the army to rash and dangerous proceedings, the Commander in Chief noticed in general orders the anonymous address with his pointed disapprobation, and with the view of counteracting its effects requested that the general and field officers, and one from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army, would assemble on the 15th instant, to hear the report of the

committee deputed by the army to Congress. The next day a second anonymous paper from the same pen appeared as follows:—

“ Till now, the Commander in Chief has regarded the steps you have taken for redress with good wishes alone ; his ostensible silence has authorized your meetings, and his private opinion sanctified your claims. Had he disliked the object in view, would not the same sense of duty which forbade you from meeting on the third day of the week, have forbidden you from meeting on the seventh ? Is not the same subject held up for your discussion ? and has it not passed the seal of office, and taken all the solemnity of an order ? this will give system to your proceedings, and stability to your resolves. It will ripen speculation into fact, and while it adds to the unanimity, it cannot possibly lessen the independency of your sentiments. It may be necessary to add on this subject, that, from the injunction with which the general orders close, every man is at liberty to conclude that the report to be made to head quarters is intended for Congress. Hence will arise another motive for that energy which has been recommended ; for, can you give the lie to the pathetic descriptions, and the more alarming predictions of our friends ?”\*

On the 15th instant, the convention of officers assembled, and General Gates presided. The Commander in Chief delivered to them the following very interesting and feeling address :—

“ GENTLEMEN,—By an anonymous summons an attempt has been made to convene you together. How inconsistent with the rules of propriety, how unmilitary, and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army decide.

“ In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was sent into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions, than to the judgment of the army. The author of the piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen ; and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart ; for, as men see through different optics, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind, to use different means to attain the same end, the author of the address should have had more clarity than to ‘ mark for suspicion the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance ;’ or in other words, who should not think as he thinks, and act as he advises. But he had another plan in view, in which candour and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice, and love of country, have no part ; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to effect the blackest design. That the address was drawn with great art, and is designed to answer the most insidious pur-

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\* With respect to the author of the Newburgh anonymous letters, suspicion has ever rested on John Armstrong, who, at the time of their appearance, was a major in the army, and for some time aid de camp to Major-General Gates. Though many circumstances conspired to fix this suspicion on Major Armstrong and a few confederates, the real fact has never been established till recently. In the last number of the *United States Magazine*, published in New-York, General Armstrong has announced himself to be the author of these notorious letters. In justification of his motives he maintains “ that they were written by himself at the solicitation of his friends as the chosen organ to express the sentiments of the officers of the army, and were only an *honest and manly*, though perhaps an indiscreet endeavour to support public credit and do justice to a long suffering, patient, and gallant soldiery.” In the same publication, General Armstrong has thought proper to risk his reputation on the bold and unqualified assertion, that the *slander* propagated and believed for half a century, that two distinguished officers of the revolution had conspired to put down the Commander in Chief, is an *impudent and vile falsehood from beginning to end*.



poses ; that it is calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief ; that the secret mover of this scheme, whoever he may be, intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed by the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool, deliberative thinking, and that composure of mind, which is so necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvious, by the mode of conducting the business, to need other proof than a reference to the proceedings.

" Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to show on what principles I opposed the irregular and hasty meeting which was proposed to have been held on Tuesday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity, consistently with your own honour, and the dignity of the army, to make known your grievances. If my conduct heretofore has not evinced to you, that I have been a faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country ; as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty ; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel and acknowledge your merits ; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army ; as my heart has ever expanded with joy when I have heard its praises, and my indignation has arisen when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it ; it can scarcely be supposed, at this last stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted ? The way is plain, says the anonymous addresser. ' If war continues, remove into the unsettled country ; there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself !' But who are they to defend ? our wives, our children, our farms, and other property, which we leave behind us ? or in this state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first, the latter cannot be removed, to perish in a wilderness, with hunger, cold and nakedness ?

" ' If peace takes place, never sheath your swords,' says he, ' till you have obtained full and ample justice.' This dreadful alternative, of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless Congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity revolts at the idea. My God ! what can this writer have in view, by recommending such measures ? Can he be a friend to the army ? Can he be a friend to this country ? rather, is he not an insidious foe ; some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent ? And what a compliment does he pay our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature ? But here, gentlemen, I will drop the curtain, because it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either proposal into execution. There might, gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice, in this address to you, of an anonymous production ; but the manner in which this performance has been introduced to the army ; the effect it was intended to have, together with some other circumstances, will amply justify my observations on the tendency of this writing.

" With respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man who shall recommend moderate measures, and longer forbearance, I spurn it, as every man who regards that liberty, and reveres that justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must ; for if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to

us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent, we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter. I cannot in justice to my own belief, and what I have great reason to conceive is the intention of Congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion, that, that honourable body entertain exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and from a full conviction of its merits and sufferings, will do it complete justice. That their endeavours to discover and establish funds for this purpose, have been unwearied, and will not cease till they have succeeded, I have not a doubt.

“But like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, their determinations are slow. Why then should we distrust them? and in consequence of this distrust, adopt measures which may cast a shade over that glory which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which is celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? And for what is this done? to bring the object we seek nearer? No, most certainly, in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself, and I take no merit in giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity and justice, and a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me, a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you, under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army I have so long had the honour to command, will oblige me to declare in this public and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe my country, and those powers we are bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost extent of my abilities.

“While I give you these assurances, and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner, to exert whatever abilities I am possessed of in your favour, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures, which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity, and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained. Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress; that previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago; and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honour; as you respect the rights of humanity; and as you regard the military and national character of America; to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man, who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country; and who wickedly attempts to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood.

“By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism, and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind—had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.”

Having finished his incomparable and very efficacious address, his Excellency withdrew, and the Convention unanimously resolved to present him their thanks, and that he be assured, “that the officers reciprocate his affectionate expressions with the greatest sincerity of which the human heart is capable.” After which, General Knox,

Colonel Brooks, and Captain Howard were appointed a committee to prepare resolutions expressive of the business of the convention, and to report in half an hour. They reported, and the convention—

“Resolved unanimously, that, at the commencement of the present war, the officers of the American army engaged in the service of their country from the purest love and attachment to the rights and liberties of human nature ; which motives still exist in the highest degree ; and that no circumstances of distress or danger shall induce a conduct that may tend to sully the reputation and glory which they have acquired, at the price of their blood, and eight years faithful services.

“Resolved unanimously, that the army continue to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their country, and are fully convinced that the representatives of America will not disband or disperse the army, till their accounts are liquidated, the balances accurately ascertained, and adequate funds established for payment ; and in this arrangement, the officers expect that the half pay, or a commutation for it, should be efficaciously comprehended.

“Resolved unanimously, that his Excellency, the Commander in Chief, be requested to write to his Excellency, the President of Congress, earnestly entreating the most speedy decision of that honourable body, on the subject of our late address, which was forwarded by a committee of the army, some of whom are waiting on Congress for the result. In the alternative of peace or war, this event would be highly satisfactory, and would produce immediate tranquillity in the minds of the army, and prevent any further machinations of designing men to sow discord between the civil and military powers of the United States.

“On motion, resolved unanimously, that the officers of the American army view with abhorrence, and reject with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army, and resent with indignation the secret attempts of some unknown persons to collect the officers together, in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order.

“Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of the officers of the army be given to the committee who presented to Congress the late address of the army, for the wisdom and prudence with which they have conducted that business ; and that a copy of the proceedings of this day be transmitted by the president to Major General McDougall ; and that he be requested to continue his solicitations at Congress, till the objects of his mission are accomplished.”

The result of the foregoing proceedings, was, by the Commander in Chief, transmitted to Congress, accompanied by an impressive letter, of which the following is an extract.

“That in the critical and perilous moment when the last mentioned communication was made, there was the utmost danger that a dissolution of the army would have taken place, unless measures similar to those recommended, had been adopted, will not admit of a doubt. That the adoption of the resolution granting half pay for life, has been attended with all the happy consequences I had foretold, so far as respected the good of the service, let the astonishing contrast between the state of the army at this instant, and at the former period determine.

“And that the establishment of funds, and security of the payment of all the just demands of the army will be the most certain means of preserving the national faith and future tranquillity of this extensive continent, is my decided



opinion. By the preceding remarks, it will readily be imagined, that instead of retracting and reprobending. from further experience and reflection, the mode of compensation so strenuously urged in the enclosures. I am more and more confirmed in the sentiment, and if in the wrong, suffer me to please myself with the grateful delusion. For if besides the simple payment of their wages, a further compensation is not due to the sufferings and sacrifices of the officers, then have I been mistaken indeed. If the whole army have not merited whatever a grateful people can bestow, then have I been beguiled by prejudice, and built opinion on the basis of error. If this country should not in the event perform every thing which has been requested in the late memorials to Congress, then will my belief become vain, and the hope that has been excited void of foundation. And if, as has been suggested for the purpose of inflaming their passions, the officers of the army are to be the only sufferers by this revolution, if, retiring from the field, they are to grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt; if they are to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honour, then shall I have learned what ingratitude is, then shall I have realized a tale which will embitter every moment of my future life. But I am under no such apprehensions; a country rescued by their arms from impending ruin, will never leave unpaid the debt of gratitude.

G. WASHINGTON."

*March 22d.*—Congress at length came to the following resolutions:—

"Whereas the officers of the several lines under the immediate command of his Excellency General Washington, did by their late memorial transmitted, represent to Congress, that the half pay granted by sundry resolutions was regarded in an unfavourable light by the citizens of some of the states, who would prefer a compensation for a limited term of years, or by a sum in gross, to an establishment for life; and did on this account solicit a commutation of their half pay for an equivalent, in one of the modes abovementioned, in order to remove all subjects of dissatisfaction from the minds of their fellow citizens: And whereas Congress are desirous, as well of gratifying the reasonable expectations of the officers of the army, as of removing all objections which may exist in any part of the United States to the principles of the half pay establishment, for which the faith of the United States has been pledged; persuaded that these objections can only arise from the nature of the compensation, not from any indisposition to compensate those whose services, sacrifices, and sufferings, have so justly a title to the approbation and rewards of their country:

"Therefore resolved, that such officers as are now in service, and shall continue therein to the end of the war, shall be entitled to receive the amount of five years full pay in money, or securities on interest at six per cent. per annum, as Congress shall find most convenient, instead of the half pay promised for life, by the resolution of the 21st day of October, 1780, the said securities to be such, as shall be given to the creditors of the United States. Provided that it be at the option of the lines of the respective states, to accept or refuse the same. And provided also, that their election shall be signified to Congress, through the Commander in Chief, from the lines under his immediate command within two months; and through the commanding officer of the southern army, from those under his command, within six months, from the date of this resolution.

"That the same computation shall extend to the corps not belonging to the lines of particular states, and who are entitled to half pay for life as aforesaid; the acceptance or refusal to be determined by corps, and to be signified in the same manner, and within the same time as abovementioned.

"That all officers belonging to the hospital department, who are entitled to half pay by the resolution of the 17th day of January, 1781, may collectively

agree to accept, or refuse the aforesaid commutation, signifying the same through the Commander in Chief, within six months from this time.

"That such officers as have retired at different periods, entitled to half pay for life, may, collectively in each state, in which they are inhabitants, accept or refuse the same; their acceptation or refusal to be signified by agents, authorized for this purpose, within six months from this period. That with respect to such retiring officers, the commutation, if accepted by them, shall be in lieu of whatever may be now due to them, since the time of their retiring from service, as well as of what might hereafter become due, and that as soon as their acceptance shall be signified, the superintendent of finance be, and he is hereby, directed to take measures for the settlement of their accounts accordingly, and to issue to them certificates bearing interest at six per cent.

"That all officers entitled to half pay for life, not included in the preceding resolution, may also collectively agree to accept, or refuse the aforesaid commutation, signifying the same within six months from this time."

*April 18th.*—The Commander in Chief thus addressed the army on the cessation of hostilities:—

"The Commander in Chief orders the cessation of hostilities, between the United States of America and the King of Great Britain, to be publicly proclaimed to-morrow at twelve o'clock, at the New Building; and that the proclamation which will be communicated herewith, be read to-morrow evening, at the head of every regiment and corps of the army; after which, the chaplains, with the several brigades, will render thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his overruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations."

"The Commander in Chief, far from endeavouring to stifle the feelings of joy in his own bosom, offers his most cordial congratulations on the occasion, to all the officers of every denomination—to all the troops of the United States in general, and in particular to those gallant and persevering men who had resolved to defend the rights of their invaded country so long as the war should continue; for these are the men who ought to be considered as the pride and boast of the American army, and who, crowned with well earned laurels, may soon withdraw from the field of glory, to the more tranquil walks of civil life.

"While the general recollects the almost infinite variety of scenes through which we have passed, with a mixture of pleasure, astonishment, and gratitude—while he contemplates the prospects before us with rapture,—he cannot help wishing that all the brave men, of whatever condition they may be, who have shared in the toils and dangers of effecting this glorious revolution, of rescuing millions from the hand of oppression, and of laying the foundation of a great empire, might be impressed with a proper idea of the dignified part they have been called to act, under the smiles of Providence, on the stage of human affairs; for happy, thrice happy, shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous *fabric of Freedom and Empire*, on the broad basis of independency; who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and establishing an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions.

"The glorious task for which we first flew to arms, being thus accomplished,—the liberties of our country being fully acknowledged and firmly secured, by the smiles of Heaven on the purity of our cause, and the honest exertions of a feeble people, determined to be free, against a powerful nation disposed to oppress them; and the character of those who have persevered through every extremity of hardship, suffering and danger, being immortalized by the illustrious appellation of the *Patriot Army*,—nothing now remains but for the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect, unvarying consistency of character through the very last act; to close the drama with applause; and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men, which have crowned all their former virtuous actions.



\* For this purpose, no disorder or licentiousness must be tolerated ; every considerate and well disposed soldier must remember it will be absolutely necessary to wait with patience, till peace shall be declared, or Congress shall be enabled to take proper measures for the security of the public stores, &c. So soon as these arrangements shall be made, the general is confident there will be no delay in discharging, with every mark of distinction and honour, all the men enlisted for the war, who will then have faithfully performed their engagements with the public. The general has already interested himself in their behalf ; and he thinks he need not repeat the assurances of his disposition to be useful to them on the present, and every other proper occasion. In the mean time, he is determined that no military neglects or excesses shall go unpunished, while he retains the command of the army.

"The adjutant-general will have such working parties detailed to assist in making the preparation for a general rejoicing as the chief engineer, with the army, shall call for ; and the quarter-master-general will also furnish such materials as he may want. The quarter-master-general will, without delay, procure such a number of discharges to be printed as will be sufficient for all the men enlisted for the war ; he will please to apply to head quarters for the form.

"An extra ration of liquor to be issued to every man to-morrow, to drink perpetual peace, independence and happiness to the United States of America."

The officers of the army, by their committee, prepared the following address to the commander in chief :—

"SIR,—It is difficult for us to express the regret we feel at being obliged again to solicit your Excellency's attention and patronage. Next to the anguish which the prospect of our own wretchedness excites in our breasts, is the pain which arises from the knowledge of your anxiety on account of those men who have been the sharers of your fortunes, and have had the honour of being your companions through the various vicissitudes of the war. Nothing, therefore, but necessity, could induce us to a representation which we know must give you concern.

"Your Excellency has so intimate a knowledge of the condition of the army, as to render a particular delineation unnecessary. As you have been a witness of our sufferings during a war uncommon in its nature, and unparalleled in many circumstances attending it ; so you are now, Sir, no less a witness of the unequal burden which has fallen on us, from the want of that provision, to which, from our assiduous and unremitting services, we conceive we are entitled. Having recently expressed our sense of what was due to our distress ; having repeated to your Excellency the confidence we had, that our accounts would be liquidated, the balances ascertained, and adequate funds provided for payment, previous to our being dispersed or disbanded ; having seen with pleasure, the approbation which Congress gave our reliance, it is with a mixture of astonishment and chagrin that we view the late resolve of Congress, by which the soldiers for the war, and a proportionate number of officers, are to be furloughed without any one of those important objects being accomplished ; and, to complete the scene of woe, are to be compelled to leave the army without the means of defraying the debts we have necessarily incurred in the course of service, or even of gratifying those menials in the pittance which is their due ; much less to carry with us that support and comfort to our families, of which, from our long military services they have been deprived. No less exposed to the insults of the meanest followers of the army, than to the arrests of the sheriff—deprived of the ability to assist our families, and without an evidence that any thing is due to us for our services, and consequently without the least prospect of obtaining credit for even a temporary subsistence, till we can get into business,—to what quarter can we look ? We take the liberty to say this, Sir, only to your Excellency ; and, from the sincerity of our hearts, we do it no less from a persuasion of the efficacy of your further efforts in our favour, than from the kind assurances you have been pleased to give us of your support.



"To your Excellency, then, we make one appeal, and in the most solemn manner, from that abhorrence of oppression and injustice which first unsheathed our swords; from the remembrance of the common dangers through which we have passed; and from the recollection of those astonishing events, which have been effected by our united efforts,—permit us to solicit your further aid, and to entreat that the order of the 2d instant, founded on the act of Congress of the 26th of May last, may be suspended or varied in its operation, so far as that no officer or soldier be obliged to receive a furlough till that honourable body can be apprized of the wretched situation into which the army must be plunged by a conformity to it; that your Excellency will endeavour to prevail on Congress,—nay, that on the principles of common justice, you will insist that neither officer nor soldier be compelled to leave the field till a liquidation of accounts can be effected, till the balances are ascertained, certificates for the sums due, given, including the commutation of half pay to the officers and gratuity of eighty dollars to the soldiers; and till a supply of money can be furnished, sufficient to carry us from the field of glory, with honour to ourselves and credit to our country. We still wish to believe, that that country, to which we have been so long devoted, will never look with indifference, on the distresses of those of her sons, who have so essentially contributed to the establishment of freedom, the security of property, and the rearing of an empire.

"In the name and behalf of the generals and officers commanding regiments and corps, in the cantonment on Hudson's River,

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

W. HEATH, Major General, *President*.

*July 5th, 1783."*

To the foregoing address General Washington was pleased to make an affectionate reply, in which among other things he observes, that as furloughs in all services are considered as a matter of indulgence and not of compulsion,—as Congress, he is persuaded, entertain the best disposition towards the army—and as he apprehends in a short time the two principal articles of complaint will be removed—he will not hesitate to comply with the wishes of the army with respect to furloughs, &c. He cannot but hope, he observes, that the notes will soon arrive and that the settlement of accounts may be completed in a very few days. In the mean time he shall have the honour of laying the sentiments of the generals and officers before Congress; they are expressed in so decent, candid and affecting a manner, that he is certain every mark of attention will be paid to them. In his letter to the President of Congress enclosing the address of the officers, and his answer, his Excellency observes:—

"These enclosures will explain the distresses which resulted from the measures now carrying into execution, in consequence of the resolution of the 26th of May; but the sensibility, occasioned by a parting scene, under such peculiar circumstances, will not admit of description! While I consider it a tribute of justice, on this occasion to mention the temperate and orderly behaviour of the whole army, and particularly the accommodating spirit of the officers, in arranging themselves to the command of the battalions, which will be composed of the three years' men; permit me to recall to mind, all their former sufferings and merits, and to recommend their reasonable request, to the early and favourable notice of Congress."

19th.—On the completion of eight years, from the memorable battle of Lexington, the proclamation of the Congress for a cessation of hostilities, was published at the door of the public building,

followed by three huzzas, after which, a prayer was offered to the Almighty Ruler of the world, by the Rev. Mr. Ganno, and an anthem was performed, by voices and instruments.

On the second of November, 1783, General Washington issued his farewell orders to the armies of the United States. Having taken notice of the proclamation of Congress, of October 18th, he said,

"It only remains for the Commander in Chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States, however widely dispersed the individuals who composed them may be, and to bid them an affectionate, a long farewell. But before the Commander in Chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past. He will then take the liberty of exploring with his military friends their future prospects,—of advising the general line of conduct, which in his opinion, ought to be pursued, and he will conclude the address by expressing the obligations he feels himself under, for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

"A contemplation of the complete attainment, at a period earlier than could have been expected, of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The signal interpositions of Providence, in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving; while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle." His closing words are, "and being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time, of the military character, and to bid adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer in their behalf his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours both here and hereafter attend those, who, under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes, and this benediction, the Commander in Chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed forever."

The definitive treaty of peace was signed on the 23d of September, and Congress, having ratified it, they issued a proclamation to disband their army. The proclamation purports, "that part of the army which stood engaged to serve during the war, and by several acts of Congress had been furloughed, should be absolutely discharged after the 3d of November from said service, and that the further service in the field of the officers deranged, and on furlough, are now dispensed with, and they have permission to retire from service, no more to be called to command, &c." In their proclamation, Congress give their thanks to the army for their exertions in the cause of America, and the common rights of mankind. The mode of disbanding the army, was well calculated to prevent any disorders, which might have been the consequence of dismissing a large number of men in a body. The advice of their beloved Commander in Chief, and the resolves of Congress to pay and compensate them in such manner as the ability of the United States would permit, operated

to keep them quiet and prevent tumult. Painful indeed, was the parting scene, no description can be adequate to the tragic exhibition. Both officers and soldiers, long unaccustomed to the affairs of private life, turned loose on the world, to starve, and to become a prey to vulture speculators. Never can that melancholy day be forgotten, when friends, companions for seven long years in joy, and in sorrow, were torn asunder, without the hope of ever meeting again, and with prospects of a miserable subsistence in future. Among other incidents peculiarly affecting on this occasion, were the lamentations of women and children, earnestly entreating that those with whom they had been connected in the character of husband and father, would not withdraw from them the hand of kindness and protection, and leave them in despair; but in several instances, the reply was, "no, we took you as *companions during the war*, and now we are destitute of the means of support, and you must provide for yourselves."

*November 25th.*—The British army evacuated New-York, and the American troops, under General Knox, took possession of the city. Soon after, General Washington and Governor Clinton, with their suite, made their public entry into the city on horseback, followed by the lieutenant governor, and the members of council, for the temporary government of the southern district, four abreast. General Knox, and the officers of the army, eight abreast; citizens on horseback, eight abreast—the speaker of the assembly, and citizens on foot, eight abreast. The governor gave a public dinner, at which the Commander in Chief, and other general officers were present. The arrangements for the whole business were so well made, and executed, that the most admirable tranquillity succeeded through the day and night. On Monday the governor gave an elegant entertainment to the French ambassador, the Chevalier de la Luzerne; General Washington, the principal officers of New-York state, and of the army, and upwards of a hundred gentlemen were present. Magnificent fireworks, infinitely exceeding every thing of the kind before seen in the United States, were exhibited at the Bowling Green, in Broadway, on the evening of Tuesday, in celebration of the definitive treaty of peace. They commenced by a dove descending with the *olive branch*, and setting fire to a marion battery. On Tuesday noon, December 4th, the principal officers of the army assembled at Francis' tavern, to take a final leave of their much loved Commander in Chief. Soon after, his Excellency entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass, he turned to them and said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." Having drank, he added, "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you, if each of you will come and take me by the hand." General Knox being nearest, turned to him. Incapable of utter-



ance, Washington, *in tears*, grasped his hand, embraced and kissed him. In the same affectionate manner, he took leave of each succeeding officer. In every eye was the tear of dignified sensibility, and not a word was articulated to interrupt the eloquent silence, and tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room, he passed through the corps of light infantry, and walked to White Hall, where a barge waited to convey him to Paulus' Hook. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with dejected countenances, testifying feelings of delicious melancholy, which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and waving his hat, bid them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment, and after the barge had left them, returned in the same solemn manner, to the place where they had assembled. The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated than in this interesting and distressful scene.

General Washington now repaired to Annapolis, where Congress were in session, to whom he resigned his commission, which, eight years before, he had received from this honourable body. On the 23d of December, the day appointed for the very interesting transaction, a vast concourse of spectators attended. The gallery was filled with a group of ladies, and some graced the floor of Congress. The governor, council, and legislature of Maryland, several general officers, the consul general of France, and numerous citizens of Annapolis were present. Congress were seated and covered, as representatives of the sovereignty of the union; the spectators were uncovered and standing. The general was introduced to a chair by the secretary, who, after a decent interval ordered silence. A short pause ensued, when the honourable Thomas Mifflin, the president, informed the general that "the United States, in Congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communications." On which he rose with dignity, and delivered this address.

"MR. PRESIDENT,—The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I now have the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands, the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States, of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities, to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded, by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations,—my gratitude for the interpositions of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increase with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I respect my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings, not to acknowledge in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons, who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers, to compose my family, should have been more fortunate. Permit me, Sir, to recom-

mend in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country, to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

This address being ended, General Washington advanced and delivered his commission into the hands of the President of Congress, who replied as follows:—

"The United States in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war.

"Called on by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.

"You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power, through all disasters and changes. You have by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity; you have persevered till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled under a just Providence, to close the war in safety, freedom, and independency; on which happy event, we sincerely join you in congratulations.

"Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world; having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessings of your fellow citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves, with the interest of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

"We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation; and for you we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved, may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be happy, as they have been illustrious, and that he will finally give you that reward, which this world cannot give."\*

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\* Thacher's Military Journal, page 394—426.

## CHAPTER V.

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A CONCISE VIEW OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, WITH ITS ADVANTAGES CONTRASTED WITH OTHER FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

IT is a problem, concerning which politicians and men of science, have essentially differed, what is the importance of the mere forms of government, and how far they contribute to the liberty and stability of a state. Some have considered that civil liberty and social happiness, depend almost entirely on the form of government, whilst others viewing the subject in a different light, regard the form of government as wholly immaterial, and attribute the order and happiness of a nation to the intelligence and habits of the people, and the wisdom and virtues of its rulers. This idea has been happily expressed in the persuasive language of poetry :

“For forms of government let fools contest,  
Whate’er is best administer’d is best.”

At the present day, it would be trifling, to attempt to refute a proposition so essentially and obviously fallacious : it would be scarcely less absurd to maintain that the course of the seasons, and the delightful changes of climate, or of heat and cold which attend them, and the progress of vegetation, are wholly independent of the influence of the sun, and produced entirely by certain inherent qualities in the earth or atmosphere, than to contend that civil order and social happiness are not at all affected by the form of civil government.

And it may be remarked, that there is a fallacy even in the very terms in which the opinion is expressed. The word *form*, is frequently used in contradistinction to the word *substance* ; and in which case the form of a thing may be immaterial : but when applied to government, this expression signifies something very different : if form of government means any thing, it must mean the frame, outline or constitution of government. Form of government therefore, signifies, the kind or description of government ; to speak of two governments of the same kind or description, but with different forms, would be an absurdity in terms. The proposition therefore is, that every kind of government, as a monarchy and democracy, are essentially the same, or that their advantages and disadvantages are equally balanced, and that one is as conducive to civil liberty and stability as the other ; the only difference being in the *manner* in which they are administered. If this proposition is not self-evidently false, it is difficult to conceive of one that is. What is government ?



It is power or force, applied to a certain object ; and the administration of government is the exercise of this power. This power is of different kinds, and exists in different forms or modifications ; but in all cases it must be essentially of one of two kinds, either *physical* or *moral* ; and hence governments are most naturally and properly divided into two classes, those in which the power is essentially physical, and those in which it is essentially moral : the latter is a government of reason in which the “just powers of the government are derived from the consent of the governed,” and are exercised in conformity to their will, constitutionally expressed ; the former consists of the exertion of actual or physical force in opposition to the will of the governed, and in constraint thereof. It is true that in every form of civil polity, the two qualities here noticed must exist in some degree ; yet the influence of one or the other, predominates and constitutes the *principle* of the government.

A more just definition of a *free government*, has not, perhaps, been given, than that by a distinguished American,\* namely that it is the substitution of moral for physical force. The principle of government, and the form or frame of it, are not convertible terms, for on the same principle, the structure of the fabric admits of many varieties. In a government, the principle of which is reason, the frame may be extensively varied, and diversified ; but there is a limit beyond which it cannot proceed : hence an absolute monarchy, or aristocracy, is entirely inconsistent with a government of reason, and will only admit of the principle of actual force ; such a government must almost necessarily possess a military character, as where the *will* of one man constitutes the supreme law, it will be in opposition to the *will* of the governed, and can only be enforced by the terrors of the sword. The frame of government, consists of the arrangement and adjustment of its powers, and the manner in which they are to be exercised. In modern language, this is called a constitution ; and emanating directly or indirectly from the people, and in the same manner sanctioned by them, it is an authority above the legislature, or the law-making power, in whatever hands that may be confided, and cannot be abrogated or altered by the legislative power, but on the contrary, is binding upon it, prescribes its limits, and the extent of its authority, and regulates its conduct. The constitutional law, according to the sentiments of all enlightened politicians, at the present day, and the general understanding of the people in this country, constitutes the supreme authority in a state, and is above the reach of the ordinary legislature, and as much binding thereon, as it is on individuals, and instead of their having the power to alter, or in any way vary its provisions, if any law, or act of theirs, is repugnant thereto, it is absolutely void. This may truly be said to be the authority of law, in contradistinction to that of man ; the constitutional law is a rule for the state, in its corporate capacity,

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\* The late Joel Barlow.

and for the governors, as the officers of that corporation, as much as the law of the ordinary legislature is a rule for the people, in their individual capacity. The people in the United States, at the present day, are so familiar with these ideas, and in general entertain such clear and distinct notions, as to the distinction between constitutional law, and that of the ordinary legislature, and have heard so much said about constitutional and unconstitutional laws, it is scarcely recollected, that this doctrine is of recent date, and for which the world is indebted to America ; for, if it did not originate in this country, it was here that it was first reduced to practice, exemplified, and its utility and practicability fully established. The ancients had not even a conception of constitutional principles, as they are here understood, and hence the word *constitution*, as Mr. Jefferson has fully demonstrated, signified the same as *statute*, *law*, or *ordinance* ; and these were synonymous and convertible terms, and so used by all former writers on government, both Roman and British. And before the terms of the civil law were introduced into Britain, the corresponding Saxon words *bid* and *set*, were used by our Saxon ancestors. It is true that in Great Britain, all classes speak of a constitution, as frequently as is done here ; and likewise of certain principles, acts, and historic events, as forming, and being a part of their constitution. They have had their magna charta, their bill of rights ; their petition of rights ; their conventional Parliaments ; acts establishing and regulating the descent of the crown ; acts of union ; triennial and septennial acts, &c. ; by which certain principles are considered as being incorporated into the government, or established in such a manner, as that they are not to be abrogated or altered by Parliament. Yet nevertheless, it is a maxim which is insisted on by their ablest political writers and jurists, that Parliament is omnipotent, and can do any thing which is not physically or morally impracticable. And it is a clear and just principle, that a subsequent Parliament possesses the same powers as a prior Parliament, and can repeal, abrogate, or qualify their statutes ; and even a subsequent act, without containing any express repeal of a former statute, if repugnant thereto, abrogates the prior law, as it is a maxim in the English law, that. *Leges posteriores priores contrarius abrogant*. It is difficult to reconcile the principle of the omnipotence of Parliament with the idea of a constitution, which is not only of higher authority than any act of the legislature, but binding on them, and a rule to regulate their conduct. The notion of the omnipotence of Parliament, supposes that it can annihilate itself, alter the principles on which it is constituted, destroy or alter the co-ordinate branches of government, the executive and judiciary, by vesting their powers in different bodies, modifying and restricting them, as they pleased, or assuming them themselves. It is apparent, that many of these acts would be wholly repugnant to the prevailing opinions, as to the constitution of government in that country ; and indeed repugnant to

the idea of *fixed principles* of government of any kind. The advocates of the British system, must either abandon the principle of the absolute power of Parliament, or relinquish all pretensions to a constitution, or any fixed principles of government.

But it is very evident, that as long as the present form of government exists, Parliament does not possess or exercise absolute authority, for if it did, that form of government would be ipse facto, destroyed; for although the English system does not comprise a constitution, according to American ideas, yet it is a government constituted and administered according to certain *fixed principles*, which possess an authority and stability, paramount to an act of Parliament. The most important of these, are a separation of the different powers of government, and the confiding of those powers to a distinct and separate magistracy, the extent and limits of these powers, relative to each other, and the principles on which the legislative department is constituted. These principles cannot be altered without changing the form or theory of the government; they must therefore partake of the nature of constitutional law, and constitute the frame or outline of the system of civil polity.

But the English constitution, both as to the origin and nature of it, is essentially different from the constitution of the United States, or the individual states. The basis of the English system, is the division, adjustment, and balance of power, between what is called the three estates of the kingdom, consisting of the king, lords, and commons, or king, nobility, and people. Their system, therefore, has for its basis, *social distinctions*, and recognizes not only the justness and propriety of these distinctions, but also the separate rights and privileges which appertain to these different and artificial classes, into which society is divided, and attempts to maintain and preserve their separate rights and privileges, by a distribution and balance of the powers of government between them. The basis of their system is the *inequality*, and the basis of ours is the *equality*, of mankind, in their social character and relations, as well as in their natural rights. Their system is designed to maintain and regulate an unnatural, unequal, and unjust state of social order, and social rights; our system establishes and regulates social order, upon the natural rights of man; and maintains and defends all those rights, which are not incompatible with a state of society.

The *origin*, or establishment of the British constitution, and that of the United States, is entirely different, in principle, as well as in fact. Theirs is called a compact between the three 'estates,' which supposes a contract, or assent, between the king, the nobility, and the people, as to the share in the government, which each possesses. But their history sufficiently shews, that there is no foundation for this in fact, and that it would be much more just to denominate their constitution a compromise, consisting of mutual concessions made by the three estates. It is however, much more correct, and consonant to historic truth, to regard it as the result of *concessions extorted*



by the people from the crown, and the nobility. From the earliest period of their history, there has been a constant struggle between the king, the nobility, and the people : at times, this has broken out into civil wars, and formerly produced almost a constant state of civil commotion. Anciently, the contest was between the barons and the crown. The people, or, as they were then called, the commons, were not represented in Parliament, and had no share in the government, until the year 1265, after which, they increased in strength and importance. At one period, one of these interests has prevailed, and encroached upon, and often nearly crushed the others ; at another period, and under a different reign, a different interest, or estate, has predominated, and entrenched on the others. When the sovereign was a man of talents and energy, ambitious, and tyrannical, he stretched the prerogatives of the crown, and encroached on the rights of the nobility and the people ; and on the contrary, when the crown has been possessed by a weak man, the nobles or the people have extorted from him certain *concessions*, which have been denominated privileges. By the collisions of these opposing interests, and their constant acting and re-acting on each other, and by the concessions which have been made, each party has acquired certain rights, which are acknowledged by the other parties ; and the possession, enjoyment, and definition of these rights, constitutes certain fixed principles, which form the outlines of their government. The rights of the crown are called prerogatives, those of the people, privileges.

Hence, the English theory of government, consists only of the respective rights of the three estates, and the manner in which they are to be exercised and enjoyed, or, in other words, the power which each possess in the government, and the principles on which it is exercised. To vary the rights or power of either of the estates, is to change the constitution ; and the balance of these powers constitutes the stability of the government, and of the nation.

How different is the constitution of the United States from that of England, as to the origin and source of it,—as well as in its principles ! Ours is the act of the people ;—it is a solemn declaration of the will of the nation, as to the manner in which it will be governed ; it is a delegation, or rather the organization of power, for a specific object, the extent of which is defined, and the manner in which it is to be exercised, prescribed. As it is the act of the people, it pre-supposes the sovereignty residing in them, and from its source, and origin, necessarily possesses an obligation paramount to a law of the legislature, which is only one of the branches of magistracy created by its provisions, and deriving its existence, as well as its authority, from it.

With the exception of the recent republics of South America, that of the United States, is, perhaps, the only existing government which was formally instituted, and established as the act of the nation. As society, even in its simplest forms, cannot exist without some

kind of civil polity, there is no way, that a government could be established at one time, as the act of the nation, without the existing authorities concurring therein, and this they will never do; and hence the adoption of new institutions must be preceded by a revolution, which subverts the authority of a nation, or separates one state from the dominion of another. In either of these events, a nation has the opportunity and privilege of establishing a system of government for itself, and may, if it pleases, "abolish the forms to which it has been accustomed, and provide new guards for its future security."\* But if, in either of these cases, a nation proceeds to form and adopt political institutions, it is not to be supposed that they will consider the subject entirely in the abstract, regarding only the principles of freedom, and the maxims of experience, and that they will wholly disregard the "forms to which they have been accustomed." This would be impossible; and if those who may be entrusted to devise and frame a system, were themselves above, and could disregard the influence here spoken of, they would be under the necessity of conforming in a considerable degree, to the opinions, habits, and even the prejudices of the nation. Hence new institutions must contain a certain portion of the spirit and principles of the old.

Such was the condition and the conduct of the American colonies on their separation from Great Britain. They were called on to provide systems for their own security, but they did not disregard the "forms to which they had been accustomed." In many of the colonies little or no change took place, except the abrogation of the dominion of the British sovereign, and those alterations in the forms of administration which that required, by substituting the authority of the state for that of the crown.

In Connecticut and Rhode-Island, no new constitution was adopted; the government was organized and administered under the same forms, and so continued, the former until 1818, and the latter to the present time. Charter governments having been established in these two colonies, giving the people the power of appointing all their officers, the authority of the crown, as it respected the internal administration, had never been but little more than nominal. In the other colonies, the separation from the parent country produced a greater change in their political situation, and they found it necessary to provide new guards for their security, and called conventions and framed constitutions during the agitations of the revolution. The time was inauspicious, in every respect but one; it was calculated to ensure unanimity in favour of the new systems, whatever might be their imperfections, this measure being then regarded as indispensable, and as a part of the means for sustaining the independence and attitude of the country. From these considerations, two consequences followed; the first, that the systems, in the several states, differed from each other, each retaining a greater or less degree of the forms and principles that were already established, and to

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\* Declaration of Independence.

which they had become accustomed ; and secondly, that there was not that full and profound consideration bestowed on the subject which its importance demanded. To the causes specified, are to be referred many of the defects in the constitutions of the original states. But, on the other hand, it is to one of these causes, namely, the character of the institutions existing at the time of the separation, and the fruits which they had produced, to which we are indebted, not only for many of the excellencies of our system, but in some degree for the effecting of our independence, and still more for permanently securing the blessings of civil liberty upon the most rational principles and durable foundations.

But, notwithstanding the difference in the theory, or minuter features of the constitutions of the original states, they were all established on the same bases, and possessed the essential outlines of a republican form. These bases are, first, *the sovereignty of the people*, which implies that they are the only legitimate source of all authority and government, and that the constitution emanates from them, and is only a formal declaration of their will, as to the manner in which they will be governed, or rather will govern themselves ; and consequently admits that they retain the power of altering or abolishing the same, either in a way prescribed in the constitution itself, or from an original exertion of power ; in the former case, the act would be done under, and by the authority of the existing constitution, and in the latter, from the power inherent in the people, and which, from the aforesaid principle constituting the basis of our political systems, that the sovereign power resides in the people, they cannot divest themselves of. The power which can create, can alter or abolish ; and if the people, in framing a constitution, should insert in it an express provision, that it was never to be altered or amended, this could no more take away the right of the citizens of the same state, at any subsequent period, to alter or abolish such constitution, and to provide such new forms as the change in their situation might require, than a provision in the statute of the ordinary legislature, that the same should never be repealed or altered, can tie up the hands of a subsequent legislature ; and it is an established principle, wherever legislation exists, whatever may be its forms, that the prior legislature possesses no greater authority than any subsequent ones, and that it can enact no law but what may be repealed by a subsequent legislature.

The essential *republican forms*, which belong to the constitutions of the several states, consist in this : that the powers of government, delegated or constituted, *are to be exercised by persons elected by the people, either primarily or secondarily, for limited periods*. This is what is called the elective, or representative principle, and constitutes the fundamental feature in the republican form of government. The forms, founded on this principle, may be variously modified ; but where the principle is not essentially departed from, they must be regarded as republican. From this view of the principles of our



government, the inconsistency which many have supposed involved in the notion that the sovereign power existed in the people, while they were obliged to submit to the laws of the legislature and the authority of the magistrate, is obviated ; as it will be perceived that the sovereign power existing in the people at large, is that natural inherent *right of self government*, which has not and cannot be delegated, and is separate and distinct from the ordinary powers of government. This power is paramount to the constituted authority, and is not ordinarily exerted ; and as long as this is the case, it does not controul or counteract the exertion and authority of the powers delegated.

The constitution of the United States established a national government, or a government for the several states, united as one people and one independent nation. To form one common government for a country of great extent and diversity of climate, consisting of thirteen distinct and essentially sovereign states, held together only by some common sympathies and the mere semblance of general authority, was an object attended with apparently insurmountable difficulties. A national government could be established in one only of three ways. First, by a consolidation of the states, the abolition of the state authorities, and the institution of one simple government, possessing a unity of authority ; secondly, by a compact or union of the states in their corporate capacities, which could be little more than a permanent alliance, offensive and defensive, between the states ; or, thirdly, a mixed and compound government, containing a modification of the features and principles of both of these two plans.

From the general unsettled aspect of affairs, and the alarming condition of the country at the time the formation of a more efficient government was agitated, a dangerous spirit of insubordination and actual rebellion having shewn themselves in some of the states, and many enlightened citizens and good patriots having lost their confidence in the capacity of the people for self government, there is no doubt, that at that dark period in our history, there was a portion of our citizens, a small minority of the whole, yet respectable in point of numbers as well as talents, who preferred a government of the first description—an efficient national government. But the temper of the times was little calculated to favour so great a change in the institutions of the country ; and those most inclined this way, limited their views to what they called a permanent and efficient national government, without a consolidation of the states or abolition of the local authorities. Indeed no one thought the first plan practicable ; and as to the second, it was substantially the system then existing, called the confederation, the insufficiency and defects of which were so sensibly felt, and the very evils which the nation was attempting to remedy. The third plan only remained ; and on that the convention proceeded to deliberate and act, and finally matured the system comprised in the present constitution of the United States. It is

however evident, that it was not the original intention, either of the people or the legislatures of the states which appointed members to the convention, or of the congress which recommended the same, that a government should be established on this basis, or that a *new system* should be introduced ; the only expectation was to revise and improve the old one, so as to give additional authority to congress, especially as to the regulation of commerce and raising a revenue from imposts. This formed one of the most powerful objections to the constitution. It was claimed that the convention had exceeded their powers, and that, instead of their revising and proposing alterations in the existing system, they had devised and framed an entire new system of government. This ground of objection was urged with great vehemence, eloquence and effect, by the great orator of Virginia, Patrick Henry, in the convention of that state. He asked by what authority the convention had framed a constitution in *the name and behalf of the people*—by what authority they used the language, “we the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union,” &c. when they were appointed by the states “for the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting to congress alterations therein,”\* which articles were established by the states, and were the offspring of their power and will.

As is usually the case with every thing which excites a strong popular feeling and interest, the new constitution was assailed with objections of a directly opposite nature ; whilst on the one hand it partook of the nature of an original independent government, and tended to merge and annihilate the state governments, on the other it was too weak, and the states too strong ; more power was required in the head and less in the members. It was also objected that the government was neither federative nor independent ; but a mixed, compound system, partaking of the nature of both ; that the machinery of it was complex and intricate, which would render its operations tedious and uncertain, and produce a jarring of powers and collision of authority, which would tend to confusion ; that it created distinct and independent legislative bodies, each possessing the authority of legislating on the same subjects and for the same persons. This last ground of objection was certainly correct, as it respected the fact ; but instead of there being any weight in the objection, the reasons on which it rests constitute the excellency of our system.

What is the government of the United States ? Is it an original, independent government ? No. Is it a federative government ? By no means. What is it then ? We answer—It is a government established in connexion with, and ingrafted upon, the state institutions, so that the whole forms but one system and one government, entire and complete: possessing a unity of power and of action. Whilst it is complicated, in a high degree, its powers are separated and divid-

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\* Resolution of Congress recommending a convention.

ed, adjusted and balanced, with great nicety ; its principles stable and energetic ; its operations regular, uniform and harmonious, presenting the freest, purest, and most sublime political fabric which the world has ever witnessed. It is a common thing to speak of the national government as one entirely separate and independent of the state authorities ; but nothing can be more incorrect than this. The national and state governments are but parts of the same plan ; they are inseparably connected, and form but one system and one government. Because the national constitution was formed after those of the states, it does not follow that the former is carved out of the latter, and wholly disconnected therewith ; nor does it follow, that because the parts were once distinct and independent of each other, that they are not now united and formed into one system. Men usually purchase a carriage entire, and in a finished state ; but if a person was first to procure the wheels, then the body, and afterwards the other parts, when the whole were united and put together, it would not be the less a carriage because it was not purchased entire. The question in either case would be the same, whether it was a complete and finished vehicle, and this would not at all depend on the order of time or the manner in which the parts were made or procured. It is the same of a theory of government : the order of time in which its parts existed and were brought together, is of no importance ; whether it consists of one, or several distinct systems, will depend on the union of its parts and the adjustment of its principles.

Are we not one country, one nation, and one people ? If so, we can have but one system of government—a unity of society requires a unity of government. The convention intended to devise and frame a complete system of government, to afford new guards for our security ; but in doing this they incorporated the state institutions, so far modifying them and restricting their powers, as became necessary to complete the system, and give it a unity of character and action.

Although the local institutions and state sovereignties interposed an almost insuperable obstacle to the establishment of a national government, yet, nevertheless, that was undoubtedly the cause which gave to our system its greatest excellency and value. As we have already remarked that the condition and character of the political institutions of the colonies, at the time of the separation, had great influence on the state constitutions, so the existence of the latter had perhaps a greater influence on the general system which was established. In the former case, the forms and practices of the colonial governments did not, in themselves, constitute obstacles and constraints, in the formation of the state constitutions, as they were abrogated by the separation ; their influence on the new institutions was only from the habits of thinking and acting to which they had given rise ; but at the establishment of the constitution of the United States, state institutions and state rights were in existence, and com-



prised essentially independent and sovereign power. These were the immediate guardians of the people's rights and liberties, to whom they looked for the protection of their persons and property ; and the participation of the people was direct, and having long been familiarized to their authority and enjoyed their protection, it was natural that they should be attached to the state authorities, and be extremely jealous of a new government, which was to be removed from them, of the operations of which they were strangers, and which was calculated to restrict the local authorities and abridge the rights of the states. Every feeling and every prejudice at the time were naturally in favour of the state authorities. This, as has already been observed, was the greatest obstacle with which the convention had to contend. But at the same time it must be regarded as the cause of the establishment of our political system, as it now exists. Had it not been for the existence of the states, as separate and independent communities, undoubtedly one entire government would have been instituted, consisting of a unity of power, with no other division of it, than into the three usual departments, of legislative, executive and judicial. There would have been but one legislative or law-making power for the country, like Great Britain or France, during the days of the republic. Had the country been under one colonial government, and a new and independent one was to have been established, the territory might have been divided into departments, or states, and subdivided into counties, for the conducting of elections, the administration of justice, and other objects, similar to what was done in France ; but it is not probable that a system, analogous to that now existing, would ever have been thought of ; but if it should have been, and a serious attempt made to establish such a system, it is perfectly clear that it would have been entirely impracticable. There are few instances in history where two independent states have voluntarily united to form one government, and it would be still more difficult for a nation to divide itself, for the purposes of government, into separate communities, or states, each possessing the power of making laws for themselves, administering justice, the punishment of crimes, and exercising all the powers of local government. Such a plan would not only have been opposed from its novelty, but it would have been believed that it would tend to immediate anarchy and confusion, and result in the dismemberment of the nation. It is therefore a position unquestionably correct, that the existence of the state sovereignties, which formed the greatest obstacle to the establishment of a national government, was the sole cause of the formation and adoption of the present system. This is one of the many instances in human affairs, in which, what is regarded as the greatest obstacle to the obtainment of an object, is the cause which gives to it its great value and glory. It is only by grappling with difficulties, that a proper strength is given to the human powers, or any thing superlatively great, or excellent, produced.

What is the political system of the United States, and wherein does it differ from other republics ?

As we have already observed, its bases are that the sovereign power resides in the people, being separate and distinct from the governing power ; that the latter was, in the first instance, constituted by them, and afterwards is exercised by agents, appointed either directly or indirectly by the people, and for their benefit, this being what is called the representative principle, and is an essential characteristic of the republican form. The different descriptions of power, the legislative, executive, and judicial, are separated and confided to distinct departments, forming co-ordinate branches of the government. These are the leading principles of the republican theory ; but our system embraces a new principle, and one of the utmost importance, as it removes the greatest objection to the republican form of government. This principle, as has been remarked, originated from the existence of the state authorities at the time the system was matured and adopted, and consists of a division and separation of the active powers of government, and confiding them to different bodies ; those which more immediately relate to the national sovereignty and appertain to the rights and interests of the people, considered as forming one nation, constitute the first or supreme division of authority, and are confided to one body of magistracy ; and those which concern the rights of individuals, in their relations with each other, the protection of persons and property, the enacting and administering laws for these objects, are confided to numerous bodies of magistracy, each having jurisdiction over a certain portion of territory, and the population within the same. The local, or state authorities, exercise most of the powers of independent states, as it respects the rights and interests of individuals ; they possess, in general, as it respects the persons and subjects over which they have jurisdiction, the complete and plenary powers of independent communities ; and the persons who administer them, being a part of the people, and entirely dependent upon them for their offices, will be likely both to know and respect their rights and their wants. Where there is but one source of legislation, for a nation of extensive territory and large population, local interests and objects cannot well be attended to, nor the wishes of the people properly known or consulted. In a representative government, where there is but a single legislature, the members must either be too numerous to transact business, on the one hand, or on the other, the people will not be properly represented. But the greatest objection to reposing the whole powers of government in the hands of one body of magistracy, in a republic, is, that the government must possess a degree of energy, in order to sustain itself, dangerous to the liberties of the people. From these and other reasons, it has generally been considered by political writers that the republican form of government was adapted only to a small state ; this was the opinion of Montesquieu, and hence he considered that a republic possesses the greatest

internal advantages, but that it has not sufficient force for external defence; and he considered that the only remedy for this evil, deemed to be inherent in the republican form, was a *confederate republic*. But a confederative republic, according to his ideas, is entirely different from the government of the United States, although the national division or branch of our system is commonly called the federal or federative government. The opinion that ours is a confederative republic, is wholly fallacious. The following extract from the author referred to, gives a correct view of a federal republic. "It is probable," says he, "that mankind would have been obliged at length, to live constantly under the government of a single person, had they not contrived a kind of constitution which has all the internal advantages of a republican, together with the external force of a monarchical government,—I mean a confederate republic. This form of government is a convention, by which several smaller states agree to become members of a larger one, which they intend to form. It is a kind of assemblage of societies, that constitutes a new one, capable of increasing by means of new associations, till they arrive to such a degree of power as to be able to provide for the security of the united body. As this government is composed of small republics, it enjoys the internal happiness of each, and with respect to its external situation, it possesses, by means of association, all the advantages of large monarchies."\* A confederate republic is here defined to be an "assemblage of societies;" or a "convention, by which several small states agree to become members of a larger one." It is simply a compact between two or more independent states, whereby they agree to form a union, for their common defence, or other objects. This compact or union may be perpetual or for a definite period; and the principles of it, may be variously modified. But the association, being the *act of the states* who become members of the confederacy in their corporate capacity, the authorities constituted to superintend their common or national concerns, deriving their powers from the members, can exercise it only over the confederates as corporate bodies; and the radical defect of this government, arises from the difficulty of making and enforcing laws, over a community in their collective and corporate character.

There has been numerous examples of confederate governments, both in ancient and modern times. Of the ancient confederate republics, that of the Grecian States, under the Amphyctonic council, was the most important. The confederates retained their independence and sovereignty. The federal council, in which the members had equal votes, possessed the power to regulate the common concerns of the confederacy; their intercourse with foreign states; to declare and carry on war, and to preserve internal peace, by deciding all controversies between the members in the last resort; they enforced their decisions by fining the aggressing party, or by employing the force of the confederacy against him. The federal or Amphyctonic authority, was exercised by senators or deputies appointed by the



confederates in their corporate capacity, and over the states in the same capacity. The consequence was that the more powerful members always controuled the affairs of Greece. Athens, as Demosthenes informs us, was arbiter of Greece for seventy-three years: the Lacedæmonians governed afterwards for twenty-nine years, and after the battle of Luctra it fell under the dominion of the Thebans for a considerable period. The powerful members not only engaged in foreign wars, which compromised the peace and security of the confederacy, but also in war with one another; the rivalry and jealousy of Athens and Sparty resulted in the Peloponnesian war, which ended in the ruin of Athens and paved the way for the slavery of all Greece.

The Achæan league, was another of the ancient confederacies; and consisted of a union of the smaller Grecian republics or cities. The union was more intimate than in the Amphyctonic confederacy, as the confederates were required to have the same laws and internal regulations; and in this respect it approached nearer to a consolidated government than that of the United States; for here the states have different laws, and manage their affairs differently, and congress has no other authority than to compel them to maintain the republican form. But notwithstanding the closeness of union in this particular, the Achæan league was only an "assemblage of societies," in their corporate capacities, only a compact among the states composing it; its *principle* was that of a confederacy of independent communities, and its fate was similar to what has attended all others. The Lycian confederacy, which consisted of twenty-three small republics or cities, the largest of which had three, the middle class two and the smallest three votes in the confederative council, is pronounced by Montesquieu, the most excellent model of a federal republic.

In modern times, the United Netherlands is the most distinguished example of a confederate republic, or rather confederacy of aristocracies. The confederate authority was reposed in what was called the States General, and consisted of deputies appointed by the provinces, who hold their seats. some for life, some for three, six and one years, and some during pleasure. The States General had the power to make peace and declare war, raise armies and equip fleets, and to ascertain the quotas of men and amount of contributions of the provinces, and demand the same. The executive, called the Stadtholder, was an hereditary prince, and was the chief magistrate not only of the confederacy but of each of the provinces. In this important particular, the executive power, this system approached much nearer to the consolidation of the provinces and the establishment of one entire government than the constitution of the United States. The stadtholder, likewise possessed important perogatives; he assisted at the deliberations of the states general, settled disputes between the provinces; was the head of the land and naval forces of the confederacy, and disposed of all appointments in the military and naval service: he superintended foreign affairs, gave audience

to foreign ambassadors, and appointed ministers to foreign courts. He commanded a standing army of 40,000 men, and had a revenue of 300,000 florins. This system, where there was a unity of the executive authority, and this authority, hereditary and more extensive than that in many monarchies, instead of uniting the essential advantages of one entire government, union in council and energy in action, was constantly distracted by dissensions among the provinces, exposed to all the dangers of foreign influence, to domestic faction and foreign violence. The system possessed few of the advantages of a confederacy, the principal of which according to Montesquieu, is external force, whilst it sacrificed internal tranquillity and happiness: in the language of the writer referred to, it "enjoyed neither the internal happiness of a republic nor the external advantages of a monarchy." There was one pernicious principle in this system; the national authorities could not act, in important cases, unless the provinces were unanimous; and not only each province but the cities of which the provinces were composed, and which possessed many of the prerogatives of independence, must also concur. The provinces therefore, were in some measure only confederacies, and the union consequently consisted of a confederacy of confederacies.

Both from ancient and modern examples, it appears that the advantages of a federative republic, are less important than has generally been considered; they seldom secure the principle object intended, external strength, whilst they lead to internal dissension and faction. Such a plan can hardly be considered as a government, and is little more, as we have previously observed than a compact between independent states, in the nature of a perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, with certain regulations for carrying the same into effect. Where, from the situation of the country, as from some common danger, or in case of war, affecting alike the interest, and perhaps the existence, of each member of the confederacy, this plan may answer tolerably well, as was the case with the United Netherlands in their war with Spain, and the American colonies in their revolutionary contest. But these cases, instead of proving the advantages of the system, rather prove that where a whole nation are animated by the same feelings, and engaged in one common cause, involving their liberty, or independence, almost any plan of government, may answer, as public opinion is in a great measure a substitute for law. This was the case during our revolution. But no sooner was the contest over, and peace made with the common enemy, than the most alarming dissensions broke out, and actual rebellion reared its hydra head, and general anarchy threatened the country, which rendered the defects of the government sufficiently apparent. What was called the continental system, or the confederation, was a union formed on the principle of a confederacy of republics, and possessed all the defects and evils inherent in that plan. Its principle was only a compact or association among independent states, and the confederative council could only legislate for the states in their corporate capacity.

This plan, however, as defective and imperfect as it is, was thought by Montesquieu and other distinguished political authors, the only one which admitted of the adoption of the republican theory on a large scale, over an extensive territory or large population. This being the case, what light has been thrown on the science of government by the experiments and the experience of the United States ? How much is the human race indebted to America for having devised a theory, and fully demonstrated the practicability and utility thereof, which really does possess the advantages of small and well regulated republics, as it respects internal tranquillity and happiness, and all the advantages as to external strength, of large monarchies ? A system, founded on the most popular principles, and the most pure republican forms, yet adapted to any extent of territory, or any aggregate of population ; which consists of numerous members, or separate republics, and at the same time of one people and one government ; which embraces democratic principles, without the evils of a democracy—republican principles, without the difficulties or restrictions, either as to territory or population, of the republican form ; and confederative principles without the evils of a confederacy ; which is complicated, without tardiness or discord ; popular, without anarchy ; which affords the greatest security to the liberty of the citizen, without weakness in the government, and possesses sufficient energy without being dangerous to liberty. These advantages, the experience of forty years has fully demonstrated ; they are to be attributed in part to the superior intelligence and virtue of our population ; yet in no small degree are we indebted for these and all our social blessings, to the excellency of our political system.

As the happiness of mankind is the only valuable object of all science and knowledge, it may truly be affirmed, that not the discovery of the mariner's compass ; the art of ship building ; not all the discoveries in physics and mechanics which have unfolded the powers and usefulness of steam, and the modern sciences of chemistry and geology, are of equal importance to the human race, as the improvements which have been made in America, in the science of government. Let not this be thought extravagant ; on a moment's reflection it will not appear so. The great problem, whether mankind were capable of self government ; whether, in a country of great extent and population, the people could retain, in their own hands, the powers of government, and in any form so exercise them as to secure internal tranquillity, and be able to defend themselves from foreign powers, had long been unsettled : authority, and even science, had thrown their weight into the negative scale, and it was only a few original and independent minds that had maintained the affirmative. The dissensions and disorders of the ancient republics, and the failure of all modern attempts, and the reproach which many of them had left behind, had nearly decided this question in a manner derogatory to man and dishonourable to God. Yes, it had almost become an established axiom, that mankind were incapable of self



government, that they were fit only for *slaves* ! Whilst this infamous doctrine strengthened the rod of the oppressor, and lighted up a smile on the countenance of the despot, it cast a gloom over the fairest and brightest prospects of the human race. It extinguished the sun of liberty, whose genial warmth animates the human heart as the luminary of heaven does the bosom of the earth.

It remained for the United States to put this problem at rest, and dissipate the darkness gathering over the destinies of man. By our improvements and experience, the great truth has been fully and incontrovertibly established, that mankind are capable of self government ; that liberty is compatible with individual security of person and property, and with national defence ; that the people are capable of establishing and maintaining the best regulated society, possessing great stability and strength, and affording the highest degree of tranquillity and social happiness. Experience justly carries with it more weight than argument ; and the example of the United States is of more importance to the cause of civil liberty and the rights of man, than all which has been written in their defence. The government of America, in the language of one of the most illustrious patriots\* of the present age, and who acted a distinguished part in laying its foundations, “ is a vast monument raised to liberty, which is a warning to the oppressor and an example to the oppressed, throughout the world.” The example, the simple fact of the existence of such a government, such a people, so free, powerful, tranquil, and prosperous, enjoying such unexampled social blessings, is a never-failing source of light and influence, the most auspicious to the cause of civil liberty and the destinies of man. It is calculated to make tyrants tremble on their blood-stained thrones, and to inspire the friends of liberty and freedom with confidence. They need not attempt to *prove* that man is not born to be a slave ; that he is both worthy and capable of enjoying liberty ;—they need only refer to the United States as an existing fact, to establish these truths, so interesting to the human race. Is it then to be asked, what America has done for the cause of science, or humanity ? Has she not done, and is she not now doing, more for the honour, interests and true glory of man, than any other nation, and we may almost say, than all others united. Here liberty claims her favourite abode ; here free institutions, founded on the natural rights of man, have been matured, perfected, and their practicability and utility fully and incontestably established ; here a light has been kindled, which will illumine the darkest corner of the political horizon, and continue to shine brighter and brighter unto perfect day. Here it has been demonstrated, contrary to what many great and good men have maintained, that the *theory*, or system of government, is of vital importance, and that essential defects, or evils in the constitution of a state, are incompatible with internal tranquillity and happiness, and

\* La Fayette.

internal power. It is believed that this truth is not sufficiently acknowledged and relied upon, even in this country, as it seems to be generally supposed that our political and social happiness is mainly to be attributed to the superior intelligence and virtue of our population. But the operations of a government are in no small degree mechanical ; and the adjustment and balance of its powers are as much mechanical as the adjustment of the principles and powers of a machine. The intelligence and virtue of a community constitute its moral force, and form the spirit and moving power of its government ; but its particular operations depend on the nature and adjustment of its principles. Suppose that our system contained only one principle of that of the United Netherlands, namely, that on all important questions the national councils could not act without all the states were unanimous. Would not this single alteration entirely paralyze the government ? could it be kept in operation even during peace, much less in war ? Is the intelligence and virtue of the people sufficient to remedy such a defect ? Where was this virtue and intelligence during the late war, when, as the constitution now is, faction did so much to embarrass the operations and paralyze the energies of the government ? Or, suppose an alteration less important ; that in case of there not being a choice of a president by the people, the appointment was to be made by the house of representatives, and that all the states must be unanimous in the decision, or even that three-fourths must concur. With this provision in the constitution, what would have been the fate of it in the great crisis of 1801 ? and what would be the just cause for alarm at this moment, with every prospect of the choice of the chief magistrate devolving on congress, when there are four candidates, and when the supporters of each seem determined to adhere to the last extremity ? Who would not tremble for the safety of his country ? Let us not trust too much to the intelligence and patriotism of our citizens ; human passions are the same here as every where else, and patriotism and intelligence are but feeble checks on personal ambition or party spirit. Let us not estimate too lightly *the theory of our government, the constitution of the United States, which has connected itself with the constitutions of the states, and made them constituent parts thereof, thus forming one system*, which, for its originality, its sublimity, and the wonderful combination and adjustments of its principles, possessing all the advantages of a democracy, a republic, and of a confederacy, without any of their prominent evils, cannot fail of exciting the admiration of all succeeding ages. This system cannot be too highly appreciated ; too sacredly venerated ; it is the palladium of our safety, of our union, of our national strength, our prosperity, and of all the political and social blessings which we enjoy.

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In consequence of the failure of the compiler of this volume to prepare and deliver to the publishers the foregoing Chapter in season for publication, it has (in the exigency of the case) been prepared by another hand.

# **AN APPENDIX,**

## **EMBRACING A**

### **BIOGRAPHY**

OF THE

**AMERICAN MILITARY OFFICERS**

*Of distinction, who were engaged in achieving our*

### **INDEPENDENCE.**

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**BRIGADIER GENERAL ETHAN ALLEN,**

Was born in Salisbury, Conn. but while he was young, his parents emigrated to Vermont. At the commencement of the disturbances in this territory about the year 1770, he took a bold and active part in favour of the Green Mountain Boys, as the settlers were then called, in opposition to the claims of the government of the State of New-York. During the period that this subject was agitated, in all the struggles which it occasioned, and in which he took a part, he was uniformly successful ; and when called to take the field in the struggle for American independence, he showed himself an able leader and intrepid soldier.

The news of the battle of Lexington determined colonel Allen to engage on the side of his Country. While his mind was in this state, a plan for taking Ticonderoga and Crown-Point by surprise, was communicated to him, and he readily engaged in the project.

The following is his account of the affair.

“ The first systematical and bloody attempt at Lexington, to enslave America, thoroughly electrified my mind, and fully determined me to take a part with my country. And while I was wishing for an opportunity to signalize myself in its behalf, directions were privately sent to me from the then colony, now state of Connecticut, to raise the Green Mountain Boys, and if possible with them to surprise and take the fortress of Ticonderoga. This enterprise I cheerfully undertook ; and after first guarding all the several passes that lead thither, to cut off all intelligence between the garrison and the country, made a forced march from Bennington, and arrived at the lake



opposite Ticonderoga, on the evening of the ninth day of May, 1775, with two hundred and thirty valiant Green Mountain Boys; and it was with the utmost difficulty that I procured boats to cross the lake. However I landed eighty three men near the garrison, and sent the boats back for the rear guard commanded by Colonel Seth Warner; but the day began to dawn, and I found myself necessitated to attack the fort, before the rear could cross the lake; and as it was hazardous, I harrangued the officers and soldiers in the manner following; "Friends and fellow soldiers,—You have for a number of years past been a scourge and terror to arbitrary powers. Your valor has been famed abroad, and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me from the general assembly of Connecticut, to surprise and take the garrison now before us. I now propose to advance before you, and in person conduct you through the wicket gate; for we must this morning either quit our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes; and inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest of men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any contrary to his will. You that will undertake voluntarily, poise your firelock."

The men being at this time drawn up in three ranks each poised his firelock. I ordered them to face to the right; and at the head of the centre file marched them immediately to the wicket gate aforesaid, where I found a sentry posted, who instantly snapped his fusee at me. I ran immediately towards him, and he retreated through the covered way into the parade within the garrison, gave a halloo, and ran under a bomb proof. My party who followed me into the fort, I formed on the parade in such a manner, as to face the barracks which faced each other. The garrison being asleep except the sentries, we gave three huzzas, which greatly surprised them. One of the sentries made a pass at one of my officers with a charged bayonet, and slightly wounded him. My first thought was to kill him with my sword, but in an instant I altered the design and fury of the blow to a slight cut on the side of the head; upon which he dropped his gun, and asked quarters, which I readily granted him; and demanded the place where the commanding officer kept. He shewed me a pair of stairs in the front of the garrison, which led up to a second story in said barracks, to which I immediately repaired, and ordered the commander, captain Delaplace, to come forth instantly, or I would sacrifice the whole garrison: At which time the captain came immediately to the door with his breeches in his hand, when I ordered him to deliver to me the fort instantly; he asked me by what authority I demanded it. I answered him, "In the name of the great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress." The authority of Congress being very little known at that time, he began to speak again, but I interrupted him, and with my drawn sword near his head again demanded an immediate surrender of the garrison; with which he then complied, and ordered his men to be forthwith paraded without arms, as he had giv-

en up the garrison. In the mean time some of my officers had given orders, and in consequence thereof, sundry of the barrack doors were beat down, and about one third of the garrison imprisoned, which consisted of said commander, a lieutenant Feltham, a conductor of artillery, a gunner, two sergeants, and forty four rank and file; about one hundred pieces of cannon, one thirteen inch mortar, and a number of swivels. This surprise was carried into execution in the grey of the morning of the tenth of May, 1775. The sun seemed to rise that morning with a superior lustre: and Ticonderoga and its dependencies smiled on its conquerors, who tossed about the flowing bowl, and wished success to Congress, and the liberty and freedom of America. Happy it was for me at that time, that the future pages of the book of fate, which afterwards unfolded a miserable scene of two years and eight months imprisonment, were hid from my view."

In the fall of 1775 he was sent twice into Canada to observe the dispositions of the people, and attach them, if possible, to the American cause. During this last tour, Colonel Brown met him, and the rash attempt of taking Montreal was concerted between them. As might have been foreseen, it proved unfortunate, and Colonel Allen, after a resolute defence against an attack of a superior force, was taken prisoner. He and the other prisoners were immediately loaded with irons, and in that condition sent on board a man of war; and carried to England. On January 1776 he was put on board a frigate and carried to Halifax. There he remained confined in jail from June to October, when he was removed to New-York. He was kept at New-York, about a year and a half. While here, he witnessed the inhumane manner in which the American prisoners were treated.

Colonel Allen was exchanged for colonel Campbell, May 6, 1778, and after having repaired to head quarters, and offered his services to general Washington in case his health should be restored, he returned to Vermont. His arrival on the evening of the last of May, gave his friends great joy, and it was announced by the discharge of cannon. As an expression of confidence in his patriotism and military talents, he was very soon appointed to the command of the state militia. It does not appear, however, that his intrepidity was even again brought to the test, though his patriotism was tried by an unsuccessful attempt of the British to bribe him to attempt a union of Vermont with Canada. He died suddenly at his estate in Colchester, February 13, 1789.

#### MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

William Alexander, commonly called lord Sterling, a major-general in the American army, in the revolutionary war with Great Britain, was a native of the city of New-York, but spent a considerable part of his life in New Jersey. He was considered by many as the rightful heir to the title and estate of an earldom in Scotland, of which country his father was a native; and although, when

he went to North Britain in pursuit of this inheritance, he failed of obtaining an acknowledgment of his claim by government; yet, among his friends and acquaintances, he received by courtesy the title of lord Sterling. He discovered an early fondness for the study of mathematics and astronomy, and attained great eminence in these sciences.

In the battle on Long Island, August 27, 1776, he was taken prisoner, after having secured to a large part of the detachment, an opportunity to escape, by a bold attack, with four hundred men, upon a corps under lord Cornwallis. In the battle of Germantown, his division, and the brigades of general Nash and Maxwell, formed the corps of reserve. At the battle of Monmouth, he commanded the left wing of the American army.

He died at Albany, January 15, 1783, aged 57 years. He was a brave, discerning, and intrepid officer.

#### MAJOR GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Benedict Arnold, a Major General in the American Revolutionary army, and infamous for deserting the cause of his country, early enlisted on the side of his country. His mind was formed for bold and desperate enterprise, and in numerous instances he supported the character of a bold and intrepid officer. He was also a sordid and infamous traitor.

On hearing of the battle of Lexington, he marched with a company of men to the head quarters of the American Army at Cambridge, where he arrived April 29, 1775. Soon after his arrival he was appointed Colonel by the Massachusetts committee of safety, and commissioned to raise 400 men for the expedition against Ticonderoga. He immediately repaired to the vicinity of Lake Champlain, and uniting with Colonel Allen and his party, partook of the honours of that bold and successful enterprise. In September following, Arnold was invested with the command of 1100 men, detached on the arduous expedition of penetrating through the unexplored wilderness to Quebec. Colonel Burr, late Vice-President of the United States, was of this party. During this expedition, Arnold conducted with unexampled resolution, fortitude, and patience. In December 1775, Arnold reached Quebec, and being second in command under Gen. Montgomery, led a party in the boldest and most spirited manner to the attack of the city on one side, while an assault was made on the other by Montgomery, who was killed. Though the attack was unsuccessful, nothing could exceed the manly effort, and desperate valour of Arnold on this occasion. Advancing with the utmost intrepidity through a narrow path, exposed to an incessant fire of grape shot, as he approached the first barrier he received a musket ball in the leg, which shattered the bone, and he was carried off to the camp.

In January 1776 Arnold was promoted to the rank of Brigadier, and had command of the remains of one army in their retreat to



Crown-Point. In his rout through Montreal, he took from the merchants a very considerable amount of goods, under circumstances which implicated his honor and character. In the same year Arnold gallantly distinguished himself in a naval engagement on Lake Champlain. In 1777 he also exhibited the character of an intrepid soldier at Danbury, Conn. In approbation of his gallant conduct in this action, in which he had one horse killed and another wounded, Congress resolved, that a horse properly caparisoned, be presented to Gen. Arnold. In May following he was created a Major General.

In the battle, near Stillwater, September the nineteenth, he conducted with his usual intrepidity, being engaged, incessantly, for four hours. In the action of October the seventh, after the British had been driven into the lines, Arnold pressed forward, and under a tremendous fire, assaulted their works, from right to left. The intrenchments were at length forced, and with a few men he actually entered the works; but his horse being killed, and he himself badly wounded in the leg, he found it necessary to withdraw, and as it was now almost dark, to desist from the attack.

Being rendered unfit for active service in consequence of his wound, after the recovery of Philadelphia, he was appointed to the command of the American garrison. When he entered the city, he made the house of governor Penn, the best house in the city, his headquarters. This he furnished in a very costly manner, and lived far beyond his income. He had wasted the plunder, which he had seized at Montreal, in his retreat from Canada; and at Philadelphia, he was determined to make new acquisitions. He laid his hands on every thing in the city, which could be considered as the property of those who were unfriendly to the cause of his country. He was charged with oppression, extortion, and enormous charges upon the public, in his accounts; and with applying the public money and property to his own private use.

For this conduct the government of Pennsylvania exhibited formal charges against him, and Congress decided that he should be arrested, and tried by a court Martial. He was sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander in chief, which being approved by Congress, was carried into execution. From this time, probably, his proud spirit revolted against his country. The acquisition of West-Point would give value to treason, while its loss would mortally wound his former friends, and he traitorously resolved upon delivering it into the hands of the enemy. With this intent he became solicitous to be invested with the command of West-Point. Without a suspicion of his patriotism, Gen. Washington yielded to the solicitations of Arnold and transferred him to that command, on the ground that in consequence of his wounds he was unable to perform the active duties of the field. He immediately opened a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, with the view of putting the important post, which he commanded, into the hands of the British general. The arrangements

were soon made, and Major Andre was selected by Sir Henry for murdering the treason of Arnold. But just as their schemes were ripe for execution, Heaven interposed in favour of the American cause, and blasted the base designs of the traitor. Major Andre was taken while passing the American lines, and papers, fully disclosing his business and Arnold's guilt, were found upon him. Andre took immediate measures to inform Arnold of his capture, and the traitor, thus becoming acquainted with his danger, escaped. Arnold fled to New-York, and was immediately made a brigadier general in the British army, which rank he preserved throughout the war. He continued in active service during the war, and chiefly distinguished himself for pillaging and wantonly murdering the defenceless.

It is said, that while on an expedition in the Chesapeake, Arnold enquired of an American captain, whom he had taken prisoner, what the Americans would do with him if he should fall into their hands. The captain at first declined giving him an answer, but upon being repeatedly urged to it, he said, "Why, sir, if I must answer your question, you must excuse my telling you the plain truth; if my countrymen should catch you, I believe *they would first cut off that lame leg, which was wounded in the cause of freedom and virtue, and bury it with the honours of war, and afterwards hang the remainder of your body in gibbets.*" From the conclusion of the war till his death, general Arnold resided chiefly in England. He died in Gloucester-place, London, June 14, 1801.

#### MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES.

Major General Gates was born in England, and educated to the profession of arms. He was an officer under the unfortunate Braddock, in the year 1755. Sustaining a high military reputation, and zealously supporting the violated rights of his adopted country, he was appointed Adjutant General by Congress, and accompanied General Washington to his head quarters at Cambridge, in July, 1775. In June, 1776, he was invested with the chief command of our retreating forces from Canada. In this capacity he effected nothing brilliant, until the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga. This was a glorious victory, and may be considered as deciding the war of the revolution. The fruits of this victory were of incalculable importance, and the government and people vied with each other in expressing their gratitude to the conquering general. But Gen. Gates is not fully and exclusively entitled to the applause acquired by that victory. It was fortunate for Gen. Gates that the retreat from Ticonderoga had been conducted under other auspices than his, and that he took the command when the indefatigable labours of Gen. Schuyler, and the courage of Stark and his mountaineers, had already ensured the ultimate defeat of Burgoyne.

"In November, 1777, Congress having new modeled the board of war, appointed Gen. Gates the president, and he entered on the du-

ties of the office, but retained his rank in the army. The subject of this sketch was destined to experience in a remarkable manner, the humiliating vicissitudes of fortune. He had the conducting of the most prosperous, and the most disastrous of the military enterprizes in the war. In June, 1780, General Gates was by Congress vested with the chief command of our army in the southern states. In a general battle at Camden, Aug. 15th, being the first and only encounter which he had with Lord Cornwallis, he suffered a total defeat, and was obliged to fly from the enemy for personal safety, and thus was the prediction of Gen. Lee, when Gates was vested with the command, that his northern laurels would be exchanged for southern willows, verified. It would, however, be great injustice to attribute the misfortune altogether to the commander, under his peculiar circumstances; a large proportion of his force consisted of raw militia, who were panic struck, and fled at the first fire; their rout was absolute and irretrievable. It may be observed, nevertheless, that his conduct in some respects on this occasion, did not meet the approbation of those who must be admitted as competent judges of the military operations of that fatal day. Proudly calculating on the weight of his name, and too confident in his own superiority, he slighted the counsel which he ought to have respected, and hurrying impetuously into the field of battle, his tide of prosperity ebbed as fast at Camden, as it had flowed at Saratoga.”\*

Gen. Gates died, without posterity, at his customary abode near New York, on the 10th of April, aged 78 years.

#### MAJOR GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

This gallant officer was born in the town of Warwick, Kent county, Rhode Island, in or about the year 1741; and was the second son of a respectable citizen of the same name.

After the skirmishes of Lexington and Concord, when a spirit of resistance spread, like wild-fire over the continent—Rhode Island was not deficient in her contributions for the general defence. She raised three regiments of militia, the command whereof was given to Mr. Greene, who was nominated brigadier-general. The liberty, safety and prosperity of his country being exposed to imminent danger, the pacific principles of quakerism, in which he had been educated, proved insufficient to combat the ardent spirit of liberty, with which his bosom glowed.

He led the troops under his command to Cambridge; and was present at the evacuation of Boston.

General Greene's merit and abilities, as well in the council as in the field, were not long unnoticed by Gen. Washington, who reposed in him the utmost confidence; and paid a particular deference to his advice and opinion, on all occasions of doubt and difficulty.

\*Thatcher's Journal.



He was appointed Major General by Congress, the 26th of August, 1776. Towards the close of that year he was at the Trenton surprise ; and, at the beginning of the next, was at the battle of Princeton, two enterprizes not more happily planned, than judiciously and bravely executed, in both of which he highly distinguished himself, serving his noviciate under the American Fabius.

At the battle of Germantown, he commanded the left wing of the American army—and his utmost endeavours were exerted to retrieve the fortune of that day, in which his conduct met with the approbation of the commander in chief.

The situation of affairs at the south, induced Gen. Washington to appoint Gen. Greene to the command of the American forces in the southern district. He arrived at Charlotte on the second day of December, 1780, accompanied by Gen. Morgan, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself to the northward, in the expedition against Burgoyne. He found the forces he was to command, reduced to a very small number, by defeat and by desertion. The returns were nine hundred and seventy continentals, and one thousand and thirteen militia. Military stores, provisions, forage, and all things necessary, were, if possible, in a more reduced state than his army. His men were without pay, and almost without clothing : and supplies of the latter were not to be had, but from a distance of two hundred miles. In this perilous and embarrassed situation, he had to oppose a respectable and victorious army.

After he had recruited his forces with all the friends to the revolution that he could assemble, he sent a considerable detachment under Gen. Morgan to the western extremities of the state. This force, which was the first that had for a considerable time appeared there, on the side of the Americans, inspired the friends of liberty with new courage, so that numbers of them crowded to the standard of Gen. Morgan, who at length became so formidable, that Lord Cornwallis thought proper to send Col. Tarleton to dislodge him from the station he had taken. This officer was at the head of a thousand regular troops, and had two field pieces. He came up on the 17th of January, 1781, at a place called Cowpens, with Gen. Morgan, whose force was much inferior, and was composed of two thirds militia, and one third continentals. An engagement was the immediate consequence.

Upwards of five hundred of the British laid down their arms, and were made prisoners ;—a very considerable number were killed. Eight hundred stands of arms, two field-pieces, and thirty-five baggage-waggons fell to the victors, who had only twelve killed, and sixty wounded.

About the beginning of March, he effected a junction with a continental regiment, and two considerable bodies of Virginia and Carolina militia. He then determined on attacking the British commander without loss of time, ‘ being persuaded,’ as he declared in his

subsequent dispatches, 'that, if he was successful, it would prove ruinous to the enemy; and if otherwise, that it would be but a partial evil to him.' On the 14th, he arrived at Guilford court house, the British then lying at twelve miles distance.

His army consisted of about four thousand five hundred men, of whom nearly two thirds were North Carolina and Virginia militia. The British were about two thousand four hundred, all regular troops, and the greater part inured to toil and service in their long expedition under Lord Cornwallis, who, on the morning of the 15th, being apprized of Gen. Greene's intentions, marched to meet him. The latter disposed his army in three lines; the militia of North Carolina were in front; the second line was composed of those of Virginia; and the third, which was the flower of the army, was formed of continental troops, near fifteen hundred in number. They were flanked on both sides by cavalry and riflemen, and were posted on a rising ground, a mile and a half from Guilford court-house.

The engagement commenced, at half an hour after one o'clock, by a brisk cannonade: after which, the British advanced in three columns; and attacked the first line, composed, as has been observed, of North Carolina militia. These, who, probably, had never been in action before, were panic-struck at the approach of the enemy: and many of them ran away without firing a gun, or being fired upon, and even before the British had come nearer than one hundred and forty yards to them. Part of them, however, fired: but they then followed the example of their comrades. Their officers made every possible effort to rally them: but neither the advantages of their position, nor any other consideration, could induce them to maintain their ground. This shameful cowardice had a great effect upon the issue of the battle. The next line, however, behaved much better. They fought with great bravery: and after they were thrown into disorder, rallied, returned to the charge, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time: but were at length broken, and driven on the third line, when the engagement became general, very severe, and very bloody. At length superiority of discipline carried the day from superiority of numbers. The conflict endured an hour and a half; and was terminated by Gen. Greene's ordering a retreat, when he perceived, that the enemy were on the point of encircling his troops.

This was a hard-fought action. Lord Cornwallis stated his losses in killed, wounded and missing, at five hundred and thirty-two, among whom were several officers of considerable rank. To those who are used to consider the thousands killed on the plains of Germany, very frequently without producing any visible consequence on the fate of a war, the number here mentioned must appear insignificant. But this battle was, nevertheless, decisive in its consequences. Lord Cornwallis was, three days after, obliged to make a retrograde motion; and to return to Wilmington, situated two hundred

miles from the place of action. He was even under the necessity of abandoning a considerable number of those who were most dangerously wounded.

The loss of the Americans was about four hundred killed and wounded. However, this was not so severely felt as the desertion of a considerable number of militia, who fled homewards, and came no more near the army.

Some time after the battle of Guilford, Gen. Greene determined to return to South Carolina, to endeavour to expel the British from that state. His first object was to attempt the reduction of Camden, where Lord Rawdon was posted, with about nine hundred men. The strength of this place, which was covered on the south and east sides by a river and creek—and to the westward and northward, by six redoubts—rendered it impracticable to carry it by storm, with the small army Gen. Greene had, consisting of about seven hundred continentals. He therefore encamped at about a mile from the town, in order to prevent supplies from being brought in, and to take advantage of such favourable circumstances as might occur.

Lord Rawdon's situation was extremely delicate. Col. Watson, whom he had some time before detached, for the protection of the eastern frontiers, and to whom he had, on intelligence of Gen. Greene's intentions, sent orders to return to Camden, was so effectually watched by Gen. Marian, that it was impossible for him to obey. His lordship's supplies, were, moreover, very precarious: and, should Gen. Greene's reinforcements arrive, he might be so closely invested, as to be at length obliged to surrender. In this dilemma, the best expedient that suggested itself, was a bold attack: for which purpose, he armed every person with him, capable of carrying a musquet, not excepting his musicians and drummers. He sallied out on the twenty-fifth of April; and attacked Gen. Greene in his camp. The defence was obstinate: and for some part of the engagement, the advantage appeared to be in favour of America. Lieut. Col. Washington, who commanded the cavalry, had at one time not less than two hundred British prisoners. However, by the misconduct of one of the American regiments, victory was snatched from Gen. Greene, who was compelled to retreat. He lost in the action about two hundred, killed, wounded, and prisoners. Rawdon lost about two hundred and fifty-eight.

There was a great similarity between the consequences of the affair at Guilford, and those of this action. In the former, Lord Cornwallis was successful; but was afterwards obliged to retreat two hundred miles from the scene of action, and for a time abandoned the grand object of penetrating to the northward. In the latter, Lord Rawdon had the honour of the field; but was shortly after reduced to the necessity of abandoning his post, and leaving behind him a number of sick and wounded.

The evacuation of Camden, with the vigilance of Gen. Greene,



and the several officers he employed, gave a new complexion to affairs in South Carolina, where the British ascendancy declined more rapidly than it had been established. The numerous forts garrisoned by the enemy, fell, one after the other, into the hands of the Americans. Orangeburg, Motte, Watson, Georgetown, Granby, and all the others, fort Ninety-six excepted, were surrendered; and a very considerable number of prisoners of war, with military stores, and artillery, were found in them.

On the 22d of May, Gen. Greene sat down before Ninety-six, with the main part of his little army. The siege was carried on for a considerable time with great spirit; and the place was defended with equal bravery. At length, the works were so far reduced, that a surrender must have been made in a few days, when a reinforcement of three regiments from Europe, arrived at Charleston, which enabled Lord Rawdon to proceed to relieve this important post. The superiority of the enemy's force reduced gen. Greene to the alternative of abandoning the siege altogether, or, previous to their arrival, of attempting the fort by storm. The latter was more agreeable to his enterprising spirit, and an attack was made, on the morning of the 19th of June. He was repulsed, with the loss of one hundred and fifty men. He raised the siege, and retreated over the Saluda.

In this gloomy situation, there were not wanting persons who advised gen. Greene to leave the state, and retire with his remaining forces to Virginia. To arguments and suggestions of this kind he nobly replied—'I will recover the country, or die in the attempt.' This distinguished officer, whose genius was most vigorous in those extremities, when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, adopted the only resource now left him, of avoiding an engagement, until the British force should be divided.

Some skirmishes, of no great moment, took place between detached parties of both armies, in July and August. September the 9th, gen. Greene, having assembled about two thousand men, proceeded to attack the British, who, under the command of col. Stewart, were posted at Eutaw Springs. The American force was drawn up in two lines: the first, composed of Carolina militia, was commanded by generals Marian and Pickens, and col. De Malmédy. The second, which consisted of continental troops from North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, was commanded by gen. Sumpter, lieut. col. Campbell, and col. Williams—lieut. col. Lee, with his legion, covered the right flank; and lieut. col. Henderson, with the state troops, covered the left. A corps de reserve was formed of the cavalry, under lieut. col. Washington, and the Delaware troops, under capt. Kirkwood. As the Americans came forward to the attack, they fell in with some advanced parties of the enemy, at about two or three miles ahead of the main body. These being closely pursued were driven back—and the action soon became general. The

militia were at length forced to give way, but were bravely supported by the second line. In the hottest part of the engagement, gen. Greene ordered the Maryland and Virginia continentals to charge with trailed arms. This decided the fate of the day. 'Nothing,' says Dr. Ramsay, 'could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed on, in good order, through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of musquetry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them.' The British were broken, closely pursued, and upwards of five hundred of them taken prisoners. They however made a fresh stand, in a favourable position, in impenetrable shrubs and a picquetted garden. Lieut. col. Washington, after having made every effort to dislodge them, was wounded and taken prisoner. Four six pounders were brought forward to play upon them, but they fell into their hands; and the endeavours to drive them from their station being found impracticable, the Americans retired, leaving a strong picquet on the field of battle. Their loss was about five hundred; that of the British upwards of eleven hundred.

General Greene was honoured by Congress with a British standard, and a gold medal, emblematic of the engagement and success, 'for his wise, decisive and magnanimous conduct, in the action at Eutaw Springs, in which, with a force inferior in number to that of the enemy, he obtained a most signal victory.'

In the evening of the succeeding day, col. Stewart abandoned his post, and retreated towards Charleston, leaving behind upwards of seventy of his wounded, and a thousand stands of arms. He was pursued a considerable distance—but in vain.

The battle of Eutaw produced most signal consequences in favour of America. The British, who had for such a length of time, lorded it absolutely in South Carolina, were, shortly after that event, obliged to confine themselves to Charleston.

The surrender of lord Cornwallis, whose enterprising spirit had been by the British ministry expected to repair the losses, and wipe away the disgrace which had been incurred through the inactivity and indolence of other generals, having convinced them of the impracticability of subjugating America, they discontinued offensive operations in every quarter.

The happy period at length arrived, when, by the virtue and bravery of her sons, aided by the bounty of heaven, America compelled her invaders to recognize her independence.

In October, 1785, he sailed to Georgia, where he had a considerable estate, not far distant from Savannah. Here he passed away his time, occupied in his domestic concerns, until the hour of his mortality approached. Walking out one day, in June, 1786, he was overpowered by the extreme heat of the sun, which brought on a disorder that carried him off, a few days after, on the 19th of the same month.

When the melancholy account of his death arrived at Savannah,

the people were struck with the deepest sorrow. All business was suspended. The shops and stores throughout the town were shut : and the shipping in the harbour had their colours half masted.

The body was brought to Savannah, and interred on the 20th. The funeral procession was attended by the Cincinnati, militia, &c.

Immediately after the interment of the corpse, the members of the Cincinnati retired to the coffee-house in Savannah, and came to the following resolution :

‘ That as a token of the high respect and veneration in which this society hold the memory of their late illustrious brother, major-general Greene, deceased, George Washington Greene, his eldest son, be admitted a member of this society, to take his seat on his arriving at the age of 18 years.

General Greene left behind him a wife and five children, the eldest of whom was about 11 years old.

On Tuesday, the 12th of August, the United States in Congress assembled, came to the following resolution :

‘ That a monument be erected to the memory of Nathaniel Greene, Esq. at the seat of the federal government, with the following inscription :

Sacred to the memory of  
NATHANIEL GREENE, Esq.  
who departed this life,  
the nineteenth of June, MDCCLXXXVI :  
late MAJOR-GENERAL  
in the service of the United States,  
and commander of their army  
in the southern department.  
The United States in Congress assembled,  
in honour of his  
patriotism, valour, and ability,  
have erected this monument.

#### MAJOR GENERAL HENRY KNOX.

Major general Henry Knox, was born July 25, 1750. Before hostilities between this country and Great Britain in the revolutionary war commenced, he discovered an uncommon zeal in the cause of liberty. Being placed at the head of an independent company in Boston he exhibited in this station a skill in discipline, which presaged his future eminence. It was at the unanimous request of all the officers of artillery, that he was entrusted with the command in that department. When the corps of artillery in 1776 was increased to three regiments, the command was given to Knox, who was promoted to the rank of a brigadier general. He was actively engaged during the whole contest. After the capture of Cornwallis in 1781, he received the commission of a major general, having distinguished him-



self in the siege at the head of the artillery. Previously to the adoption of the present constitution general Knox succeeded general Lincoln as secretary at war in March 1785; and after our present government was organized in 1789 president Washington nominated him for the same office. He continued to fill this department till the close of the year 1794, when he resigned it, being driven from the service of the public by the scantiness of the compensation allowed him. In his letter to the president he says, "after having served my country near twenty years, the greater portion of the time under your immediate auspices, it is with extreme reluctance I find myself constrained to withdraw from so honorable a situation. But the natural and powerful claims of a numerous family will no longer permit me to neglect their essential interests. In whatever situation I shall be, I shall recollect your confidence and kindness with all the fervor and purity of affection, of which a grateful heart is susceptible." General Washington in reply assured him of his sincerest friendship, and declared him to have "deserved well of his country." During the last years of his life general Knox lived at Thomastown in the district of Maine. It was in that place, that he died after a short illness, October 25, 1806, aged fifty six years. His death was occasioned by his swallowing the bone of a chicken.

General Knox was distinguished for his military talents, his bravery, perseverance, and integrity. He possessed in an uncommon degree the esteem and confidence of Washington. Though a soldier and a statesman, he did not dismiss the amiable virtues of the man. There was a frankness in his manners, which was pleasing, and his heart was susceptible of the kindly affections.

#### GENERAL ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Alexander Hamilton, first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, was a native of the Island of St. Croix, and was born in 1757.

At the age of sixteen, he accompanied his mother to New York, and entered a student at Columbia college, in which he continued about three years. While a member of this institution, the first buddings of his intellect gave presages of his future eminence. The contest with Great Britain called forth the first talents on each side, and his juvenile pen asserted the claims of the colonies against very respectable writers. His papers exhibited such evidences of intellect and wisdom, that they were ascribed to Mr. Jay, and when the truth was discovered, America saw with astonishment a lad of seventeen in the list of her able advocates. At the age of eighteen, he entered the American army as an officer of artillery. The first sound of war awakened his martial spirit, and as a soldier he soon conciliated the regard of his brethren in arms. It was not long before he attracted the notice of Washington, who in 1777 selected him as aid, with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Throughout the campaign, which terminated in the capture of lord Cornwallis, col. Hamilton commanded a battalion of light infantry. At the siege of York, in 1781, when the second parallel was opened, two redoubts which flanked it, and were advanced three hundred yards in front of the British works, very much annoyed the men in the trenches. It was resolved to possess them, and to prevent jealousies, the attack of the one was committed to the Americans, and of the other to the French. The detachment of the Americans was commanded by the marquis de la Fayette, and col. Hamilton, at his own earnest request, led the advanced corps, consisting of two battalions. Towards the close of the day, on the fourteenth of October, the troops rushed to the charge without firing a single gun. The works were assaulted with irresistible impetuosity, and carried with but little loss. Eight of the enemy fell in the action; but notwithstanding the irritation lately produced by the infamous slaughter in fort Griswold, not a man was killed who ceased to resist.

Soon after the capture of Cornwallis, Hamilton sheathed his sword, and at the age of twenty-five applied to the study of the law. He soon rose to eminence in his profession, but his mind could not be detached from the public welfare. In a few years a more important affair demanded his talents. In 1787, he was appointed a member of the Convention for forming a national Constitution. His views on this subject were different from the majority of that august body. He was in favour of a more permanent executive and senate; and he wished for a strong government, which would not be shaken by the conflict of different interests and parties. These were his views and feelings, but believing the constitution to be incomparably superior to the old confederation, he exerted all his talents in its support, though it did not rise to his conception of a perfect system. By his pen in the papers, signed Publius, and by his voice in the convention of New York, he contributed much to its adoption. When the government was organized, in 1789, Washington placed him at the head of the treasury. In the new demands which were now made upon his talents, the resources of his mind did not fail him. In his reports he proposed plans for funding the debt of the union, and for assuming the debts of the respective states, for establishing a bank and mint, and for procuring a revenue. He wished to redeem the reputation of his country by satisfying her creditors, and to combine with the government such a monied interest, as might facilitate its operations. But while he opened sources of wealth to thousands, by establishing public credit, and thus restoring the public paper to its original value, he did not enrich himself. He did not take advantage of his situation, nor improve the opportunity he enjoyed for acquiring a fortune. Though accused of amassing wealth, he did not vest a dollar in the public funds. He was exquisitely delicate in regard to his official character, being determined if possible to pre-

vent the impeachment of his motives, and preserve his integrity and good name unimpaired.

On the last of January, 1795, he resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury. In 1798, when a provisional army was raised, in consequence of the injuries and demands of France, Washington suspended his acceptance of the command of it, on the condition, that Hamilton should be his associate and second in command. This arrangement was made. After the adjustment of our affairs with the French Republic, and the discharge of the army, he returned again to his profession in the city of New York. In this place he passed the remainder of his days.

In June, 1804, col. Burr, vice president of the United States, addressed a letter to gen. Hamilton, requiring his acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expression derogatory to the honour of the former. This demand was deemed inadmissible, and a duel was the consequence. At the close of the circuit court, the parties met at Hoboken, on the morning of Wednesday, July the eleventh, and Hamilton fell on the same spot, where his son, a few years before, had fallen, in obedience to the same principle of honour, and in the same violation of the laws of God and of man.

In the conversation which ensued, he disavowed all intention of taking the life of col. Burr, and declared his abhorrence of the whole transaction. When the sin of which he had been guilty, was intimated to him, he assented, with strong emotion; and when the infinite merit of the Redeemer, as the propitiation for sin, the sole ground of our acceptance with God, was suggested, he said, with emphasis, 'I have a tender reliance on the mercy of the Almighty, through the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ.' The reverend bishop Moore was afterwards sent for, and after making suitable inquiries of the penitence and faith of general Hamilton, and receiving his assurance, that he would never again, if restored to health, be engaged in a similar transaction, but would employ all his influence in society to discountenance the barbarous custom, administered to him the communion. After this his mind was composed. He expired about two o'clock on Thursday, July 12, 1804, aged about forty-seven years.

General Hamilton possessed very uncommon powers of mind. To whatever subject he directed his attention, he was able to grasp it, and in whatever he engaged, in that he excelled. So stupendous were his talents, and so patient was his industry, that no investigation presented difficulties which he could not conquer. In the class of men of intellect, he held the first rank. His eloquence was of the most interesting kind, and when new exertions were required, he rose in new strength, and touching at his pleasure every string of pity or terror, of indignation or grief, he bent the passions of others to his purpose. At the bar he gained the first eminence.



## LIEUT. GOVERNOR CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN.

Christopher Gadsden, lieutenant governor of South Carolina, and a distinguished friend of his country, was born about the year 1724. So high was his reputation in the colony in which he lived, that he was appointed one of the delegates to the congress which met at N. York, in Oct. 1765, to petition against the stamp act. He was also chosen a member of the congress which met in 1774, and on his return early in 1776, received the thanks of the provincial assembly for his services. He was among the first who openly advocated republican principles, and wished to make his country independent of the monarchical government of Great Britain. 'The decisive genius,' says Ramsay, 'of Christopher Gadsden in the south, and of John Adams in the north, at a much earlier day, might have desired a complete separation of America from Great Britain; but till the year 1776, the rejection of the second petition of congress, and the appearance of Paine's pamphlet, *Common Sense*, a reconciliation with the mother country was the unanimous wish of almost every other American.' During the siege of Charleston, in 1780, he remained within the lines, with five of the council, while governor Rutledge, with the other three, left the city at the earnest request of gen. Lincoln. Several months after the capitulation, he was taken out of his bed on the 27th of August, and with most of the civil and military officers, transported in a guard ship to St. Augustine. This was done by the order of lord Cornwallis, and it was in violation of the rights of prisoners on parole. Guards were left at their houses, and the private papers of some of them were examined. A parole was offered at St. Augustine; but such was the indignation of lieut. gov. Gadsden, at the ungenerous treatment which he had received, that he refused to accept it, and bore a close confinement in the castle for forty-two weeks with the greatest fortitude. In 1782, when it became necessary, by the rotation established, to choose a new governor, he was elected to this office; but he declined it in a short speech to the following effect. 'I have served you in a variety of stations for thirty years, and I would now cheerfully make one of a forlorn hope in an assault on the lines of Charleston, if it was probable, that with the loss of my life you would be reinstated in the possession of your capital. What I can do for my country, I am willing to do. My sentiments of the American cause from the stamp act downwards, have never changed. I am still of opinion, that it is the cause of liberty and of human nature.—The present times require the vigor and activity of the prime of life; but I feel the increasing infirmities of old age to such a degree, that I am conscious I cannot serve you to advantage. I therefore beg for your sakes, and for the sake of the public, that you would indulge me with the liberty of declining the arduous trust.' He continued, however, his exertions for the good of his country, both in the assembly and council,

and notwithstanding the injuries he had suffered, and the immense loss of his property, he zealously opposed the law for confiscating the estates of the adherents to the British government; and contended that sound policy required to forgive and forget. He died in September, 1805, aged eighty-one years.

#### COLONEL JOHN LAURENS.

John Laurens, a brave officer in the American war, was the son of Henry Laurens, president of Congress, and a native of South Carolina. John Laurens received his education in England. He joined the army in the beginning of 1777, from which time he was foremost in danger. He was present and distinguished himself in every action of the army under general Washington, and was among the first who entered the British lines at York Town. Early in 1781, while he held the rank of lieutenant-col. he was selected as the most suitable person to depute on a special mission to France, to solicit a loan of money, and to procure military stores. He arrived in March, and returned in August, having been so successful in the execution of his commission, that Congress passed a vote of thanks for his services. Such was his despatch, that in three days after he repaired to Philadelphia, he finished his business with Congress, and immediately rejoined the American army. On the 27th of August, 1782, in opposing a foraging party of the British, near Combahee river, in South Carolina, he was mortally wounded, and he died at the age of twenty-six years. His father, just released from imprisonment, and happy in a son of such distinction and virtues, now witnessed the desolation of all his hopes. Colonel Laurens, uniting the talents of a great officer with the knowledge of the scholar, and the engaging manners of the gentleman, was the glory of the army, and the idol of his country. Washington, who selected him as his aid, and reposed in him the highest confidence, declared that he could discover no fault in him, unless it was intrepidity, bordering upon rashness. His abilities were exhibited in the legislature and in the cabinet, as well as in the field. He was zealous for the rights of humanity, and, living in a country of slaves, contended, that personal liberty was the birth-right of every human being, however diversified by country, colour, or powers of mind. His insinuating address won the hearts of all his acquaintance, while his sincerity and virtue secured their lasting esteem.

#### MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM.

Israel Putnam was born at Salem, Massachusetts, January 7, 1718. His mind was vigorous, but it was never cultivated by education. When he for the first time went to Boston, he was insulted for his rusticity by a boy of twice his size. After bearing his sarcasms until his good nature was exhausted, he attacked and vanquished the

unmannerly fellow, to the great diversion of a crowd of spectators. In running, leaping and wrestling, he almost always bore away the prize.

In 1739, he removed to Pomfret, in Connecticut, where he cultivated a considerable tract of land. He had, however, to encounter many difficulties, and among his troubles the depredations of wolves upon his sheepfold was not the least. In one night, seventy fine sheep and goats were killed. A she wolf, who with her annual whelps had for several years infested the vicinity, being considered as the principal cause of the havock, Mr. Putnam entered into a combination with a number of his neighbours, to hunt alternately, till they should destroy her. At length the hounds drove her into her den, and a number of persons soon collected with guns, straw, fire and sulphur, to attack the common enemy. But the dogs were afraid to approach her, and the fumes of brimstone could not force her from the cavern. It was now ten o'clock at night. Mr. Putnam proposed to his black servant to descend into the cave and shoot the wolf; but as the negro declined, he resolved to do it himself. Having divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back at a concerted signal, he entered the cavern head foremost, with a blazing torch, made of strips of birch bark in his hand. He descended fifteen feet, passed along horizontally ten feet, and then began the gradual ascent, which is sixteen feet in length. He slowly proceeded on his hands and knees in an abode, which was silent as the house of death. Cautiously glancing forwards, he discovered the glaring eye-balls of the wolf, who started at the sight of his torch, gnashed her teeth, and gave a sullen growl. He immediately kicked the rope, and was drawn out with a friendly celerity and violence, which not a little bruised him. Loading his gun with nine buck shot, and carrying it in one hand, while he held the torch with the other, he descended a second time. As he approached the wolf, she howled, rolled her eyes, snapped her teeth, dropped her head between her legs, and was evidently on the point of springing at him. At this moment he fired at her head, and soon found himself drawn out of the cave. Having refreshed himself, he again descended, and seizing the wolf by her ears, kicked the rope, and his companions above with no small exultation, dragged them both out together.

During the French war, he was appointed to command a company of the first troops which were raised in Connecticut, in 1755. He rendered much service to the army in the neighbourhood of Crown Point. In 1756, while near Ticonderoga, he was repeatedly in the most imminent danger. He escaped in an adventure of one night with twelve bullet holes in his blanket. In August he was sent out with several hundred men, to watch the motions of the enemy. Being ambuscaded by a party of equal numbers, a general but irregular action took place. Putnam had discharged his fusée several times,



but at length it missed fire, while its muzzle was presented to the breast of a savage. The warrior, with his lifted hatchet, and a tremendous war-whoop compelled him to surrender, and then bound him to a tree. In the course of the action, the parties changed their position, so as to bring this tree directly between them. The balls flew by him incessantly ; many struck the tree, and some passed through his clothes. The enemy now gained possession of the ground, but being afterwards driven from the field, they carried their prisoner with them. At night he was stripped, and a fire was kindled to roast him alive ; but a French officer saved him. The next day he arrived at Ticonderoga, and thence he was carried to Montreal. About the year 1759, he was exchanged, through the ingenuity of his fellow prisoner, col. Schuyler. When peace took place, he returned to his farm.

He was ploughing in his field, in 1775, when he heard the news of the battle of Lexington. He immediately unyoked his team, left his plough on the spot, and without changing his clothes, set off for Cambridge. He soon went back to Connecticut, levied a regiment, and repaired again to the camp. In a little time he was promoted to the rank of major general. In the battle of Bunker's hill, he exhibited his usual intrepidity. He directed the men to reserve their fire, till the enemy was very near, reminded them of their skill, and told them to take good aim. They did so, and the execution was terrible. After the retreat, he made a stand at Winter hill, and drove back the enemy under cover of their ships. When the army was organized by general Washington, at Cambridge, Putnam was appointed to command the reserve. In August, 1776, he was stationed at Brooklyn, on Long Island. After the defeat of our army on the twenty-seventh of that month, he went to New York, and was very serviceable in the city and neighbourhood. In October or November, he was sent to Philadelphia to fortify that city. In January, 1777, he was directed to take post at Princeton, where he continued until spring. At this place, a sick prisoner, a captain, requested that a friend in the British army, at Brunswick, might be sent for, to assist him in making his will. Putnam was perplexed. He had but fifty men under his command, and he did not wish to have his weakness known ; yet he was unwilling to deny the request. He however sent a flag of truce, and directed the officer to be brought in the night. In the evening, lights were placed in all the college windows, and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. The officer on his return, reported that general Putnam's army could not consist of less than four or five thousand men. In the spring he was appointed to the command of a separate army in the highlands of New York. One Palmer, a lieutenant in the tory new levies, was detected in the camp ; governor Tryon reclaimed him as a British officer, threatening vengeance if he was not restored. General Putnam wrote the following pithy reply : ' Sir, Nathan Palmer, a lieu-

tenant in your king's service, was taken in my camp as a spy ; he was tried as a spy ; he was condemned as a spy ; and he shall be hanged as a spy. P. S. Afternoon. He is hanged.' After the loss of fort Montgomery, the commander in chief determined to build another fortification, and he directed Putnam to fix upon a spot. To him belongs the praise of having chosen West Point. The campaign of 1779, which was principally spent in strengthening the works at this place, finished the military career of Putnam. A paralytic affection impaired the activity of his body, and he passed the remainder of his days in retirement, retaining his relish for enjoyment, his love of pleasantry, his strength of memory, and all the faculties of his mind. He died at Brooklyn, Connecticut, May 29, 1790, aged seventy-two years.

#### MAJOR GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

Richard Montgomery, a major general in the army of the United States, was born in the north of Ireland, in the year 1737. He possessed an excellent genius, which was matured by a fine education. Entering the army of Great Britain, he successfully fought her battles with Wolfe, at Quebec, in 1759, and on the very spot, where he was doomed to fall, when fighting against her, under the banners of freedom. After his return to England, he quitted his regiment, in 1772, though in a fair way to preferment. He had imbibed an attachment to America, viewing it as the rising seat of arts and freedom. After his arrival in this country, he purchased an estate in New York, about a hundred miles from the city, and married a daughter of judge Livingston. He now considered himself as an American. When the struggle with Great Britain commenced, as he was known to have an ardent attachment to liberty, and had expressed his readiness to draw his sword on the side of the colonies, the command of the continental forces in the northern department, was entrusted to him and general Schuyler in the fall of 1775.

By the indisposition of Schuyler, the chief command devolved upon him in October. He reduced fort Chamblee, and on the third of November captured St. Johns. On the twelfth, he took Montreal. In December, he joined col. Arnold, and marched to Quebec. The city was besieged, and on the last day of the year it was determined to make an assault. The several divisions were accordingly put in motion, in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, which concealed them from the enemy. Montgomery advanced at the head of the New York troops along the St. Lawrence, and having assisted with his own hands in pulling up the pickets which obstructed his approach to one of the barriers he was determined to force, he was pushing forwards, when one of the guns of the battery was discharged, and he was killed, with his two aids. This was the only gun that was fired, for the enemy had been struck with consternation,

and all but one or two had fled. But this event probably prevented the capture of Quebec. When he fell, Montgomery was in a narrow passage, and his body rolled upon the ice, which formed by the side of the river. After it was found the next morning among the slain, it was buried by a few soldiers, without any marks of distinction. He was thirty-eight years of age. He was a man of great military talents, whose measures were taken with judgment, and executed with vigor. With undisciplined troops, who were jealous of him in the extreme, he yet inspired them with his own enthusiasm. He shared with them in all their hardships, and thus prevented their complaints. His industry could not be wearied, nor his vigilance imposed upon, nor his courage intimidated.

To express the high sense entertained by his country, of his services, Congress directed a monument of white marble, with the following inscription on it, and which was placed in front of St. Paul's church, New York.

THIS MONUMENT  
Was erected by order of  
Congress, 25th January, 1776,  
To transmit to posterity  
A grateful remembrance of the  
Patriotism, conduct, enterprize, and  
Perseverance

OF MAJOR GENERAL  
RICHARD MONTGOMERY ;  
Who, after a series of success,  
Fell in the attack  
On Quebec,  
31st December, 1775,  
Aged 39 years.

The remains of general Montgomery, after resting 42 years at Quebec, by a resolve of the state of New York, were brought to the city of New York, on the 8th of July, 1818, and deposited with ample form and grateful ceremonies, near the aforesaid monument in St. Paul's church.

The remains were deposited in a most splendid mahogany coffin, with the following inscription, elegantly engraved upon a silver plate placed on the lid :

THE STATE OF NEW YORK,  
IN HONOUR OF  
GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY ;  
Who fell gloriously fighting for the  
INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERTY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
Before the walls of Quebec, the 31st day of  
December, 1775, caused these remains  
Of this distinguished Hero to  
Be conveyed from Quebec,



And deposited on the eighth day of July, 1818,  
In St. Paul's Church, in the city of  
New York, near the monument  
Erected to his memory  
BY THE UNITED STATES.

#### MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Philip Schuyler, a major general in the revolutionary war, received this appointment from congress, June 19, 1775. He was directed to proceed immediately from New York to Ticonderoga, to secure the lakes, and to make preparations for entering Canada. Being taken sick, in September, the command devolved upon Montgomery. On his recovery, he devoted himself zealously to the management of the affairs in the northern department. The superintendence of the Indian concerns claimed much of his attention. On the approach of Burgoyne, in 1777, he made every exertion to obstruct his progress; but the evacuation of Ticonderoga by St. Clair, occasioning unreasonable jealousies in regard to Schuyler, in New England, he was superseded by Gates, in August, and congress directed an inquiry to be made into his conduct. It was a matter of extreme chagrin to him, to be recalled at the moment when he was about to take ground and face the enemy. He afterwards, though not in the regular service, rendered important services to his country, in the military transactions of New York. He was a member of the old congress, and when the present government of the United States commenced its operation, in 1789, he was appointed with Rufus King a senator from his native state. In 1797 he was again appointed a senator, in the place of Aaron Burr. He died at Albany, November 18, 1804, in the seventy third year of his age. Distinguished by strength of intellect, and upright intentions, he was wise in the contrivance, and enterprising and persevering in the execution of plans of public utility. In private life he was dignified, but courteous, a pleasing and instructive companion, affectionate in his domestic relations, and just in all his dealings. General Hamilton married his daughter.

#### MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

Benjamin Lincoln was born at Hingham, Mass. O. S. 1733, and holds a high rank in the fraternity of American Heroes. His early years, and until he was more than forty, were spent upon the farm. He early espoused the cause of his country, as a determined whig, and in 1776 was appointed major general by the Massachusetts committee of safety. In 1777, upon the recommendation of Washington, congress created him a major general on the continental establishment. In July, 1777, gen. Washington selected him to join the northern army, under command of gen. Gates, to oppose Burgoyne's advance. By his enterprize and vigilance while in this command, he contributed essentially to the glorious results which followed. In

the sanguinary battle of the 7th of October, gen. Lincoln, while courageously leading on his division to relieve the troops that had been engaged, received a wound which disabled him, and compelled him to leave the field. The bones of his leg were badly fractured, and by the loss of the bone the limb was shortened, which occasioned lameness during the remainder of his life. By this unfortunate circumstance, he was prevented from participating in the capture of the whole British army, which followed soon after.

From the display of his talents as a military commander, congress designated him to the chief command in the southern department. In this command, notwithstanding its unfortunate termination at Charleston, so established was the spotless reputation of the vanquished general, that he continued to enjoy the undiminished respect of congress, the army, and the commander in chief. The following anecdote is related of him at this time.

While at Purysburgh, on the Savannah river, a soldier named Fickling, having been detected in frequent attempts to desert, was tried and sentenced to be hanged. The general ordered the execution. The rope broke, a second was procured, which broke also; the case was reported to the general for directions. 'Let him run,' said the general, 'I thought he looked like a scape gallow's.'

In the campaign of 1781, general Lincoln commanded a division under Washington, and at the siege of Yorktown he had his full share of the honor of that brilliant and auspicious event. The articles of capitulation stipulated for the same honor in favor of the surrendering army, as had been granted to the garrison of Charleston. General Lincoln was appointed to conduct them to the field, where their arms were deposited, and received the customary submission. In the general order of the commander in chief, the day after the capitulation, gen. Lincoln was among the general officers whose services were particularly mentioned. In October, 1781, he was chosen by congress secretary at war, retaining his rank in the army. In this office he continued, till October, 1783, when his proffered resignation was accepted by congress.

In the summer of 1789, president Washington appointed him collector of the port of Boston, which office he held until about two years before his death. Admonished by the infirmities of age, he resigned his office. On the 9th of May, 1810, his valuable life was terminated, at the age of 77 years.

The following tribute is on the records of the society of Cincinnati. 'At the annual meeting, in July, 1810, maj. gen. John Brooks was chosen president of the society, to supply the place of our venerable and much lamented president, gen. Benjamin Lincoln, who had presided over the society from the organization thereof, in 1783, to the 9th of May, 1810, the day of his decease, with the entire approbation of every member, and the grateful tribute of his surviving comrades, for his happy guidance and affectionate attentions during so long a period.'

## THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE, MAJOR GENERAL.

The name and character of this illustrious French nobleman, will occupy a conspicuous place in our Revolutionary annals, and be honored by posterity no less for his enthusiastic love of liberty, than for his heroism and military renown. There is something truly romantic in the history of this celebrated personage. In the year 1776, at the immature age of nineteen, he espoused the cause of the Americans, and nobly resolved to afford our country all possible assistance by his personal services and influence. At this era, the affairs of America were bordering on despair, and were represented in France as so deplorable that it might be supposed sufficient to repress the most determined zeal. Reports were propagated in that country that our army, reduced to a mere rabble, was flying before an army of thirty thousand regulars, nor was this very wide from the reality. In consequence of this, our commissioners found it impossible to procure a vessel to convey the marquis and their own despatches to Congress; they could not therefore feel justified in encouraging his bold contemplated enterprize. This embarrassment however, had the effect of increasing rather than of restraining his youthful ardor and heroism. He imparted to the commissioners his determination to purchase and fit out a vessel to convey himself and their despatches to America. This project was deemed so extraordinary and important, that it did not fail to engage universal attention. The French court had not then declared even a friendly intention towards America, but on the contrary was extremely cautious of giving offence to the British government. Orders were therefore given prohibiting the departure of this nobleman, and vessels were even despatched to the West Indies to intercept him, in case he should take that route. The marquis was well apprized that he exposed himself to the loss of his fortune by the laws of France; and that, should he fall into the hands of the English, on his passage, he would be liable to a confinement of uncertain duration, and without a prospect of being exchanged. These considerations however, did not deter him from the attempt, and bidding adieu to his amiable consort and numerous endeared connexions, and trusting to good fortune to favor his elopement, he embarked, and in due time arrived safe in Charleston, in the summer of 1776. He landed soon after the noble defence made by general Moultrie at the Fort on Sullivan's Island. Charmed with the gallantry displayed by that general and his brave troops, the marquis presented him with clothing, arms and accoutrements for one hundred men. He met with a cordial reception from our Congress, and they immediately accepted his proffered services. He insisted that he would receive no compensation, and that he would commence his services as a volunteer. This noble philanthropist was received into the family of the Commander in Chief, where a strong mutual attachment was contracted, and he has



often been called "THE ADOPTED SON OF WASHINGTON." July 31, 1777, Congress resolved, that, "Whereas the marquis de la Fayette out of his great zeal to the cause of liberty in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and connexions, and at his own expense come over to offer his services to the United States without pension or particular allowance, and is anxious to risk his life in our cause,—Resolved that his service be accepted, and that in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connexions, he have the rank and commission of MAJOR GENERAL in the Army of the United States." At the battle of Brandywine, September, 1777, the marquis exhibited full proof of his undaunted bravery and military character, and received a wound in his leg. In November of the same year, about one hundred and fifty men of Morgan's rifle corps under lieutenant colonel Butler, and an equal number of militia under the marquis de la Fayette, who still served as a volunteer, attacked with great gallantry a picket of the enemy, consisting also of about three hundred men, and drove them with the loss of twenty or thirty killed, and a greater number wounded, quite into their camp; after which, they retired without being pursued.

The marquis, who was said by general Greene to search for danger was charmed with the conduct of this small detachment. "I found the riflemen," said that nobleman in a letter to general Washington, "above even *their* reputation, and the militia above all expectations I could have formed of them."

In May, 1778, to cover the country effectually on the north of the Schuylkill, and restrain as much as possible the parties detached in various directions from Philadelphia, who most generally effected their object, and returned before they could be opposed by the army lying at Valley Forge; to form an advance guard for the security of the main army, and to be in readiness to annoy, if practicable, the rear of the enemy, should they evacuate Philadelphia, an event which a great variety of circumstances combined to prove was in contemplation, the marquis de la Fayette, was detached with somewhat more than two thousand choice troops, and a few pieces of cannon, to take post near the lines.

With this detachment, the marquis crossed the Schuylkill, and took post at Barren hill, about eight or ten miles in front of the army at Valley Forge. Immediate notice of his arrival was given to sir William Howe, who reconnoitered his position, and formed a plan to surprise and cut him off.

In execution of this plan, on the night of the 19th, general Grant with five thousand select troops, took the road which leads up the Delaware, and consequently diverges from Barren hill. After marching along this road some distance, he inclined to the left, and passing by White marsh, where several roads unite, took one leading to the position he was directed to occupy, something more than a mile in the rear of the marquis, between him and Valley Forge. He

reached his point of destination about sun-rise, entirely undiscovered. Here, the roads fork ; the one leading to the camp of la Fayette, and the other to Matson's ford over the Schuylkill.

Gen. Gray, on the night of the 19th of May, marched with seven thousand men, and by a skilful movement got into the marquis' rear, while another detachment was advancing to his front.

Thus perilous was the situation of the marquis, when he first discovered the danger which threatened him. It was about the same time perceived from the camp at Valley Forge. Alarm guns were fired to announce it to him, and the whole army was put under arms to act as circumstances might require. Thus surrounded with danger, la Fayette took, with promptitude and decision, the only course which could have preserved him. He put his troops instantly in motion and passed over at Matson's ford, which was rather nearer to general Grant than himself, without being intercepted by that officer, or sustaining a greater loss than nine men.

Having crossed the river, and taken possession of the high grounds on the other side, he sent back a small party to bring over his field pieces, which were also secured.

General Grant, who had reached the ground lately occupied by la Fayette, soon after it was abandoned, followed his rear, and appeared at the ford just after the Americans had crossed it ; but finding them very advantageously posted, he did not choose to attack them, and the whole army returned to Philadelphia, having effected nothing.

In the statement of this affair made by the marquis, he represents himself to have advanced the head of a column towards Grant, as if to attack him, while the rear filed off rapidly towards the Schuylkill. This movement gained ground even for the front, which, while it advanced towards the enemy, also approached the river, and at the same time induced general Grant to halt, in order to prepare for battle.

While this manœuvre was performing in the face of the detachment under Grant, a small party was thrown into the church-yard, which was surrounded by a wall, on the road towards general Gray, which also gave the appearance of an intention to attack in that quarter. By these dispositions, happily conceived, and executed with regularity, the marquis extricated himself and his party from the destruction which had appeared almost inevitable. In his letter to Congress, general Washington termed it "a timely and handsome retreat ;" and certainly the compliment was merited.

In August, 1778, he repaired to Rhode Island, to assist in the expedition under major general Sullivan, in conjunction with the French fleet, and he received the particular approbation and applause of Congress, for his judicious and highly important services.

In January, 1779, the marquis embarked at Boston, on a voyage to France, and was subjected to imminent danger from a conspiracy

among the sailors, a great part of whom were British. He returned in May, 1780, bringing the joyful intelligence that a French fleet and army would soon arrive on our coast. Through his great zeal for the cause of the United States, he exerted his influence with his government, no longer fearful of giving offence to the English, to afford money and troops and other important succours. He was soon put at the head of a select corps of light infantry for the service of the campaign. This afforded him a new opportunity for the display of his munificence. He presented to every officer under his command, an elegant sword, and his soldiers were clothed in uniform principally at his expense. He infused into this corps a spirit of pride and emulation, viewing it as one formed and modelled according to his own wishes, and as deserving his highest confidence. They were the pride of his heart and he the idol of their regard ; constantly panting for an opportunity of accomplishing some signal achievement worthy of his and their character. This corps was pronounced equal to any that could be produced in any country. In December, 1780, he marched with one thousand two hundred light infantry for Virginia, to counteract the devastations of Arnold and Phillips. He made a forced march of two hundred miles and prevented general Phillips possessing himself of Richmond, and secured the stores of that place. At one period there was not a single pair of shoes in his whole command, and such was his zeal and generous spirit, and such the confidence and respect of the people, that he was enabled to borrow of the merchants of Baltimore two thousand guineas on his own credit, with which he purchased shoes, and other necessary articles for his troops. The marquis was employed in watching the motions of lord Cornwallis in Virginia, with an inferior force ; in this arduous duty he displayed the judgment, skill and prudence of a veteran, with the ardor of youth. In a skirmish near Jamestown, not a man in the whole detachment was more exposed, and one of his horses was killed.

Lord Cornwallis having encamped near Jamestown, the marquis la Fayette sent general Wayne with the Pennsylvania troops to take their station within a small distance of the British army, and watch their motions. The two advanced parties were soon engaged, and general Wayne drove that of the enemy back to their lines, and without stopping there, attacked the whole British army, drawn up in order of battle, and charged them with bayonets. The action was extremely severe for the little time it lasted, but the disproportion of numbers was so great, that the enemy was on the point of surrounding our troops, when the marquis arrived in person, just time enough to order a retreat, by which they were rescued from their hazardous situation, after suffering considerable loss.

General Henry Lee, in his *Memoirs of the War in the Southern States*, eulogizes the character and conduct of La Fayette, when



compelled to fly before the British commander, in the following language.

"In this period of gloom, of disorder, and of peril, la Fayette was collected and undismayed. With zeal, with courage, and with sagacity, he discharged his arduous duties; and throughout his difficult retreat, was never brought even to array but once in order for battle. Invigorating our councils by his precepts; dispelling our despondency by his example; and encouraging his troops to submit to their many privations, by the cheerfulness with which he participated in their wants; he imparted the energy of his own mind to the country, and infused his high-toned spirit into the army."

Great encomiums were passed on the marquis for his humanity and goodness in visiting and administering to the relief of the wounded soldiers. Lord Cornwallis having received a reinforcement, was so confident of success against his young antagonist, that he imprudently said in a letter which was intercepted, "*the boy cannot escape me.*" He planned the surprize of the marquis while on the same side of James' river with himself, but in this he was baffled by means of a spy, whom the marquis sent into the enemy's camp to obtain some necessary intelligence. A combination of talents and skill defeated all the energies of physical power. During the siege of lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, the marquis was among the most active and intrepid of the general officers, and he commanded a detachment of our light infantry, which successfully assaulted the British redoubt on the right of our lines. Previous to his departure from Yorktown, he issued his last order to his favorite corps of infantry, in which are contained the following expressions.

"In the moment the major general leaves this place, he wishes once more to express his gratitude to the brave corps of light infantry, who for nine months past, have been the companions of his fortunes. He will never forget that with them alone, of regular troops, he had the good fortune to manœuvre before an army which after all its reductions is still six times superior to the regular force he had at that time."

The marquis now perceiving that the mighty contest for American Independence, in which he had been so nobly engaged, was near its completion, was about to return with the well earned laurels on his brow, to his king and country. Congress resolved, November 23, 1781, "that major general the marquis La Fayette be informed, that on a review of his conduct throughout the past campaign, and particularly during the period when he had the chief command in Virginia, the many new proofs which present themselves of his zealous attachment to the cause he has espoused, and of his judgment, vigilance, gallantry and address in its defence, have greatly added to the high opinion entertained by Congress of his merit in military talents." During his military career in America, the marquis displayed that patriotism, integrity, humanity, and every other virtue which charac-

terizes real greatness of soul. His manners being easy, affable and engaging, he was particularly endeared to the officers and soldiers under his command ; they admired, loved, and revered him as their guide and support when in peril, and their warmest friend when in perplexity and trouble. The most affectionate attachment subsisted between him and the illustrious chief under whose banners it was his delight to serve, and whose language was, " this nobleman unites to all the military fire of youth, an uncommon maturity of judgment."

His very soul burned with the spirit of enterprize, and he manifested a disinterestedness and devotion to the cause of freedom, ever to be admired and applauded by a grateful people. He ever discovered both in design and execution, those traits of genius and that intuitive knowledge of tactics, which designate the great man, and the successful warrior. The people of the United States are fully apprized of their high obligations to him, and their history will transmit the name of *LA FAYETTE* with grateful acknowledgments to the latest posterity. It is gratifying to learn that Congress granted him a valuable tract of land, as a compensation in part for his disinterested patriotism and important services.

When in December, 1784, the Marquis was about to take his final departure from America, congress appointed a committee, consisting of one member from each state, to receive him, and in the name of congress to take leave of him, in such a manner as might strongly manifest their esteem and regard for him. That they be instructed to assure him, that congress continued to entertain the same high sense of his abilities and zeal to promote the welfare of America, both here and in Europe, which they frequently expressed and manifested on former occasions. That the United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honor and prosperity, and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him. Congress resolved also, that a letter be written to his most Christian Majesty, expressive of the high sense which the United States, in congress assembled, entertain of the zeal, talents and meritorious services of the marquis de la Fayette, and recommending him to the favor and patronage of his Majesty. The marquis made a very respectful and affectionate reply, in which he expressed the lively feelings of a heart devoted to the welfare of our rising empire, and gratefully acknowledged, that at a time when an inexperienced youth, he was favoured with his respected friend's paternal adoption. He thus concludes his address.

' May this immense temple of freedom ever stand as a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind ; and may these happy United States attain that complete splendor and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of their government, and for ages to come, rejoice in the departed souls of its founders. Never can congress oblige me so much, as when they put it in my power in every part of the world, to the latest day of

my life, to gratify the attachment which will ever rank me among the most zealous and respectful servants of the United States.'

On his arrival in France he was received in the most enthusiastic manner. His praises were sung in the streets, busts and pictures of him filled the shops, and universal popularity attended him. He was selected without opposition a deputy to the States General by his native province. When these were superseded by the National Assembly, he came forward in that body, (1789) with his celebrated declaration of the rights of man. He opposed the measures of the court with such firmness, that he was made president of the Assembly, and commandant of the National guard. He accepted the latter post with pleasure, and swore to be faithful to the liberties of his country. It is unnecessary to mention with too much minuteness the numerous affrays and quarrels that took place at this period between the king's body guards and the national troops. It is sufficient to remark, that the whole influence of la Fayette was used to preserve order and regularity in the French capital, and to alleviate the public distresses. When he was ordered by the commune of Paris to proceed to Versailles with his army, and take possession of the out posts, he restrained the violence of his soldiers, assured the king and queen of their safety, and saved the lives of fifteen of the household troops, who had been selected as the victims of the infuriated assailants.—He also advised the duke of Orleans to leave the kingdom, as his presence gave countenance to many sanguinary procedures.

The popularity of la Fayette continuing to increase, he was on the 14th of July, 1790, made general in chief of the national guards of France. At this time he occupied a most important situation—the eyes of the whole world were turned on him. A boundless influence and a devoted army might have carried him successfully to the highest grade of power. In a word, on him reposed all the destinies of France. This was the crisis of his reputation, and from his course at that time, his friends and enemies took their opinions of his character. There was but one course for la Fayette to pursue, and that was the support of liberty, and the maintenance of public tranquillity. He held, as it were, a magnanimous neutrality between the different parties, whenever their projects went beyond the laws of justice and moderation. He gave his vote for the trial by jury, and emancipation of the people of color. But in the spring of 1791, the tide of public feeling began to change. Nothing had been done to settle the affairs of the nation, and the violent reaction of parties commenced, in spite of the restraint imposed upon them. Even his army became affected by the intrigues of enemies, and when Louis XVI. wished to visit St. Cloud, and la Fayette gave orders to let him pass—he was for the first time disobeyed. Disgusted with this want of subordination, la Fayette threw up his commission, and did not resume it until the most humble apologies were made to him.



When the king afterwards actually fled, he was suspected of being concerned in his flight, and the most violent abuse, both in and out of the Assembly, was heaped upon him. The retaking of Louis at Varennes, checked the torrent for a short time, but the royalists now turned upon him from one side, and Murat and the friends of the duke of Orleans accused him of treason on the other. His life was actually attempted by a ruffian of the name of Fournien, whom he suffered to escape unpunished. When the constitution was adopted, in the spirit of a Washington, he resigned his command, alleging that the emergency which required his services, was now over. On this occasion a golden medal, and a bust of Washington, were presented him by the city of Paris. He was offered in addition, a full remuneration for his losses by the Revolution, and this he magnanimously declined. In 1792, he was given the command of the army of the centre, near Ardennes, but had no opportunity offered in which to distinguish himself. Observing, however, the wanton and unnecessary indignities offered to the king, he caused remonstrances to be forwarded from the different corps of the army. These producing no effect, he went in person to Paris, to make his complaints. The military once more opened their arms to receive him, and asked to be led against the Jacobin club, the authors of all the injuries of which he complained. This, from the generous desire to prevent the effusion of blood, he refused, while he proposed to the king, at the same time, to throw himself upon the army for protection. The imbecility and distrust of Louis prevented him from acceding to the offer, when no doubt it would have changed the current of affairs.

On the 10th of August, memorable for the horrid massacres at Versailles, and the flight of the royal family to the national assembly for safety, la Fayette was deprived of his command. His humanity had once saved the palace from destruction, but the Parisian mob now thirsted for blood. The Swiss body guards had no longer a protector to check the cruelty of their assaults. They were all massacred without mercy, though not without a gallant resistance. He lost his command at that time for taking a bold stand against the heated populace, and although the army professed still to love him, he withdrew in the night from the giddy throng of the soldiery, and the madness of party zealots. Immediately his enemies gave loose to their fury, a price was set on his head, and the golden medal before presented to him, was broken to pieces by the common hangman. If his character was now aspersed by the revolutionists, his person, the moment he crossed the frontiers, was endangered by the persecution of the royalists and emigrants. The petty duke of Saxe Teschen arrested the illustrious fugitive, and the gallows was actually in preparation for his execution. The king of Prussia then interfered, and changed the sentence of death, to that of close confinement in the dungeons of Wessel and Magdeburgh. After a year's suffering in the latter, the emperor of Austria next claimed him, and threw

him into chains at Olmutz, where death seemed about to close his sufferings. It seemed as if all the despots of Europe wished to contribute to his sufferings. Washington, at this time attempted to obtain his release, and two gentlemen, Dr. Bollman and a young American, named Huger, almost rescued him from prison, by a romantic and extraordinary attempt. He was recaptured, and confined more closely than ever, but was permitted to enjoy the society of his wife and daughter. In 1797, Bonaparte effected his release, and offered to protect him. La Fayette, however, retired to Hamburg, and lived very privately until the overthrow of the French Directory. He declined the offers then made him, and kept closely on his estate till 1815, when he was elected a deputy from the department of Seine and Marne, was nominated to the vice presidency, and had fifty votes for the office of president. After the battle of Waterloo, it is said, he advocated the abdication of Napoleon, and acted with Fouché, in declaring the sitting of the chambers permanent. Napoleon gave him credit for his intentions on this occasion, but according to Las Casas, 'pronounced him the dupe of men and things.' It is remarkable that Madame Campan expresses nearly the same opinion of him. One thing is certain, however, that La Fayette has ever acted with a single eye to the good of France. On the final restoration of the Bourbons, he again retired to private life, when he was once more elected a deputy from La Sarthe, though opposed by the whole weight of ministerial influence. At the last election, however, he was unsuccessful, because the most unjustifiable means were taken to prevent his success.

The leisure afforded him, happily occurs at a time when the whole American people are desirous to see him. When we consider the services of this illustrious man during the revolution, our hearts glow with love and admiration. And if his career since, has not always been equally fortunate, it was the fault of the people with whom he was engaged, the fickleness of the nation which he endeavoured to serve, and the rapacity of the times in which he lived. He is now (1824) sixty-seven years of age.

#### FREDERICK WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BARON DE STEUBEN.

This distinguished and philanthropic officer was a Prussian by birth, and served many years in the armies of Frederick the Great, as one of his aids, with the rank of lieutenant general. Ardently attached to the cause of liberty, he made an immense sacrifice by quitting the high station and emoluments which he held in Europe, and embarking in the cause of America. He arrived here in December, 1777, and immediately proffered his services to Congress, wishing only to serve in our armies as a volunteer, without any claim to rank. Congress voted him their thanks for his zeal, and he joined the army under Washington at Valley Forge. In May, 1778, Congress ap-

pointed him inspector general, with the rank of major general. He immediately entered upon the duties of his office; and by establishing a uniform system of manœuvres, and by persevering industry and skill, effected, during the continuance of the troops at Valley Forge, a most important improvement in all ranks of the army. It may be justly said, that it was his unwearied industry, patience and perseverance that called into service the army that gave liberty to America.

After the base desertion of Arnold at West Point, the Baron never omitted to proclaim his abhorrence of the name on all proper occasions. While inspecting a regiment, the name of Arnold struck his ear. The soldier was immediately ordered to the front; he was a fine looking fellow, and well equipped. 'Change your name, brother soldier,' said the Baron, 'You are too respectable to bear the name of a traitor.' 'What name shall I take, general?' 'Take any other name,—mine is at your service.' Most cheerfully was the offer accepted, and his name was entered on the roll as Steuben. He or his children now live on the land given him by the Baron in the town of Steuben. This brave soldier met him after the war. 'I am well settled, general,' said he, 'and have a wife and son; I have called my son after you, sir.' 'I thank you, my friend, what name have you given the boy.' 'I called him baron, what else could I call him?'

Though holding the office of inspector, it did not exclude him the privilege of command in the line according to his rank. The following incident, related in 'Thatcher's Journal,' while commander of a separate detachment in Virginia, shows him to have been too honest to suffer an imposition to be practised on the public.

A regiment had been collected, and was paraded on the point of marching, when a well looking man on horseback, and as it appeared, his servant on another, rode up, and informed the Baron that he had brought him a recruit. 'I thank you sir,' said the baron, 'with all my heart, you have arrived in a happy moment, where is your man, colonel?' for he was colonel in the militia. 'Here, Sir,' ordering his boy to dismount. The baron's countenance changed, his aids saw and feared the approaching storm. A sergeant was ordered to measure the lad, whose shoes when off, discovered something by which his stature had been increased. The baron patting the child's head, with his hand trembling with rage, asked him how old he was. He was very young, quite a child. 'Sir,' said he to the militia colonel, 'you must have supposed me to be a rascal.' 'Oh! no, baron, I did not. 'Then, sir, I suppose you to be a rascal, an infamous rascal, thus to attempt to cheat your country. Sergeant, take off this fellow's spurs, and place him in the ranks, that we may have a man able to serve, instead of an infant, whom he would basely have made his substitute. Go, my boy, take the colonel's spurs and horse to his wife; make my compliments, and say, her husband has



gone to fight for the freedom of his country, as an honest man should do, and instantly ordered—platoons! to the right, wheel,—forward march.’

At the siege of Yorktown the baron was in the trenches, at the head of his division, and received the first overture of lord Cornwallis to capitulate. At the relieving hour next morning, the marquis de la Fayette approached at the head of his division, to relieve him. The baron refused to quit the trenches, assigning as a reason, the etiquette in Europe, that the offer to capitulate had been made during his tour of duty, and that it was a point of honour of which he would not deprive his troops, to remain in the trenches till the capitulation was signed, or hostilities recommenced. The dispute was referred to the commander in chief, and the baron was permitted to remain till the British flag was struck. While on this duty, the baron perceiving himself in danger from a shell thrown from the enemy, threw himself suddenly into the trench; gen. Wayne, in the jeopardy and hurry of the moment fell on him; the baron, turning his eyes, saw it was his brigadier, ‘I always knew you were brave, general,’ said he, ‘but I did not know you were so perfect in every point of duty, you cover your general’s retreat in the best manner possible.’

After the brilliant affair at Yorktown, the baron returned northward, and remained with the army, continually employed, till the peace, in perfecting its discipline. ‘At the disbandment,’ says Thatcher, ‘of the revolutionary army, when inmates of the same tent, or hut, for seven long years, were separating, and probably forever; grasping each other’s hand, in silent agony, I saw the baron’s strong endeavours to throw some ray of sunshine on the gloom, to mix some drop of cordial with the painful draught. To go, they knew not whither; all recollection of the art to thrive by civil occupations lost, or to the youthful never known. Their hard earned military knowledge worse than useless, and with their badge of brotherhood, a mark at which to point the finger of suspicion—ignoble, vile suspicion! to be cast out on a world, long since by them forgotten. Severed from friends, and all the joys and griefs which soldiers feel! Griefs, while hope remained—when shared by numbers, almost joys! To go in silence and alone, and poor and hopeless; it was too hard! On that sad day, how many hearts were wrung! I saw it all, nor will the scene be ever blurred or blotted from my view. To a stern old officer, a lieut. col. Cochran, from the Green Mountains, who had met danger and difficulty almost in every step, from his youth, and from whose furrowed visage, a tear till that moment had never fallen; the good baron said what could be said, to lessen deep distress. ‘For myself,’ said Cochran, ‘I care not, I can stand it; but my wife and daughters are in the garret of that wretched tavern. I know not where to remove, nor have I means for their removal!’ ‘Come, my friend,’ said the baron, ‘let

us go—I will pay my respects to Mrs. Cochran and your daughters, if you please.’ ‘I followed to the loft, the lower rooms being all filled with soldiers, with drunkenness, despair and blasphemy. And when the baron left the poor unhappy cast-aways, he left hope with them, and all he had to give.’ ‘A black man, with wounds unhealed, wept on the wharf—for it was at Newburgh where this tragedy was acting)—there was a vessel in the stream, bound to the place where he once had friends. He had not a dollar to pay his passage, and he could not walk. Unused to tears, I saw them trickle down this good man’s cheeks, as he put into the hands of the black man the last dollar he possessed. The negro hailed the sloop, and cried, ‘God Almighty bless you, master baron!’

After the organization of the general government, by the exertions of Hamilton, patronized by Washington, congress, in consideration of his immense personal sacrifices, made him a grant of twenty-five hundred dollars per annum. This sum, together with a grant of a large tract of land from the state of New York, enabled this veteran to spend the remainder of his days in peace and quiet upon his own land. Though temperate in his habits, and free from any vicious habit, he was seized with an apoplexy, which in a few hours terminated his existence. He died in 1795, in the 65th year of his age. By his own desire he was wrapped in his cloak, placed in a plain coffin, and hid in the earth, without a stone to tell where he lies. His property he divided between his aid de camp and servants.

#### GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON,

##### *Commander in Chief of the American Armies.*

George Washington, commander in chief of the American army, during the revolutionary war with Great Britain, and first president of the United States, was the third son of Mr. Augustine Washington, and was born at Bridges creek, in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, February 22, 1732. His great grandfather had emigrated to that place from the north of England, about the year 1657. At the age of ten years, he lost his father, and the patrimonial estate descended to his elder brother, Mr. Lawrence Washington, who, in the year 1740, had been engaged in the expedition against Carthage. In honour of the British admiral, who commanded the fleet employed in that enterprise, the estate was called Mount Vernon. At the age of fifteen, agreeably to the wishes of his brother, as well as to his own urgent request to enter into the British navy, the place of a midshipman in a vessel of war then stationed on the coast of Virginia, was obtained for him. Every thing was in readiness for his departure, when the fears of a timid and affectionate mother prevailed upon him to abandon his proposed career on the ocean, and were the means of retaining him upon the land, to be the future vindicator of his country’s rights. All the advantages of education which he en-

joyed, were derived from a private tutor, who instructed him in English literature and the general principles of science, as well as in morality and religion. After his disappointment, with regard to entering the navy, he devoted much of his time to the study of the mathematics; and in the practice of his profession as a surveyor, he had an opportunity of acquiring that information respecting the value of vacant lands, which, afterwards, greatly contributed to the increase of his private fortune. At the age of nineteen, when the militia of Virginia were to be trained for actual service, he was appointed an adjutant-general with the rank of major. It was for a very short time, that he discharged the duties of that office. In the year 1753, the plan formed by France, for connecting Canada with Louisiana by a line of posts, and thus of enclosing the British colonies, and of establishing her influence over the numerous tribes of Indians on the frontiers, began to be developed. In the prosecution of this design, possession had been taken of a tract of land, then believed to be within the province of Virginia. Mr. Dinwiddie, the lieutenant governor, being determined to remonstrate against the proposed encroachment, and violation of the treaties between the two countries, dispatched major Washington, through the wilderness to the Ohio, to deliver a letter to the commanding officer of the French, and also to explore the country. This trust of danger and fatigue he executed with great ability. He left Williamsburg, October 21, 1753, the very day on which he received his commission, and at the frontier settlement of the English, engaged guides to conduct him over the Alleghany mountains.

At a place upon the Alleghany, called Murdering town, they fell in with a hostile Indian who was one of the party then lying in wait, and who fired upon them not ten steps distant. They took him into custody and kept him until nine o'clock, and then let him go. To avoid the pursuit which they presumed would be commenced in the morning, they travelled all night. On reaching the Monongahela, they had a hard day's work to make a raft with a hatchet. In attempting to cross the river to reach a trader's house, they were enclosed by masses of ice. In order to stop the raft, major Washington put down his setting pole, but the ice came with such force against it, as to jerk him into the water. He saved himself by seizing one of the raft logs. With difficulty they landed on an island, where they passed the night. The cold was so severe, that the pilot's hands and feet were frozen. The next day they crossed the river upon the ice. Washington arrived at Williamsburg, January 16, 1754. His journal, which evinced the solidity of his judgment and his fortitude, was published.

As the French seemed disposed to remain on the Ohio, it was determined to raise a regiment of about 300 men to maintain the claims of the British crown. The command was given to Mr. Fry; and major Washington, who was appointed lieutenant colonel, marched



with two companies early in April, 1754, in advance of the other troops. A few miles west of the Great Meadows, he surprised a French encampment in a dark rainy night, and only one man escaped. Before the arrival of the two remaining companies, Mr. Fry died, and the command devolved on colonel Washington. Being joined by two other companies of regular troops from South Carolina and New York, after erecting a small stockade at the Great Meadows, he proceeded towards fort du Quesne, which had been built but a short time, with the intention of dislodging the French. He had marched only thirteen miles to the western-most foot of Laurel hill, before he received information of the approach of the enemy with superior numbers, and was induced to return to his stockade. He began a ditch around it, and called it fort Necessity; but the next day, July 3, he was attacked by fifteen hundred men. His own troops were only about four hundred in number. The action commenced at ten in the morning and lasted until dark. A part of the Americans fought within the fort, and a part in the ditch filled with mud and water. Colonel Washington was himself on the outside of the fort during the whole day. The enemy fought under cover of the trees and high grass. In the course of the night articles of capitulation were agreed upon. The garrison were allowed to retain their arms and baggage, and to march unmolested to the inhabited parts of Virginia. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was supposed to be about a hundred, and that of the enemy about two hundred. In a few months afterwards orders were received for settling the rank of the officers, and those who were commissioned by the king being directed to take rank of the provincial officers, colonel Washington indignantly resigned his commission. He now retired to Mount Vernon, that estate by the death of his brother, having devolved upon him. But in the spring of 1755, he accepted an invitation from general Braddock to enter his family as a volunteer aide-de-camp in his expedition to the Ohio. He proceeded with him to Will's creek, afterwards called fort Cumberland, in April. After the troops had marched a few miles from this place, he was seized with a raging fever; but refusing to remain behind, he was conveyed in a covered waggon. By his advice twelve hundred men were detached in order to reach fort du Quesne before an expected reinforcement should be received at that place. These disencumbered troops were commanded by Braddock himself, and colonel Washington, though still extremely ill, insisted upon proceeding with them. After they arrived upon the Monongahela he advised the general to employ the ranging companies of Virginia to scour the woods and prevent ambuscades; but his advice was not followed. On the ninth of July, when the army was within seven miles of the fort du Quesne, the enemy commenced a sudden and furious attack, being concealed by the wood and grass. Washington was the only aid, that was unwounded, and on him devolved the whole duty of carrying the orders

of the commander in chief. He was cool and fearless. Though he had two horses shot under him, and four balls through his coat, he escaped unhurt, while every officer on horseback was either killed or wounded. Doctor Craik, the physician, who attended him on his last sickness, was present in this battle, and says, "I expected every moment to see him fall. Nothing but the superintending care of Providence could have saved him from the fate of all around him." After an action of three hours, the troops gave way in all directions, and colonel Washington and two others, brought off Braddock, who had been mortally wounded. He attempted to rally the retreating troops; but, as he says himself, it was like endeavouring "to stop the wild bears of the mountains." The conduct of the regular troops was most cowardly. The enemy were few in numbers and had no expectation of victory. In a sermon occasioned by this expedition, the reverend Dr. Davies, of Hanover county, thus prophetically expressed himself: "as a remarkable instance of patriotism I may point out to the public that heroic youth, colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country." For this purpose he was indeed preserved, and at the end of twenty years he began to render to his country more important services, than the minister of Jesus could have anticipated. From 1755, to 1758, he commanded a regiment, which was raised for the protection of the frontiers.

In July, 1758, another expedition was undertaken against fort du Quesne, in which Washington commanded the Virginia troops. By slow marches they were enabled, on the 25th of November, to reach fort du Quesne, of which peaceable possession was taken, as the enemy on the preceding night setting it on fire, had abandoned it and proceeded down the Ohio. The works in this place were repaired, and its name was changed to that of fort Pitt. Colonel Washington now resigned his commission.

Soon after his resignation he was married to the widow of Mr. Custis, a young lady, to whom he had been for some time strongly attached, and who, to a large fortune and a fine person, added those amiable accomplishments, which fill with silent felicity the scenes of domestic life. His attention for several years, was principally directed to the management of his estate, which had now become considerable. He was, at this period, a respectable member of the legislature of Virginia, in which he took a decided part in opposition to the principle of taxation, asserted by the British parliament. He also acted as a judge of a county court. In 1774, he was elected a member of the first congress, and was placed on all those committees, whose duty it was to make arrangements for defence. In the following year, after the battle of Lexington, when it was determined by congress to resort to arms, colonel Washington was unanimously elected commander-in-chief of the army of the united colonies. All were satisfied as to

his qualifications, and the delegates from New England were particularly pleased with his election, as it would tend to unite the southern colonies cordially in the war. He accepted the appointment with diffidence, and expressed his intention of receiving no compensation for his services, and only a mere discharge of his expenses. He immediately repaired to Cambridge, in the neighbourhood of Boston, where he arrived on the 2d of July.

It is deemed unnecessary farther to pursue the biography of general Washington. His military life is so intimately connected with all the military operations of the revolution, the reader is referred to the former part of this work for its delineation.

In December 13, 1799, while attending to some improvements upon his estate, he was exposed to a light rain, which wetted his neck and hair. Unapprehensive of danger, he passed the afternoon in his usual manner, but at night he was seized with an inflammatory affection of the windpipe. The disease commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with some pain and a sense of stricture in the throat, a cough, and a difficult deglutition, which soon succeeded by fever and a quick and laborious respiration. About twelve or fourteen ounces of blood were taken from him. In the morning his family physician, doctor Craik, was sent for ; but the utmost exertions of medical skill were applied in vain. To his friend and physician who sat on his bed, and took his head in his lap, he said, with difficulty, " Doctor I am dying, and have been dying for a long time ; but I am not afraid to die." Respiration became more and more protracted and imperfect, until half past eleven on Saturday night, when, retaining the full possession of his intellect, he expired without a struggle. Thus, on the 14th of December, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, died the father of his country, " the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens." This event spread a gloom over the country, and the tears of America proclaimed the services and virtues of the hero and sage, and exhibited a people not insensible to his worth.

#### MAJOR GENERAL JOSEPH WARREN,

Was the first officer of distinction who immolated himself on the altar of freedom, at the dawn of the revolution, which ended in the recognition of the Independence of the thirteen United States of America by Great Britain.

His father was a respectable physician in the town of Roxbury, in the then province of Massachusetts Bay, where the general was born in the year 1739. It was in this town in which he received the rudiments of his education. At the age of fourteen he entered Harvard College, Cambridge, in which he finished his classical studies, and received the honours of that seminary in the years 1759 and 1762. He selected for his future pursuit in life, the science of Medicine.



which he studied with his father, and commenced its practice in the town of Boston, where he rapidly rose to eminence in his profession.

The passage of the celebrated Stamp Act, in 1765, caused a lively sensation throughout the colonies, in regard to the ulterior views of the British government. Dr. Warren, among others, from that period regarded every movement of the mother country with a steady eye.

While the crown found but few adherents, except its immediate dependants, the colonists were divided into two parties. The doctor was among that class of decided and bold politicians, who contemned the sending of reiterated petitions to the court of St. James, and who dreaded not the partial evils of war, while its anticipated success would eventuate in lasting benefits to future generations. The other party was composed of moderate whigs, who depended more upon the efficacy of their petitions, than upon an early and efficacious use of the physical powers which God and nature gave them. They dreaded temporary evil more than they prized lasting good. Hence the greatest caution and policy became necessary to be observed by the members of the caucus, whose objects were to unite the temporary murmurings of the moderates with their own measures of a general opposition. The Doctor was opposed to every kind of taxation which was not laid on the governed by the consent of their immediate representatives, and was always of opinion that, if the ill-fated policy of Britain should lead to acts of open hostility, the colonies were capable of fighting their own battles. It was his constant declaration, that we ought to make any sacrifice rather than submit to arbitrary power, or be so mean and pusillanimous as to tremble at the rods which would always be shaken over us.

Doctor Warren was present at the conflict at Lexington, and was said to be the most active man on that field, animating every where, by his presence and example, his countrymen to avenge their wrongs on that memorable occasion. From this period he appears to have taken a most active part in embodying troops, and assisting to bring the new raised army into discipline. Thus his labours were divided between the cabinet and the field, to the material injury of his private affairs.

The affair at Lexington having brought things to the crisis, the provincial congress of Massachusetts chose Dr. Warren their president, on the 14th of June, 1775, the second major general in their own forces, two days prior to the election of general Washington by the general Congress, as commander in chief.

He went from Cambridge to assist as a volunteer in throwing up entrenchments, by a detachment of 1000 men under col. Preston, in the vicinity of Boston. These were directed to be done on Bunker's hill, which from its very eligible situation would most annoy the British shipping, the more effectually to block up the British

troops in that town. This hill is high and large, and situated at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, the possession of which was of the utmost importance to either of the contending parties. The orders for its occupancy were issued by the provincial Congress on the 16th June. By some mistake Breed's hill was chosen, which was high and large like the other, but situated on the farther part of the peninsula next to Boston. The hour of midnight was witness to the commencement of the American entrenchments, and the dawn of the 17th, presented to the view of the astonished British, a redoubt of 90 rods square. The works were thrown up in the most profound silence. The captain of the *Lively*, man of war, was the first who saw, and by the firing of his guns about four in the morning, called the British fleet and camp to behold the Herculean labours of those they esteemed their pigmy foes. The occupancy of this post was judged of such importance by general Gage, as to attempt to dislodge the Americans therefrom. This he effected by a dear bought victory, a victory which in its consequences, was worse to him than a defeat. The reserve of the American fire until the near approach of the British, carried such slaughter through their ranks, as thrice to repel them, and thrice they returned to the work of death; and, had not the ammunition of the Americans been expended, of this engagement the bloodiest tale in British history would have been told. This honor was, however, reserved for Jackson and his gallant troops at New Orleans, after a lapse of more than thirty years.

The particulars of this engagement are thus circumstantially narrated by a late historian:\*

General Gage detached major general Howe and brigadier general Pigot, with the flower of his army, consisting of four battalions, ten companies of the grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery to effect a dislodgement. These troops landed at Morton's point, and formed after landing, but remained in that position, till they were joined by a second detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of land forces and a battalion of marines, making in the whole about three thousand men. While the troops who first landed were waiting for this reinforcement, the Americans for their farther security, pulled up some adjoining post and rail fences, and set them down in two parallel lines, at a small distance from each other, and filled the space with some newly mowed grass, which formed a slight defence. General Warren joined the Massachusetts forces in one place, and general Pomeroy in another, whilst general Putnam was busily engaged in aiding and encouraging, here and there as required. Generals Clinton and Burgoyne took their stand upon Copp's hill, to observe and contemplate the bloody and destructive operations that were then commencing. The regulars formed in two lines, and advanced slowly, to give their

\* Hubley.

artillery time to demolish the American works. While the British were advancing to the attack, general Gage sent orders to Copp's hill to burn Charlestown ; soon after, a carcass was discharged, which fired an old house near the ferry way ; the fire spread, and most of the place was instantly in flames. The houses at the eastern end of Charlestown were fired by men who landed from the boats. The British derived no advantage from the smoke of the conflagration, for the wind suddenly shifting, carried it another way, so that they had not the cover of it in their approach. In a short time, this ancient town, consisting of about 500 buildings, chiefly of wood, was in one great blaze. The only place of worship, a large commodious meeting house, by its lofty steeple, formed a pyramid of fire above the rest, and struck the astonished eyes of numerous beholders with a magnificent but awful spectacle. In Boston, the heights of every kind were covered with the citizens, and such of the British troops as were not on duty. The hills around the adjacent country, which afforded a safe and distinct view, were occupied by the inhabitants of the country. Thousands, both within and without Boston, were anxious spectators of the bloody scene. The regulars moved on but slowly, which gave the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim, who were almost all marksmen, though there was not a rifle gun among them ; they had only common muskets, and many of them had no bayonets. The Americans reserved themselves till the regulars were within ten or twelve rods, but they then began a furious discharge of small arms. The stream of the American fire was so incessant, and did so great execution, that the royal troops retreated in disorder and precipitation. Their officers rallied them, and pushed them forward with their swords, but they returned to the attack with great reluctance. The provincials again reserved their fire till their adversaries were within five or six rods, then discharging their well directed pieces, put them a second time to the flight. General Howe and the British officers redoubled their exertions. General Clinton, perceiving how their army was staggered, passed over without waiting for orders, and joined them. By this time the powder of the provincials began so far to fail, that they sent for a supply, but could procure none ; for there was but a barrel and a half in the magazine. The British also brought some cannon to bear, which raked the inside of the breast work from end to end. The fire from the ships, batteries, and field artillery was redoubled ; the regulars in the rear were goaded on by their officers. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. Under these circumstances, a retreat from it was ordered, but the Americans delayed, and kept the enemy at bay for a considerable time with the butt end of their muskets, till the redoubt was half filled with the king's troops.

While these operations were going on at the breast work and redoubt, the British light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that they might take the American line in flank.



Though they exhibited the most undaunted courage, they met with an opposition which called for its greatest exertions. The Americans here, in like manner, reserved their fire till the enemy were near, and then poured in their shot upon the light infantry with such a true direction and amazing success as mowed down their ranks. The engagement was kept up on both sides with great resolution. The persevering exertions of the British forces could not compel the provincials to retreat, till they observed that their main body had left the hill : when they gave way, and which was conducted with more regularity than could be expected from troops who had been no longer under discipline, and in general never before saw an engagement. The retreat exposed them to new danger, for it could not be effected but by marching over Charlestown neck, every part of which was raked by the shot of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. The incessant fire kept up across the neck from the beginning of the engagement, prevented any considerable reinforcements getting to the hill ; but the few who fell in their retreat over the same ground, proved, that the apprehensions of those provincial officers who declined passing over to aid their countrymen, were without any solid foundation.

‘ The number of Americans engaged, amounted only to fifteen hundred. It was apprehended that the British would push the advantage they had gained, and march immediately to the American head-quarters at Cambridge, about two miles distant, and which was in no state of defence ; but they advanced no farther than Bunker’s hill. There they threw up works for their own security. The Americans did the same upon Prospect hill, in front of them, about half way to Cambridge. Both were guarding against an attack ; neither of them were in a condition to receive one. The loss of the peninsula depressed the spirits of the provincials, and the loss of men damped the courage of the regulars. There was a continued blaze of fire from the provincials for near half an hour, and the action was hot for about double that period. In this short space the loss of the British amounted to 1054. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed, and 70 more were wounded. The light infantry and grenadiers lost three-fourths of their men. Of one company, not more than five, and of another not more than fourteen escaped. A number of tories served as volunteers, several of whom were killed. That the officers suffered so much, must be imputed to their being aimed at ; from their fall much confusion was expected. They were therefore particularly singled out. Most of those who were near the person of general Howe, were either killed or wounded.—It was a wonder that the general himself escaped. The unexpected resistance of the Americans must wipe away all the reproaches of cowardice, which have been cast on them by their enemies. In future, let them no more pronounce the Americans cowards, who will fly at the very sight of a grenadier’s cap. The spirited conduct of the British

officers merited great applause, but the Americans were justly entitled to a large portion of the same, for having made the utmost exertions of their adversaries necessary to dislodge them from lines, which were the work only of a few hours. The Americans lost five pieces of cannon out of six. Their killed amounted to 139; their wounded and missing to 314. Among the slain was major general Warren, who was shot in the back part of his head; upon receiving the shot he dropt down dead in the trenches, scarcely four days after his appointment to so distinguished a military command. His death was universally regretted, and would have veiled with cypress the most brilliant victory. In the spring of 1776, after the evacuation of Boston by the British, his body was brought from Breed's hill, where it had lain undistinguished from his fellow soldiers, to be entombed in a Boston burial ground. He was there interred with masonic and civic honours, and an eulogium on his merits was delivered in the Stone Chapel by one of the craft.'

A monument has been erected to his memory on Breed's hill, in Charlestown, on the spot, as nearly as could be ascertained, where the brave Warren fell. It is a pillar of the Tuscan order, the top of which is twenty eight feet from the ground; and is surmounted with a gilt urn, on which are sundry masonic devices, and the letters J. W. Æ. XXXVI. The inscription is on the south side of the pedestal, in the following words :

ERECTED A. D. 1794,  
By King Solomon's lodge of Freemasons,  
Constituted at Charlestown, 1783, in memory of

MAJOR GENERAL  
JOSEPH WARREN,

And his associates, who were slain on this memorable spot,  
17th June, 1775.

None but they who set a just value on the blessings of liberty, are worthy to enjoy her. In vain we toiled, in vain we fought, we bled in vain, if you, our offspring, want valor to repel the assaults of her invaders.

Charlestown settled. 1628; burnt, 1775; rebuilt, 1776. The inclosed land given by Hon. James Russell.

#### MAJOR GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

This gentleman was born in Chester county, Pennsylvania, in the year 1745. His ancestors were Irish, and his grandfather was a captain under King William, at the battle of the Boyne; but at what time the family emigrated to America, is not precisely known. Our hero had been bred to the profession of a surveyor, to the duties of which he had attended for several years. But as soon as the clouds began to gather in the political hemisphere, he relinquished his private pursuits, and united his efforts with the patriots of 1774 and 1775, in warding off the impending storm. He was successively

honoured with a seat in the Legislature, until he vacated it for the more arduous toils of the tented field, by the acceptance of a colonelcy in the provincial army ; and so great was his interest, that, in a few weeks, he raised a regiment in his native county.

In the beginning of the campaign of 1777 he was raised to the rank of brigadier general, and with his brigade was ordered to reinforce general Washington, at the head of Elk.

At the battle of Brandywine, general Kniphausen was posted at Chad's ford, as a feint, general Washington having stationed general Wayne, with an adequate force, as he supposed, to defend the passage of the ford. When Cornwallis, as he had designed, succeeded in turning the right flank of the American army, Kniphausen crossed the ford and attacked Wayne with great vigour. He sustained the shock with much resolution ; but, after a severe conflict, was obliged to give way to superior force, leaving in possession of the enemy, his entrenchments, battery and cannon.

During the campaign of 1777, '78, gen. Wayne was attached to the army in the middle states, under the immediate command of Washington, and rendered important services in the military operations of the time.

In the campaign of 1779, general Washington conceived the design of storming Stoney Point, a strong position on the Hudson, about fifty miles above New York, which had a short time before, fallen into the hands of the British. The object in view, was to withdraw from Connecticut to the defence of their lines, a party of the enemy, who were laying waste a part of that state. The execution of this enterprize was entrusted to general Wayne, who completely effected it. The situation of this post was of much importance in another point of view, as it commanded a pass of the river, essential to the British shipping, for the attack on the forts above. The garrison, which consisted of about 600 men, under a col. Johnson, was part of the force which had bayoneted his troops in cool blood, at Paoli. His parole on this occasion, recalled to the remembrance of his troops, that sanguinary affair. Although the enterprize was effected with the bayonet, the flints having been taken out of their firelocks, and the storming of the fort might have justified complete retaliation, yet the moment the enemy submitted, he spared the further effusion of blood. This enterprize completely effected its object, by compelling the British general to withdraw his forces from Connecticut to defend his own posts.

In the commencement of this attack, which was of short duration, a ball discharged by one of the sentinels, grazed the general's head, and knocked him down. He laid a few moments, apparently lifeless, but soon rose, and so far recovered, as to rest on one knee. Supposing himself mortally wounded, he desired one of his aids to carry him forward, and let him die in the fort.

During the campaigns of 1779 and 1780, general Wayne was with



the grand army under Washington, in which period nothing occurred of moment. By the new disposition of the army in 1781, general Wayne's division was thrown into the southern army. Here, though engaged in no brilliant action, he rendered very important services in defeating the measures of the enemy.

For his eminent services, the legislature of the state of Georgia made him a donation of a handsome plantation. At the close of the war he retired to enjoy the repose of domestic life. He was chosen a delegate to the Pennsylvania convention, in 1787, and was one of those who signed the acceptance of the present constitution of the United States, in behalf of his native state. Subsequent to this period he left his family and went to Georgia to look after the property which had been bestowed upon him by that state. Here he was induced to allow himself to be held up as a candidate for a seat in Congress, and was returned to that honourable body as being duly elected, in 1792. But certain irregularities having taken place in regard to some of the votes, the legality of his election was called in question by his opponent, general James Jackson. The business was, accordingly, taken up in the House of Representatives, who, after a patient investigation, determined in favour of Jackson; while they at the same time, declared, that no dishonour could be attached to general Wayne, and that the informalities which had induced them to decide that he could no longer retain his place in their body, could not, in the slightest degree, be attributed to him. Wayne employed counsel; but his antagonist plead his own cause. Jackson might forthwith have taken his seat; but he declined that honour till after a new election the will of the majority of his constituents was fully expressed in his behalf.

Immediately after this disappointment, he was consoled by his being promoted to the command of the western army, which had been successively defeated under Harman and St. Clair. Here he continued the warfare with success against the Indians, whom he defeated and compelled to sue for peace. He remained in this command, watching over the conduct of his savage foe, until the 15th of December, 1796, when he died at Presque-Isle, on lake Erie, of a malignant disease, in the fifty-first year of his age, and was buried there with all the honours due to his rank and high merits. A few years ago his remains were taken up and removed to his native county, where they were, with much ceremony and military parade, deposited along with those of his ancestors.

#### BRIGADIER GENERAL DANIEL MORGAN.

This gentleman's father was a native of Wales, who emigrated to this country, and settled in New Jersey, where the general was born; whence, in early life, he removed to Virginia, and pursued the avocation of a wagoner for his subsistence. Between the ages

of twenty and thirty, he was much addicted to gaming and drinking, which involved him in many combats, wherein he evinced that daring and adventurous spirit, which marked the career of his future life.

In the commencement of the revolutionary contest between Great Britain and her colonies, he was appointed to command a troop of cavalry, raised in defence of the rights of the latter, against the usurpation of the mother country. With it he joined the American army at Boston, whence he was detached by general Washington, to the expedition of general Arnold against Quebec, to co-operate with general Montgomery, in the reduction of that capital.

The combined operations against that city were begun under the angry auspices of a December sky. In the early part of the attack on that city, Arnold was wounded in the arm, and carried off the field, when his command devolved on Morgan, who, with his little Spartan band, passed the first barrier, and had mounted the second, when the fall of the lamented Montgomery checked his career of expected glory. Colonel Campbell, second in command to that general, after his fall, made no farther effort at conquest, but drew off his troops, which left the enemy undisturbed, to direct his whole attention towards the troops under Morgan, who was compelled to surrender to superior force. While a prisoner, he was offered the rank and emolument of a colonel in the British service. He begged the officer who made him the offer, never again to insult his misfortunes in so degrading a manner.

Soon afterwards he was exchanged, when he repaired to the American standard, and received the command of a select rifle corps, by gen. Washington's recommendation, who, although in want of his services, judged it prudent to detach him to the assistance of gen. Gates. That general having after the fall of Ticonderoga, succeeded gen. St. Clair, appeared unable to check the career of Burgoyne, in whose subsequent capture Morgan particularly distinguished himself, notwithstanding which. Gates, in his official communication of that event to the American government, passed his services over unnoticed. The cause was this—Gates was connected with a party who wished to take away the chief command from Washington, and sounded Morgan on the subject. Morgan treated the attempt with disdain, and declared he would serve under no other commander. Hence intimacies ceased to exist between them, and Gates treated him with studied neglect. The latter, after Burgoyne's capture, having invited several British and American officers to dine with him, purposely neglected Morgan. Having, however, some business to transact with him, he called on the general at his dining-room in the evening; but upon his entrance was not announced to the guests. His business finished, he withdrew, and the British officers having learnt his name, followed him out of Gates's presence, and paid him individually their respects.

He was placed with a command, in the winter of 1777, on the west side of Schuylkill, to prevent the country people from supplying the British, who were then in possession of Philadelphia, with provisions.

The eclat which Gates gained by the capture of Burgoyne, induced Congress to invest him with the command of the armies in the southern states, in order, if possible, to retrieve the American affairs in that quarter. Notwithstanding the displeasure he manifested towards Morgan at Saratoga, on account of his failure in detaching the confidence of that officer from the commander in chief, he strongly solicited Morgan to accompany him to his southern command, which was as strongly resisted, until Morgan's resentment was somewhat blunted by the reception of a brevet brigadier general's commission. He however, did not join the southern army, until after Gates' discomfiture at Camden, which caused Congress to transfer the command of the south to general Greene, who fully retrieved the American affairs in that quarter.

To his command was committed a division composed of several corps, destined for operations in the western quarter. They were, on their march, to be strengthened with mountain militia from Carolina and Georgia. His orders were to pass the Catawba, and take post in the country between Broad and Pacolet rivers, which with corresponding dispositions, was to secure provisions for general Greene's army. During this march, he received a part of the expected succour, and, after having passed Broad River, took a position near its confluence with the Pacolet. At the time Cornwallis learnt the dispositions of Morgan, general Greene was seventy miles on his right, and Morgan fifty miles on his left. Alarmed for the safety of Augusta and Ninety-six, Cornwallis despatched Tarleton with a body of troops, either to force Morgan to battle, or to drive him back into North Carolina. Aware of Tarleton's advance, Morgan took his measures accordingly. The former gave his troops but little repose, until he came up with the latter at the Cowpens, where he intended to give his adversary battle, which he wrongfully supposed to be the intention of Morgan to avoid, who halted his troops for repose, and determined to give battle when offered.

Tarleton's judgment being overruled by irritation of temper, he advanced at the dawn of day, (January 17, 1781.) Apprised of his movements, Morgan was duly prepared for action.

Morgan addressed his troops, exhorting them in appropriate language to display their constancy and valor, and then took post in the line, awaiting in silence the advance of the enemy.

Gratified with the prospect of an engagement, and presuming on success, Tarleton hurried the disposition of his forces, which were not complete, when his line began to push forward, his reserve waiting for subsequent orders. Morgan's light troops quickly fell back and ranged with Pickens' as they had been directed. After an obsti-



nate contest on both sides, Tarleton was compelled to yield the palm of victory to a force inferior in number. On this occasion, Congress passed a resolve approbatory of the conduct of Morgan, his officers and privates, caused a gold medal to be presented to brigadier general Morgan, a sword to brigadier general Pickens, a silver medal to cols. Howard and Washington, each, and a sword to captain Triplet. In this memorable battle of the Cowpens, Tarleton had every advantage in point of ground, cavalry, and numbers, aided by two pieces of artillery, of which his adversary had none. Profiting by this victory, Morgan immediately began to fall back. He crossed Broad river on the evening of the day of battle, and proceeded by forced marches towards the Catawba, general Greene having determined to retreat into Virginia. Morgan continued his route, and being joined by Greene, with a few dragoons, effected the passage of that river, although keenly pursued by Cornwallis. Having been attacked by frequent rheumatic affections on the retreat to Guilford court-house, he intimated a wish to retire.

He left the army at Guilford court-house, and returned to his seat in Frederick, where he continued in retirement until the insurrection in the western parts of Pennsylvania, in 1794, when he was detached by the executive of Virginia, at the head of the militia quota of that state, to join the troops called out by the president of the United States, to smother discord in its embryo. When the main army withdrew, he was left in command in the disaffected districts, until the spring of 1795, when by the orders of President Washington, he disbanded his troops and afterwards returned to the bosom of his family. Having by long and arduous services established his character as a soldier, he now embarked in another sphere. He offered himself as a candidate to represent the Congressional district in which he resided, in the house of Representatives of the United States. Baffled in his first attempt, his second succeeded, and having served out his constitutional term, he declined a re-election. On account of ill health, and a gradual decay of his constitution, he removed from Saratoga, his seat in Frederick, to Berresville, or as it has been called, Battletown, the scene of his early life, and thence to Winchester, where death closed his earthly career, in 1799. His education was circumscribed, which necessarily limited the sphere of his acquirements. In private life he was amiable and sincere. He was not a rigid disciplinarian, but governed more by confidence than by command. He was of an enterprising disposition, but calm and collected in the hour of danger, prone rather to forgive than resent injuries; but resentful of indignities.































